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THE
WORKS
OF
JOHN MILTON,

Historical, Political, and Miscellaneous.

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and many Passages restored, which have been hitherto omitted.

To which is prefixed,

A N A C C O U N T
OF HIS
L I F E A N D W R I T I N G S.
V O L. II.

L O N D O N:

Printed for W. INNYS, J. WALTHOE, J. and J. BONWICKE, S. BIRT, D. BROWNE,
T. and T. LONGMAN, C. HITCH and L. HAWES, H. WHITRIDGE, T. OSBORNE,
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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
B R I T A I N,

That Part especially, now called ENGLAND;

From the First Traditional Beginning, continued to the
NORMAN CONQUEST.

Collected out of the antientest and best AUTHORS thereof.

Published from a COPY corrected by the AUTHOR himself.

T H E F I R S T B O O K.

THE beginning of nations, those excepted of whom sacred books have spoken, is to this day unknown. Nor only the beginning, but the deeds also of many succeeding ages, yea periods of ages, either wholly unknown, or obscured and blemished with fables. Whether it were that the use of letters came in long after, or were it the violence of barbarous inundations, or they themselves at certain revolutions of time, fatally decaying, and degenerating into sloth and ignorance; whereby the monuments of more ancient civility have been some destroyed, some lost. Perhaps disesteem and contempt of the public affairs then present, as not worth recording, might partly be in cause. Certainly oft-times we see that wise men, and of best ability, have forborn to write the acts of their own days, while they beheld with a just loathing and disdain, not only how unworthy, how perverse, how corrupt, but often how ignoble, how petty, how below all history the persons and their actions were; who, either by fortune or some rude election, had attained as a fore judgment and ignominy upon the land, to have chief sway in managing the commonwealth. But that any law, or superstition of our philosophers, the Druids, forbade the Britains to write their memorable deeds, I know not why any out of Cæsar * should alledge: He indeed saith, that their doctrine they thought not lawful to commit to letters; but in most matters else, both private and public, among which well may history be reckoned, they used the Greek tongue; and that the British Druids who taught those in Gaul, would be ignorant of any language known and used by their disciples, or so frequently writing other things, and so inquisitive into highest, would for want of recording be ever chil-

* Cæs. l. 6.

dren in the knowledge of times and ages, is not likely. Whatever might be the reason, this we find, that of British affairs, from the first peopling of the island to the coming of Julius Cæsar, nothing certain, either by tradition, history, or ancient fame hath hitherto been left us. That which we have of oldest seeming, hath by the greater part of judicious antiquaries been long rejected for a modern fable.

Nevertheless there being others, besides the first supposed author, men not unread, nor unlearned in antiquity, who admit that for approved story, which the former explode for fiction; and seeing that oft-times relations heretofore accounted fabulous have been after found to contain in them many footsteps and reliques of something true, as what we read in poets of the flood, and giants little believ'd, till undoubted witnesses taught us, that all was not feigned; I have therefore determined to bestow the telling over even of these reputed tales; be it for nothing else but in favour of our English poets and rhetoricians, who by their art will know how to use them judiciously.

I might also produce example, as Diodorus among the Greeks, Livy and others among the Latins, Polydore and Virunnius accounted among our own writers. But I intend not with controversies and quotations to delay or interrupt the smooth course of history; much less to argue and debate long who were the first inhabitants, with what probabilities, what authorities each opinion hath been upheld; but shall endeavour that which hitherto hath been needed most, with plain and lightsome brevity, to relate well and orderly things worth the noting, so as may best instruct and benefit them that read. Which, imploring divine assistance, that it may redound to his glory, and the good of the British nation, I now begin.

That the whole earth was inhabited before the flood, and to the utmost point of habitable ground, from those effectual words of God in the creation, may be more than conjectured. Hence that this island also had her dwellers, her affairs, and perhaps her stories, even in that old world those many hundred years, with much reason we may infer. After the flood, and the dispersing of nations, as they journied leisurely from the east, Gomer the eldest son of Japhet, and his Offspring, as by authorities, arguments, and affinity of divers names is generally believed, were the first that peopled all these west and northern climes. But they of our own writers, who thought they had done nothing, unless with all circumstance they tell us when, and who first set foot upon this island, presume to name out of fabulous and counterfeit authors a certain Samothés or Dis, a fourth or sixth son of Japhet, (whom they make, about 200 years after the flood, to have planted with colonies, first the continent of Celtica or Gaul, and next this island; thence to have named it Samothea,) to have reigned here, and after him lineally four kings, Magus, Saron, Druid, and Bardus. But the forged Berofus, whom only they have to cite, no where mentions that either he, or any of those whom they bring, did ever pass into Britain, or send their people hither. So that this outlandish figment may easily excuse our not allowing it the room here so much as of a British fable.

That which follows, perhaps as wide from truth, though seeming less impertinent, is, that these Samotheans under the reign of Bardus were subdued by Albion a giant, son of Neptune; who called the island after his own name, and ruled it 44 years. Till at length passing over into Gaul, in aid of his brother Lestrygon, against whom Hercules was hastening out of Spain into Italy, he was there slain in fight, and Bergion also his brother.

Sure enough we are, that Britain hath been anciently termed Albion, both by the Greeks and Romans. And Mela, the geographer, makes mention of a stony shore in Languedoc, where by report such a battle was fought. The rest, as his giving name to the Isle, or even landing here, depends altogether upon late surmizes. But too absurd, and too unconscionably gross is that fond invention that waisted hither the fifty daughters of a strange Dioclesian king of Syria; brought in, doubtless, by some illiterate pretender to something mistaken in the common poetical story of Danaus king of Argos, while his

vanity, not pleased with the obscure beginning which truest antiquity affords the nation, laboured to contrive us a pedigree, as he thought, more noble. These daughters by appointment of Danaus on the marriage-night having murdered all their husbands, except Linceus, whom his wife's loyalty saved, were by him, at the suit of his wife their sister, not put to death, but turned out to sea in a ship unmanned; of which whole sex they had incurred the hate: and as the tale goes, were driven on this island. Where the inhabitants, none but devils, as some write, or as others, a lawless crew left here by Albion, without head or governor, both entertained them, and had issue by them a second breed of giants, who tyrannized the Isle, till Brutus came.

The eldest of these dames in their legend they call Albina; and from thence, for which cause the whole scene was framed, will have the name Albion derived. Incredible it may seem so sluggish a conceit should prove so ancient, as to be authorized by the elder Ninnius, reputed to have lived above a thousand years ago. This I find not in him; but that Histon sprung of Japhet, had four sons; Francus, Romanus, Alemannus, and Britto, of whom the Britains*; as true, I believe, as that those other nations whose names are resembled, came of the other three; if these dreams give not just occasion to call in doubt the book itself, which bears that title.

Hitherto the things themselves have given us a warrantable dispatch to run them soon over. But now of Brutus and his line, with the whole progeny of kings, to the entrance of Julius Cæsar, we cannot so easily be discharged; descents of ancestry, long continued, laws and exploits not plainly seeming to be borrowed, or devised, which on the common belief have wrought no small impression; defended by many, denied utterly by few. For what though Brutus, and the whole Trojan pretence were yielded up (seeing they who first devised to bring us from some noble ancestor, were content at first with Brutus the consul; till better invention, although not willing to forego the name, taught them to remove it higher into a more fabulous age, and by the same remove lighting on the Trojan tales in affectation to make the Britain of one original with the Roman, pitched there;) yet those old and inborn names of successive kings, never any to have been real persons, or done in their lives at least some part of what so long hath been remembered, cannot be thought without too strict an incredulity.

For these, and those causes above-mentioned, that which hath received approbation from so many, I have chosen not to omit. Certain or uncertain, be that upon the credit of those whom I must follow; so far as keeps aloof from impossible and absurd, attested by ancient writers from books more ancient, I refuse not, as the due and proper subject of story. The principal author is well known to be Geoffrey of Monmouth; what he was, and whence his authority, who in his age, or before him, have delivered the same matter, and such like general discourses, will better stand in a treatise by themselves. All† of them agree in this, that Brutus was the son of Silvius; he of Ascanius; whose father was Eneas a Trojan prince, who at the burning of that city, with his son Ascanius, and a collected number that escaped, after long wandering on the sea, arrived in Italy. Where at length by the assistance of Latinus king of Latium, who had given him his daughter Lavinia, he obtained to succeed in that kingdom, and left it to Ascanius, whose son Silvius (though Roman histories deny Silvius to be the son of Ascanius) had married secretly a niece of Lavinia.

She being with child, the matter became known to Ascanius. Who commanding his “magicians to enquire by art, what sex the maid had conceived,” had answer, “that it was one who should be the death of both his parents; and banished for the fact, should after all in a far country, attain the highest honour.” The prediction failed not, for in travail the mother died. And Brutus (the child was so called) at fifteen years of age, attending his father to the chase, with an arrow unfortunately killed him.

* Holinshed.

† Henry of Huntingdon, Matthew of Westminster.

Banished therefore by his kindred, he retires into Greece. Where meeting with the race of Helenus king Priam's son, held there in servile condition by Pandrus then king, with them he abides. For Pirrhus in revenge of his father slain at Troy, had brought thither with him Helenus, and many others into servitude. There Brutus among his own stock so thrives in virtue and in arms, as renders him beloved to kings and great captains, above all the youth of that land. Whereby the Trojans not only begin to hope, but secretly to move him, that he would lead them the way to liberty. They alledge their numbers, and the promised help of Assaracus a noble Greekish youth, by the mother's side a Trojan; whom for that cause his brother went about to dispossess of certain castles bequeathed him by his father. Brutus considering both the forces offered him, and the strength of those holds, not unwillingly consents.

First therefore having fortified those castles, he with Assaracus and the whole multitude betake them to the woods and hills, as the safest place from whence to expostulate; and in the name of all sends to Pandrus this message, "That the Trojans holding it unworthy their ancestors to serve in a foreign kingdom, had retreated to the woods; chusing rather a savage life than a slavish: if that displeased him, that then with his leave they might depart to some other soil."

As this may pass with good allowance, that the Trojans might be many in these parts, (for Helenus was by Pirrhus made king of the Chaonians, and the sons of Pirrhus by Andromache Hector's wife, could not but be powerful through all Epirus,) so much the more it may be doubted, how these Trojans could be thus in bondage, where they had friends and countrymen so potent. But to examine these things with diligence, were but to confute the fables of Britain, with the fables of Greece or Italy: for of this age, what we have to say, as well concerning most other countries, as this island, is equally under question. Be how it will, Pandrus not expecting so bold a message from the sons of captives, gathers an army; and marching towards the woods, Brutus who had notice of his approach nigh to the town called Sparatinum, (I know not what town, but certain of no Greek name) over night planting himself there with good part of his men, suddenly sets upon him, and with slaughter of the Greeks pursues him to the passage of a river, which mine author names Akalon, meaning perhaps Achelous or Acheron; where at the ford he overlays them afresh. This victory obtained, and a sufficient strength left in Sparatinum, Brutus with Antigonus, the king's brother, and his friend Anacletus, whom he had taken in the fight, returns to the residue of his friends in the thick woods; while Pandrus with all speed recollecting, besieges the town. Brutus to relieve his men besieged, who earnestly called him, distrusting the sufficiency of his force, bethinks himself of this policy. Calls to him Anacletus, and threatening instant death else, both to him and his friend Antigonus, enjoins him, that he should go at the second hour of night to the Greekish leagre, and tell the guards he had brought Antigonus by stealth out of prison to a certain woody vale, unable through the weight of his fetters to move him further; entreating them to come speedily and fetch him in. Anacletus to save both himself and his friend Antigonus, swears this, and at a fit hour sets on alone toward the camp; is met, examined, and at last unquestionably known. To whom, great profession of fidelity first made, he frames his tale, as had been taught him; and they now fully assured, with a credulous rashness leaving their stations, fared accordingly by the ambush that there awaited them. Forthwith Brutus dividing his men into three parts, leads on in silence to the camp; commanding first each part at a several place to enter, and forbear execution, till he with his squadron possessed of the king's tent, gave signal to them by trumpet. The sound whereof no sooner heard, but huge havock begins upon the sleeping and unguarded enemy; whom the besieged also now falling forth, on the other side assail. Brutus the while had special care to seize and secure the king's person; whose life still within his custody, he knew was the surest pledge to obtain what he should demand. Day appearing, he enters the town, there distributes the King's

Treasury, and leaving the place better fortify'd, returns with the king his prisoner to the woods. Strait the ancient and grave men he summons to counsel, what they should now demand of the king.

After long debate Mempricius, one of the gravest, utterly dissuading them from thought of longer stay in Greece, unless they meant to be deluded with a suttler peace, and the awaited revenge of those whose friends they had slain, advises them to demand first the king's eldest daughter Innogen in marriage to their leader Brutus with a rich dowry, next shipping, money and fit provision for them all to depart the land.

This resolution pleasing best, the king now brought in, and placed in a high seat, is briefly told, that on these conditions granted, he might be free; not granted he must prepare to die.

Pressed with fear of death, the king readily yields; especially to bestow his daughter on whom he confessed so noble and so valiant: offers them also the third part of his kingdom, if they like to stay; if not, to be their hostage himself, till he had made good his word.

The marriage therefore solemnized, and shipping from all parts got together, the Trojans in a fleet, no less written than three hundred four and twenty sail, betake them to the wide sea: where, with a prosperous course, two days and a night bring them on a certain island long before dispeopled and left waste by sea-rovers, the name whereof was then Leogecia, now unknown. They who were sent out to discover, came at length to a ruined city, where was a temple and image of Diana that gave oracles: but not meeting first or last, save wild beasts, they return with this notice to their ships; wishing their general would enquire of that oracle what voyage to pursue.

Consultation had, Brutus taking with him Gerion his diviner, and twelve of the ancientest, with wonted ceremonies before the inward shrine of the goddess, in verse (as it seems the manner was) utters his request, "*Diva potens nemorum,*" &c.

Goddeſs of ſhades, and huntreſs, who at will
Walk'ſt on the rowling ſphere, and through the deep,
On thy third reign the earth look now, and tell
What land, what ſeat of reſt thou bid'ſt me ſeek,
What certain ſeat, where I may worſhip thee
For aye, with temples vow'd, and virgin choirs.

To whom ſleeping before the altar, Diana in a viſion that night thus answered,
"*Brute ſub occaſum ſolis,*" &c.

Brutus, far to the weſt, in th' ocean wide,
Beyond the realm of Gaul, a land there lies,
Sea-girt it lies, where giants dwelt of old,
Now void, it fits thy people; thither bend
Thy courſe, there ſhalt thou find a laſting ſeat,
There to thy ſons another Troy ſhall riſe;
And kings be born of thee, whoſe dreaded might
Shall awe the world, and conquer nations bold.

Theſe verſes originally Greek, were put in Latin, ſaith Virunnius, by Gildas a Britiſh poet, and him to have lived under Claudius. Which granted true, adds much to the antiquity of this fable; and indeed the Latin verſes are much better, than for the age of Geoffrey ap Arthur, unleſs perhaps Joſeph of Exeter, the only ſmooth poet of thoſe times, befriended him. In this, Diana overſhot her oracle thus ending, "*Ipfis totius*"

totius terræ subditus orbis erit," That to the race of Brute kings of this island, the whole earth shall be subject.

But Brutus guided now, as he thought by divine conduct, speeds him towards the west; and after some encounters on the Afric side, arrives at a place on the Tyrrhene sea; where he happens to find the race of those Trojans, who with Antenor came into Italy; and Corineus a man much famed, was their chief: though by furer authors it be reported, that those Trojans with Antenor, were seated on the other side of Italy, on the Adriatic, not the Tyrrhene shore. But these joining company, and past the Herculean Pillars, at the mouth of Ligeris in Aquitania cast anchor: where after some discovery made of the place, Corineus hunting nigh the shore with his men, is by messengers of the king Goffarius Pictus met, and questioned about his errand there. Who not answering to their mind, Imbertus one of them, lets fly an arrow at Corineus, which he avoiding, slays him: and the Pictavian himself hereupon levying his whole force, is overthrown by Brutus, and Corineus; who with the battle-ax which he was wont to manage against the Tyrrhene giants, is said to have done marvels. But Goffarius having drawn to his aid the whole country of Gaul, at that time governed by twelve kings, puts his fortune to a second trial; wherein the Trojans over-borne by multitude, are driven back, and besieged in their own camp, which by good foresight was strongly situate. Whence Brutus unexpectedly issuing out, and Corineus in the mean while, whose device it was, assaulling them behind from a wood, where he had conveyed his men the night before: the Trojans are again victors, but with the loss of Turon a valiant nephew of Brutus; whose ashes left in that place, gave name to the city of Tours, built there by the Trojans. Brutus finding now his powers much lessened, and this yet not the place foretold him, leaves Aquitain, and with an easy course, arriving at Totness in Devonshire, quickly perceives here to be the promised end of his labours.

The island not yet Britain but Albion, was in a manner desert and inhospitable; kept only by a remnant of giants, whose excessive force and tyranny had consumed the rest. Them Brutus destroys, and to his people divides the land, which with some reference to his own name he thenceforth calls Britain. To Corineus, Cornwall, as now we call it, fell by lot; the rather by him liked, for that the hugest giants in rocks and caves were said to lurk still there; which kind of monsters to deal with was his old exercise.

And here with leave bespoken to recite a grand fable, though dignify'd by our best poets: while Brutus on a certain festival day solemnly kept on that shore, where he first landed, was with the people in great jollity and mirth, a crew of these savages breaking in upon them, began on a sudden another sort of game, than at such a meeting was expected. But at length by many hands overcome, Goemagog the hugest, in height twelve cubits, is reserved alive, that with him Corineus, who desired nothing more, might try his strength; whom in a wrestle the giant catching aloft, with a terrible hug broke three of his ribs: nevertheless Corineus enraged, heaving him up by main force, and on his shoulders bearing him to the next high rock, threw him headlong, all shattered, into the sea, and left his name on the cliff, called ever since Langoemagog, which is to say, the giant's leap.

After this, Brutus in a chosen place builds Troja Nova, changed in time to Trinovantum, now London: and began to enact laws; Heli being then high priest in Judæa: and having governed the whole isle 24 years, died, and was buried in his new Troy. His three sons, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber divide the land by consent. Locrine had the middle part Lœgria; Camber possessed Cambria, or Wales; Albanact, Albania, now Scotland. But he in the end by Humber king of the Hunns, who with a fleet invaded that land, was slain in fight, and his people drove back into Lœgria. Locrine and his brother go out against Humber; who now marching onward, was by them defeated, and in a river drowned, which to this day retains his name. Among the

the spoils of his camp and navy, were found certain young maids, and Estrildis above the rest, passing fair, the daughter of a king in Germany; from whence Humber, as he went wasting the sea-coast, had led her captive: whom Locrine, though before contracted to the daughter of Corineus, resolves to marry. But being forced and threatened by Corineus, whose authority and power he feared, Guendolen the daughter he yields to marry, but in secret loves the other: and oft times retiring, as to some private sacrifice, through vaults and passages made under ground, and seven years thus enjoying her, had by her a daughter equally fair, whose name was Sabra. But when once his fear was off by the death of Corineus, not content with secret enjoyment, divorcing Guendolen, he makes Estrildis now his queen. Guendolen, all in rage, departs into Cornwall, where Madan, the son she had by Locrine, was hitherto brought up by Corineus his grandfather. And gathering an army of her father's friends and subjects, gives battle to her husband by the river Sture; wherein Locrine, shot with an arrow, ends his life. But not so ends the fury of Guendolen; for Estrildis, and her daughter Sabra, she throws into a river: and, to leave a monument of revenge, proclaims that the stream be thenceforth called after the damsel's name; which, by length of time, is changed now to Sabrina, or Severn.

Fifteen years she governs in behalf of her son; then resigning to him at age, retires to her father's dominion. This, saith my author, was in the days of Samuel. Madan hath the praise to have well and peacefully ruled the space of forty years, leaving behind him two sons, Mempricius, and Malim. Mempricius had first to do with the ambition of his brother, aspiring to share with him in the kingdom; whom therefore, at a meeting to compose matters, with a treachery, which his cause needed not, he slew.

Nor was he better in the sole possession, whereof so ill he could endure a partner, killing his nobles, and those especially next to succeed him; 'till lastly, given over to unnatural lust, in the twentieth of his reign, hunting in a forest, he was devoured by wolves.

His son Ebranc, a man of mighty strength and stature, reigned forty years. He first, after Brutus, wasted Gaul; and returning rich and prosperous, builded Caerebranc, now York; in Albania, Alclud, Mount Agned, or the Castle of Maydens, now Edinburgh. He had twenty sons and thirty daughters by twenty wives. His daughters he sent to Silvius Alba into Italy, who bestowed them on his peers of the Trojan line. His sons, under the leading of Assaracus their brother, won them lands and signories in Germany; thence called from these brethren, Germania: a derivation too hastily supposed, perhaps before the word Germanus, or the Latin tongue was in use. Some who have described Henault, as Jacobus Bergomas, and Lessabeus, are cited to affirm that Ebranc in his war there, was by Brunchildis, lord of Henault, put to the worse.

Brutus, therefore, surnamed Greenshield, succeeding, to repair his father's losses, as the same Lessabeus reports, fought a second battle in Henault, with Brunchild, at the mouth of Scaldis, and encamped on the river Hania. Of which our Spencer also thus sings:

Let Scaldis tell, and let tell Hania,
And let the marsh of Esthambruges tell
What colour were their waters that same day,
And all the moor 'twixt Elversham and Dell,
With blood of Henalois, which therein fell;
How oft that day did sad Brunchildis see
The Greenshield dy'd in dolorous vermeil, &c.

But Henault, and Brunchild, and Greenshield, seem newer names than for a story pretended thus antient.

Him

Him succeeded Leil, a maintainer of peace and equity; but slackened in his latter end, whence arose some civil discord. He built, in the North, Cairleil*; and in the days of Solomon.

Rudhuddibras, or Hudibras, appeasing the commotions which his father could not, founded Caerkeynt or Canterbury, Caerguent or Winchester, and Mount Paladur, now Septonia or Shaftesbury: but this by others is contradicted.

Bladud his son built Caerbadus or Bath, and those medicinal waters he dedicated to Minerva; in whose temple there, he kept fire continually burning. He was a man of great invention, and taught necromancy: 'till having made him wings to fly, he fell down upon the temple of Apollo in Trinovant, and so died after twenty years reign.

Hitherto, from father to son, the direct line hath run on: but Leir, who next reigned, had only three daughters, and no male issue; governed laudably, and built Caerleir, now Leicester, on the bank of Sora. But at last, failing through age, he determines to bestow his daughters, and so among them to divide his kingdom. Yet first, to try which of them loved him best, (a trial that might have made him, had he known as wisely how to try, as he seemed to know how much the trying behooved him) he resolves a simple resolution, to ask them solemnly in order; and which of them should profess largest, her to believe. Gonorill the eldest, apprehending too well her father's weakness, makes answer, invoking Heaven, "That she loved him above her soul." "Therefore," quoth the old man, overjoyed, "since thou so honourest my declining age, to thee and the husband whom thou shalt chuse, I give the third part of my realm." So fair a speeding, for a few words soon uttered, was to Regan, the second, ample instruction what to say. She, on the same demand, spares no protesting; and the Gods must witness, that otherwise to express her thoughts she knew not, but that "She loved him above all creatures;" and so receives an equal reward with her sister. But Cordeilla, the youngest, though hitherto best beloved, and now before her eyes the rich and present hire of a little easy soothing, the danger also, and the loss likely to betide plain dealing, yet moves not from the solid purpose of a sincere and virtuous answer. "Father," saith she, "my love towards you is as my duty bids: what should a father seek, what can a child promise more? They, who pretend beyond this, flatter." When the old man, sorry to hear this, and wishing her to recall those words, persisted asking; with a loyal sadness at her father's infirmity, but something, on the sudden, harsh, and glancing rather at her sisters than speaking her own mind, "Two ways only," saith she, "I have to answer what you require me: the former, your command is, I should recant; accept then this other which is left me; look how much you have, so much is your value, and so much I love you." "Then hear thou," quoth Leir, now all in passion, "what thy ingratitude hath gained thee; because thou hast not revered thy aged father equal to thy sisters, part in my kingdom, or what else is mine, reckon to have none." And, without delay, gives in marriage his other daughters, Gonoril to Maglaunus duke of Albania, Regan to Henninus duke of Cornwall; with them in present half his kingdom; the rest to follow at his death. In the mean while, fame was not sparing to divulge the wisdom and other graces of Cordeilla, insomuch that Aganippus, a great king in Gaul (however he came by his Greek name, not found in any register of French kings) seeks her to wife; and nothing altered at the loss of her dowry, receives her gladly in such manner as she was sent him. After this king Leir, more and more drooping with years, became an easy prey to his daughters, and their husbands; who now, by daily encroachment, had seized the whole kingdom into their hands: and the old king is put to sojourn with his eldest daughter, attended only by threescore knights. But they in a short while grudged at, as too numerous and disorderly for continual guests, are

* Called now Carlisle.

reduced to thirty. Not brooking that affront, the old king betakes him to his second daughter: but there also, discord soon arising between the servants of differing masters in one family, five only are suffered to attend him. Then back again he returns to the other; hoping that she his eldest could not but have more pity on his grey hairs: but she now refuses to admit him, unless he be content with one only of his followers. At last the remembrance of his youngest, Cordeilla, comes to his thoughts; and now acknowledging how true her words had been, though with little hope from whom he had so injured, be it but to pay her the last recompence she can have from him, his confession of her wise forewarning, that so perhaps his misery, the proof and experiment of her wisdom, might something soften her, he takes his journey into France. Now might be seen a difference between the silent, or downright spoken affection of some children to their parents, and the talkative obsequiousness of others; while the hope of inheritance over-acts them, and on the tongue's end enlarges their duty. Cordeilla, out of meer love, without the suspicion of expected reward, at the message only of her father in distress, pours forth true filial tears. And not enduring either that her own, or any other eye should see him in such forlorn condition as his messenger declared, discreetly appoints one of her trusted servants, first to convey him privately towards some good sea-town, there to array him, bathe him, cherish him, furnish him with such attendance and state, as becomed his dignity; that then, as from his first landing, he might send word of his arrival to her husband Aganippus. Which done, with all mature and requisite contrivance, Cordeilla, with the king her husband, and all the barony of his realm, who then first had news of his passing the sea, go out to meet him; and after all honourable and joyful entertainment, Aganippus, as to his wife's father, and his royal guest, surrenders him, during his abode there, the power and disposal of his whole dominion: permitting his wife Cordeilla to go with an army, and set her father upon his throne. Wherein her piety so prospered, as that she vanquished her impious sisters, with those dukes; and Leir again, as saith the story, three years obtained the crown. To whom, dying, Cordeilla, with all regal solemnities, gave burial in the town of Leicester: and then, as right heir, succeeding, and her husband dead, ruled the land five years in peace. Until Marganus and Cunedagius, her two sisters sons, not bearing that a kingdom should be governed by a woman, in the unseasonablest time to raise that quarrel against a woman so worthy, make war against her, depose her, and imprison her; of which impatient, and now long unexercised to suffer, she there, as is related, killed herself. The victors between them part the land; but Marganus, the eldest sister's son, who held, by agreement, from the north-side of Humber to Cathness, incited by those about him to invade all as his own right, wars on Cunedagius, who soon met him, overcame, and overtook him in a town of Wales, where he left his life, and ever since his name to the place.

Cunedagius was now sole king, and governed with much praise many years, about the time when Rome was built.

Him succeeded Rivallo his son, wife also and fortunate; save what they tell us of three days raining blood, and swarms of stinging flies, whereof men died. In order then Gurgustius, Jago or Lago, his nephew; Sisilius, Kinmarcus. Then Gorbogudo, whom others name Gorbodego, and Gorbodion, who had two sons, Ferrex and Porrex. They, in the old age of their father, falling to contend who should succeed, Porrex attempting by treachery his brother's life, drives him into France; and in his return, though aided with the force of that country, defeats and slays him. But by his mother Videna, who less loved him, is himself, with the assistance of her women, soon after slain in his bed: with whom ended, as is thought, the line of Brutus. Whereupon the whole land, with civil broils, was rent into five kingdoms, long time waging war each on other; and some say fifty years. At length Dunwallo Molmutius, the son of Cloten king of Cornwall, one of the foresaid five, excelling in valour and goodli-

ness of person, after his father's decease, found means to reduce again the whole island into a monarchy; subduing the rest at opportunities. First, Ymner king of Loegria, whom he slew; then Rudaucus of Cambria, Staterius of Albania, confederate together. In which fight Dunwallo is reported, while the victory hung doubtful, to have used this art. He takes with him 600 stout men, bids them put on the armour of their slain enemies; and so unexpectedly approaching the squadron, where those two kings had placed themselves in fight, from that part which they thought securest, assaults and dispatches them. Then displaying his own ensigns, which before he had concealed, and sending notice to the other part of his army what was done, adds to them new courage, and gains a final victory. This Dunwallo was the first in Britain that wore a crown of gold; and therefore by some reputed the first king. He established the Molmutine laws, famous among the English to this day; written long after in Latin by Gildas, and in Saxon by king Alfred: so saith Geoffrey, but Gildas denies to have known aught of the Britains before Cæsar; much less knew Alfred. These laws, whoever made them, bestowed on temples the privilege of sanctuary; to cities also, and the ways thither leading, yea to plows granted a kind of like refuge; and made such riddance of thieves and robbers, that all passages were safe. Forty years he governed alone, and was buried nigh to the Temple of Concord; which he, to the memory of peace restored, had built in Trinovant.

His two sons, Belinus and Brennus, contending about the crown, by decision of friends, came at length to an accord: Brennus to have the north of Humber, Belinus the sovereignty of all. But the younger not long so contented, that he, as they whispered to him, whose valour had so oft repelled the invasions of Ceulphus the Morine duke, should now be subject to his brother, upon new design sails into Norway; enters league and affinity with Elsing that king: which Belinus perceiving, in his absence dispossesses him of all the north. Brennus, with a fleet of Norwegians, makes towards Britain; but encountered by Guithlac, the Danish king, who, laying claim to his bride, pursued him on the sea, his haste was retarded, and he bereft of his spouse; who, from the fight, by a sudden tempest, was with the Danish king driven on Northumberland, and brought to Belinus. Brennus, nevertheless, finding means to recollect his navy, lands in Albania, and gives battle to his brother in the wood Calaterium; but losing the day, escapes with one single ship into Gaul. Mean while the Dane, upon his own offer to become tributary, sent home with his new prize, Belinus returns his thoughts to the administering of justice, and the perfecting of his father's law. And to explain what highways might enjoy the foresaid privileges, he caused to be drawn out and paved four main roads to the utmost length and breadth of the island, and two others athwart; which are since attributed to the Romans. Brennus, on the other side, soliciting to his aid the kings of Gaul, happens at last on Seginus duke of the Allobroges; where his worth, and comeliness of person, won him the duke's daughter and heir. In whose right he shortly succeeding, and, by obtained leave, passing with a great host through the length of Gaul, gets footing once again in Britain. Now was Belinus unprepared: and now the battle ready to join, Conuenna, the mother of them both, all in a fright, throws herself between; and calling earnestly to Brennus her son, whose absence had so long deprived her of his sight, after embracements and tears, assails him with such a motherly power, and the mention of things so dear and reverend, as irresistibly wrung from him all his enmity against Belinus.

Then are hands joined, reconciliation made firm, and counsel held to turn their united preparations on foreign parts. Thence that by these two all Gallia was over-run, the story tells; and what they did in Italy, and at Rome, (if these be they, and not Gauls, who took that city) the Roman authors can best relate. So far from home I undertake not for the Monmouth Chronicle; which here, against the stream of history, carries up and down these brethren, now into Germany, then again to Rome, pursuing Gabius and Porfena,

Porfena, two unheard of consuls. Thus much is more generally believed, that both this Brennus, and another famous captain, Britomarus, whom the epitomist Florus and others mention, were not Gauls, but Britains; the name of the first in that tongue signifying a king, and of the other a great Britain. However, Belinus, after a while, returning home, the rest of his days ruled in peace, wealth, and honour, above all his predecessors; building some cities, of which one was Caerose upon Ofca, since Caerlegion; beautifying others, as Trinovant, with a gate, a haven, and a tower, on the Thames, retaining yet his name; on the top whereof his ashes are said to have been laid up in a golden urn.

After him Gurguntius Barbirus was king, mild and just; but yet, inheriting his father's courage, he subdued the Dacian, or Dane, who refused to pay the tribute covenanted to Belinus for his enlargement. In his return, finding about the Orkneys thirty ships of Spain, or Biscay, fraught with men and women for a plantation, whose captain also Bartholinus, wrongfully banished, as he pleaded, besought him that some part of his territory might be assigned them to dwell in, he sent with them certain of his own men to Ireland, which then lay unpeopled, and gave them that island, to hold of him as in homage. He was buried in Caerlegion, a city which he had walled about.

Guitheline his son is also remembered as a just and good prince; and his wife Martia to have excelled so much in wisdom, as to venture upon a new institution of laws. Which king Alfred translating, called Marchen Leage; but more truly thereby is meant the Mercian law, not translated by Alfred, but digested or incorporated with the West-Saxon. In the minority of her son she had the rule; and then, as may be supposed, brought forth these laws, not herself, for laws are masculine births, but by the advice of her sagest counsellors; and therein she might do virtuously, since it befel her to supply the nonage of her son: else nothing more awry from the law of God and nature, than that a woman should give laws to men.

Her son Sisilius coming to years, received the rule: then, in order, Kimarus; then Danius, or Elanius, his brother. Then Morindus, his son by Tanguestela, a concubine, who is recorded a man of excessive strength, valiant, liberal, and fair of aspect, but immanely cruel; not sparing, in his anger, enemy or friend, if any weapon were in his hand. A certain king of the Morines, or Picards, invaded Northumberland; whose army this king, though not wanting sufficient numbers, chiefly by his own prowess overcame: but dishonoured his victory by the cruel usage of his prisoners, whom his own hands, or others in his presence, put all to several deaths: well fitted to such a bestial cruelty was his end; for hearing of a huge monster, that from the Irish sea infested the coast, and, in the pride of his strength, foolishly attempting to set manly valour against a brute vastness, when his weapons were all in vain, by that horrible mouth he was caught up and devoured.

Gorbonian, the eldest of his five sons, than whom a juster man lived not in his age, was a great builder of temples, and gave to all what was their due: to his Gods, devout worship; to men of desert, honour and preferment; to the commons, encouragement in their labours and trades, defence and protection from injuries and oppressions; so that the land flourished above her neighbours; violence and wrong seldom was heard of. His death was a general loss: he was buried in Trinovant.

Archigallo, the second brother, followed not his example; but depressed the antient nobility; and, by peeling the wealthier sort, stuffed his treasury, and took the right way to be deposed.

Elidure, the next brother, surnamed the Pious, was set up in his place: a mind so noble, and so moderate, as almost is incredible to have been ever found. For, having held the sceptre five years, hunting one day in the forest of Calater, he chanced to meet his deposed brother, wandering in a mean condition; who had been long in vain beyond the seas, importuning foreign aids to his restoration; and was now, in a poor habit,

with only ten followers, privately returned to find subsistence among his secret friends. At the unexpected sight of him, Elidure himself also then but thinly accompanied, runs to him with open arms; and, after many dear and sincere welcomings, conveys him to the city Alclud; there hides him in his own bedchamber. Afterwards feigning himself sick, summons all his peers, as about greatest affairs; where admitting them one by one, as if his weakness endured not the disturbance of more at once, causes them, willing or unwilling, once more to swear allegiance to Archigallo. Whom, after reconciliation made on all sides, he leads to York; and, from his own head, places the crown on the head of his brother. Who thenceforth, vice itself dissolving in him, and forgetting her firmest hold, with the admiration of a deed so heroic, became a true converted man; ruled worthily ten years, died, and was buried in Caerleir. Thus was a brother saved by a brother, to whom love of a crown, the thing that so often dazzles and vitiates mortal men, for which thousands of nearest blood have destroyed each other, was, in respect of brotherly dearneſs, a contemptible thing.

Elidure now in his own behalf re-assumes the government, and did as was worthy such a man to do. When Providence, that so great a virtue might want no sort of trial to make it more illustrious, stirs up Vigenius and Peredure, his youngest brethren, against him who had deserved so nobly of that relation, as least of all by a brother to be injured. Yet him they defeat, him they imprison in the tower of Trinovant, and divide his kingdom; the North to Peredure, the South to Vigenius. After whose death Peredure obtaining all, so much the better used his power, by how much the worse he got it: so that Elidure now is hardly missed. But yet, in all right owing to his elder the due place whereof he had deprived him, fate would that he should die first: and Elidure, after many years imprisonment, is now the third time seated on the throne; which at last he enjoyed long in peace, finishing the interrupted course of his mild and just reign, as full of virtuous deeds, as days to his end.

After these five sons of Morindus, succeeded also their sons in order. * Regin of Gorbonian, Marganus of Archigallo, both good kings. But Enniaunus, his brother, taking other courses, was after six years deposed. Then Idwallo, taught by a near example, governed soberly. Then Runno, then Geruntius, he of Peredure, this last the son of Elidure. From whose loins (for that likely is the durable and surviving race that springs of just progenitors) issued a long descent of kings, whose names only for many successions, without other memory, stand thus registered: Catellus, Coillus, Porrex, Cherin, and his three sons, Fulgenius, Eldadus, and Andragius, his son Urianus; Eliud, Eledaucus, Clotenus, Gurguntius, Merianus, Bleduno, Capis, Oenus, Sifillius; twenty kings in a continued row, that either did nothing, or lived in ages that wrote nothing; at least, a foul pretermission in the author of this, whether story or fable; himself weary, as seems, of his own tedious tale.

But to make amends for this silence, Blegabredus next succeeding, is recorded to have excelled all before him in the art of musick; opportunely, had he but left us one song of his twenty predecessors doings.

Yet after him nine more succeeded in name; his brother Archimailus, Eldol, Rederchius, Samulius, Penissel, Pir, Capoirus; but Cliguellius, with the addition of modest, wise, and just.

His son Heli reigned forty years, and had three sons, Lud, Cassibelan, and Nennius. This Heli seems to be the same whom Ninnius, in his Fragment, calls Minocan; for him he writes to be the father of Cassibelan. Lud was he who enlarged and walled about Trinovant; there kept his court, made it the prime city, and called it from his own name Caer-lud, or Lud's-town, now London. Which, as is alledged out of Gildas, became matter of great dissent betwixt him and his brother Nennius; who took it heinously that the name of Troy, their antient country, should be abolished for any new

* Matth. Westm.

one. Lud was hardy, and bold in war; in peace, a jolly feaster. He conquered many islands of the sea, saith Huntingdon*, and was buried by the gate, which from thence we call Ludgate†. His two sons, Androgeus and Tenuantius, were left to the tuition of Cassibelan; whose bounty and high demeanor so wrought with the common people, as got him easily the kingdom transferred upon himself. He nevertheless, continuing to favour and support his nephews, confers freely upon Androgeus, London with Kent; upon Tenuantius, Cornwall; reserving a superiority both over them, and all the other princes to himself, 'till the Romans for a while circumscribed his power. Thus far, though leaning only on the credit of Geoffrey Moamouth, and his assertors, I yet, for the specified causes, have thought it not beneath my purpose to relate what I found. Where to I neither oblige the belief of other person, nor over-hastily subscribe mine own. Nor have I stood with others computing or collating years and chronologies, lest I should be vainly curious about the time and circumstance of things, whereof the substance is so much in doubt. By this time, like one who had set out on his way by night, and travelled through a region of smooth or idle dreams, our history now arrives on the confines, where day-light and truth meet us with a clear dawn, representing to our view, though at a far distance, true colours and shapes. For albeit Cæsar, whose authority we are now first to follow, wanted not who taxed him of misreporting in his Commentaries, yea in his civil war against Pompey, much more, may we think, in the British affairs, of whose little skill in writing he did not easily hope to be contradicted; yet now, in such variety of good authors, we hardly can miss, from one hand or other, to be sufficiently informed, as of things past so long ago. But this will better be referred to a second discourse.

* Huntingd. l. i.

† Verstegan denies this; and says it was called so by the Saxons, from Lud, in our antient language, people, and gate, *quasi porta populi*; of all the gates of the city, that having the greatest passage of people; especially before Newgate was built, which was about the reign of Henry II.

The End of the First BOOK.

T H E

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

THE SECOND BOOK.

I AM now to write of what befel the Britains from fifty and three years before the birth of our saviour, when first the Romans came in, till the decay and ceasing of that empire; a story of much truth, and for the first hundred years and somewhat more, collected without much labour. So many and so prudent were the writers, which those two, the civilest and the wisest of European nations, both Italy and Greece, afforded to the actions of that puissant city. For worthy deeds are not often destitute of worthy relaters: as by a certain fate, great acts and great eloquence have most commonly gone hand in hand, equalling and honouring each other in the same ages. 'Tis true, that in obscurest times, by shallow and unskilful writers, the indistinct noise of many battles, and devastations of many kingdoms, over-run and lost, hath come to our ears. For what wonder, if in all ages ambition and the love of rapine hath stirred up greedy and violent men to bold attempts in wasting and ruining wars, which to posterity have left the work of wild beasts and destroyers, rather than the deeds and monuments of men and conquerors? But he whose just and true valour uses the necessity of war and dominion not to destroy, but to prevent destruction, to bring in liberty against tyrants, law and civility among barbarous nations, knowing that when he conquers all things else, he cannot conquer Time or Detraction, wisely conscious of this his want as well as of his worth not to be forgotten or concealed, honours and hath recourse to the aid of eloquence, his friendliest and best supply; by whose immortal record his noble deeds, which else were transitory, become fixed and durable against the force of years and generations, he fails not to continue through all posterity, over Envy, Death, and Time, also victorious. Therefore when the esteem of science and liberal study waxes low in the commonwealth, we may presume that also there all civil virtue, and worthy action is grown as low to a decline: and then eloquence as it were consoled in the same destiny, with the decrease and fall of virtue, corrupts also and fades; at least resigns her office of relating to illiterate and frivolous historians, such as the persons themselves both deserve, and are best pleased with; whilst they want either the understanding to choose better, or the innocence to dare invite the examining, and searching stile of an intelligent and faithful writer to the survey of their unsound exploits, better befriended by obscurity than fame. As for these, the only authors we have of British matters, while the power of Rome reached hither, (for Gildas affirms that of the Roman times no
British

British writer was in his days extant, or if any were, either burnt by enemies, or transported with such as fled the Pictish and Saxon invasions) these therefore only Roman authors there be, who in the English tongue have laid together as much, and perhaps more than was requisite to a history of Britain. So that were it not for leaving an unsightly gap so near to the beginning, I should have judged this labour, wherein so little seems to be required above transcription, almost superfluous. Notwithstanding since I must through it, if ought by diligence may be added or omitted, or by other disposing may be more explained, or more expressed, I shall assay.

Julius Cæsar (of whom, and of the Roman free state, more than what appertains, is not here to be discoursed) having subdued most part of Gallia, which by a potent faction he had obtained of the senate as his province for many years, stirred up with a desire of adding still more glory to his name, and the whole Roman empire to his ambition; some * say, with a far meaner and ignobler, the desire of British pearls; whose bigness he delighted to ballance in his hand; determines, and that upon no unjust pretended occasion, to try his force in the conquest also of Britain. For he understood that the Britains in most of his Gallian wars had sent supplies against him; had received fugitives of the Bellovaci his enemies; and were called over to aid the cities of Armorica, which had the year before conspired all in a new rebellion. Therefore Cæsar †, though now the summer well nigh ending, and the season unagreeable to transport a war, yet judged it would be great advantage, only to get entrance into the isle, knowledge of the men, the places, the ports, the accesses; which then, it seems, were even to the Gauls our neighbours almost unknown. For except merchants and traders, it is not oft §, saith he, that any use to travel thither; and to those that do, besides the sea-coast, and the ports next to Gallia, nothing else is known. But here I must require, as Pollio did, the diligence, at least the memory of Cæsar: for if it were true, as they of Rhemes told him, that Divitiacus, not long before a puissant king of the Soissons, had Britain also under his command, besides the Belgian colonies which he affirms to have named, and peopled many provinces there; if also the Britains had so frequently given them aid in all their wars; if lastly, the Druid learning honoured so much among them, were first taught them out of Britain, and they who soonest would attain that discipline, sent hither to learn ||; it appears not how Britain at that time should be so utterly unknown in Gallia, or only known to merchants, yea to them so little, that being called together from all parts, none could be found to inform Cæsar of what bigness the isle, what nations, how great, what use of war they had, what laws, or so much as what commodious havens for bigger vessels. Of all which things as it were then first to make discovery, he sends Caius Volusenus, in a long galley, with command to return as soon as this could be effected. He in the mean time with his whole power draws nigh to the Morine coast, whence the shortest passage was into Britain. Hither his navy, which he used against the Armoricans, and what else of shipping can be provided, he draws together. This known in Britain, ambassadors are sent from many of the states there, who promise hostages and obedience to the Roman empire. Them, after audience given, Cæsar as largely promising and exhorting to continue in that mind, sends home, and with them Comius of Arras, whom he had made king of that country, and now secretly employed to gain a Roman party among the Britains, in as many cities as he found inclinable, and to tell them that he himself was speeding thither. Volusenus with what discovery of the island he could make from aboard his ship, not daring to venture on the shore, within five days returns to Cæsar. Who soon after, with two legions, ordinarily amounting, of Romans and their allies, to about 25000 foot, and 4500 horse, the foot in 80 ships of burden, the horse in 18, besides what gallies were appointed for his chief commanders, sets off, about the third watch of night, with a good gale to sea; leaving

* Suet. vit. Cæs.

† Year before Christ 53.

§ Cæs. Com. l. 1.

|| Cæs. Com. l. 4.

behind him Sulpitius Rufus to make good the port with a sufficient strength. But the horse, whose appointed shipping lay wind-bound, eight mile upward in another haven, had much trouble to embark. Cæsar, now within sight of Britain, beholds on every hill multitudes of armed men ready to forbid his landing; and * Cicero writes to his friend Atticus, that the accesses of the island were wonderously fortified with strong works or moles. Here from the fourth to the ninth hour of day he awaits at anchor the coming up of his whole fleet. Mean while, with his legates and tribunes, consulting and giving order to fit all things for what might happen in such a various and floating water-fight as was to be expected. This place, which was a narrow bay, close environed with hills, appearing no way commodious, he removes to a plain and open shore eight miles distant; commonly supposed about Deal in Kent†. Which when the Britains perceived, their horse and chariots, as then they used in fight, scowering before, their main power speeding after, some thick upon the shore, others not tarrying to be assailed, ride in among the waves to encounter, and assault the Romans even under their ships, with such a bold and free hardihood, that Cæsar himself between confessing and excusing that his soldiers were to come down from their ships, to stand in water heavy armed, and to fight at once, denies not but that the terror of such new and resolute opposition made them forget their wonted valour. To succour which he commands his galleys, a fight unusual to the Britains, and more apt for motion, drawn from the bigger vessels, to row against the open side of the enemy, and thence with slings, engines, and darts, to beat them back. But neither yet, though amazed at the strangeness of those new sea-castles, bearing up so near, and so swiftly as almost to overwhelm them, the hurtling of oars, the battering of fierce engines against their bodies barely exposed, did the Britains give much ground, or the Romans gain; till he who bore the eagle of the tenth legion, yet in the galleys, first beseeching his gods, said thus aloud, "Leap down soldiers, unless you mean to betray your ensign; I for my part will perform what I owe to the commonwealth and my general." This uttered, over-board he leaps, and with his eagle fiercely advanced runs upon the enemy; the rest heartening one another not to admit the dishonour of so nigh losing their chief standard, follow him resolutely. Now was fought eagerly on both sides. Ours who well knew their own advantages, and expertly used them, now in the shallows, now on the sand, still as the Romans went trooping to their ensigns, received them, dispatched them, and with the help of their horse, put them every where to great disorder. But Cæsar causing all his boats and shallops to be filled with soldiers, commanded to ply up and down continually with relief where they saw need; whereby at length all the foot now disembarked, and got together in some order on firm ground, with a more steady charge put the Britains to flight: but wanting all their horse, whom the winds yet with-held from sailing, they were not able to make pursuit. In this confused fight §, Scæva a Roman soldier having pressed too far among the Britains, and beset round, after incredible valour shewn, single against a multitude, swam back safe to his general; and in the place that rung with his praises, earnestly besought pardon for his rash adventure against discipline: which modest confessing after no bad event, for such a deed wherein valour and ingenuity so much outweighed transgression, easily made amends and preferred him to be a centurion. Cæsar also is brought in by Julian ||, attributing to himself the honour (if it were at all an honour to that person which he sustained) of being the first that left his ship, and took land: but this were to make Cæsar less understand what became him than Scæva. The Britains finding themselves mastered in fight, forthwith send ambassadors to treat of peace, promising to give hostages, and to be at command. With them Comius of Arras also returned; whom hitherto since his first coming from Cæsar, they had detained in prison as a spy: the blame whereof they lay on the common people; for whose

* Cic. Att. l. 4. Ep. 17.

† Camden.

§ Valer. Max. Plutarch.

|| In Cæsariibus.

violence,

violence, and their own imprudence they crave pardon. Cæsar complaining they had first fought peace, and then without cause had begun war, yet content to pardon them, commands hostages : whereof part they bring in strait, others far up in the country to be sent for, they promise in a few days. Mean while the people disbanded and sent home, many princes and chief men from all parts of the isle submit themselves and their cities to the dispose of Cæsar, who lay then encamped, as is thought, on Baram-down. Thus had the Britains made their peace ; when suddenly an accident unlooked for put new counsels into their minds. Four days after the coming of Cæsar, those eighteen ships of burden, which from the upper haven had taken in all the Roman horse, borne with a soft wind to the very coast, in sight of the Roman camp, were by a sudden tempest scattered and driven back, some to the port from whence they loosed, others down into the west country ; who finding there no safety either to land or to cast anchor, chose rather to commit themselves again to the troubled sea ; and, as Orosius reports, were most of them cast away. The same night, it being full moon, the galleys left upon dry land, were, unaware to the Romans, covered with a spring-tide, and the greater ships, that lay off at anchor, torn and beaten with waves, to the great perplexity of Cæsar, and his whole army ; who now had neither shipping left to convey them back, nor any provision made to stay here, intending to have wintered in Gallia. All this the Britains well perceiving, and by the compass of his camp, which without baggage appeared the smaller, guessing at his numbers, consult together, and one by one slyly withdrawing from the camp, where they were waiting the conclusion of a peace, resolve to stop all provisions, and to draw out the business till winter. Cæsar, though ignorant of what they intended, yet from the condition wherein he was, and their other hostages not sent, suspecting what was likely, begins to provide apace, all that might be, against what might happen ; lays in corn, and with materials fetched from the continent, and what was left of those ships which were past help, he repairs the rest. So that now by the incessant labour of his soldiers, all but twelve were again made serviceable. While these things are doing, one of the legions being sent out to forage, as was accustomed, and no suspicion of war, while some of the Britains were remaining in the country about, others also going and coming freely to the Roman quarters, they who were in station at the camp gates sent speedily word to Cæsar, that from that part of the country, to which the legion went, a greater dust than usual was seen to rise. Cæsar guessing the matter, commands the cohorts of guard to follow him thither, two others to succeed in their stead, the rest all to arm and follow. They had not marched long, when Cæsar discerns his legion sore overcharged : for the Britains not doubting but that their enemies on the morrow would be in that place which only they had left unreaped of all their harvest, had placed an ambush ; and while they were dispersed and busiest at their labour, set upon them, killed some, and routed the rest. The manner of their fight was from a kind of chariots ; wherein riding about and throwing darts, with the clutter of their horse, and of their wheels, they oft-times broke the rank of their enemies ; then retreating among the horse, and quitting their chariots, they fought on foot. The charioteers in the mean while somewhat aside from the battle, set themselves in such order, that their masters at any time oppressed with odds, might retire safely thither, having performed with one person both the nimble service of a horse-man, and the steadfast duty of a foot-soldier. So much they could with their chariots by use and exercise, as riding on the speed down a steep hill, to stop suddenly, and with a short rein turn swiftly, now running on the beam, now on the yoke, then in the seat. With this sort of new skirmishing the Romans now over-matched and terrified, Cæsar with opportune aid appears ; for then the Britains make a stand : but he considering that now was not fit time to offer battle, while his men were scarce recovered of so late a fear, only keeps his ground, and soon after leads back his legions to the camp. Further action for many days following was hindered on both

sides by foul weather ; in which time the Britains dispatching messengers round about, to how few the Romans were reduced, what hope of praise and booty, and now, if ever, of freeing themselves from the fear of like invasions hereafter, by making these an example, if they could but now uncamp their enemies ; at this intimation multitudes of horse and foot coming down from all parts, make towards the Romans. Cæsar foreseeing that the Britains, though beaten and put to flight, would easily evade his foot, yet with no more than thirty horse, which Comius had brought over, draws out his men to battle, puts again the Britains to flight, pursues with slaughter, and returning burns and lays waste all about. Whereupon ambassadors the same day being sent from the Britains to desire peace, Cæsar as his affairs at present stood, for so great a breach of faith, only imposes on them double the former hostages, to be sent after him into Gallia : and because September was nigh half spent, a season not fit to tempt the sea with his weather-beaten fleet, the same night with a fair wind he departs towards Belgia ; whither two only of the British cities sent hostages, as they promised, the rest neglected. But at Rome when the news came of Cæsar's acts here, whether it were esteemed a conquest or a fair escape, supplication of twenty days is decreed by the senate, as either for an exploit done, or a discovery made, wherein both Cæsar and the Romans gloried not a little, though it brought no benefit either to him, or to the commonwealth.

The winter following *, Cæsar, as his custom was, going into Italy, whenas he saw that most of the Britains regarded not to send their hostages, appoints his legates whom he left in Belgia, to provide what possible shipping they could either build, or repair. Low built they were to be, as thereby easier both to freight, and to hale ashore ; nor needed to be higher, because the tide so often changing, was observed to make the billows less in our sea than those in the Mediterranean : broader likewise they were made, for the better transporting of horses, and all other freightage, being intended chiefly to that end. These all about six hundred in a readiness, with twenty-eight ships of burden, and what with adventurers, and other hulks above two hundred, Cotta one of the legates wrote them, as Athenæus affirms, in all one thousand ; Cæsar from port Iccius, a passage of some thirty mile over, leaving behind him Labienus to guard the haven, and for other supply at need, with five legions, though but two thousand horse, about sun-set hoisting sail with a slack south-west, at midnight was becalmed. And finding when it was light, that the whole navy lying on the current, had fallen off from the isle, which now they could descry on their left hand ; by the unwearied labour of his soldiers, who refused not to tug the oar, and kept course with ships under sail, he bore up as near as might be, to the same place where he had landed the year before ; where about noon arriving †, no enemy could be seen. For the Britains, which in great number, as was after known, had been there, at sight of so huge a fleet durst not abide. Cæsar forthwith landing his army, and encamping to his best advantage, some notice being given him by those he took, where to find his enemy ; with the whole power, save only ten cohorts, and three hundred horse, left to Quintus Atrius for the guard of his ships, about the third watch of the same night, marches up twelve miles into the country. And at length by a river, commonly thought the Stowre in Kent, espies embattled the British forces. They with their horses and chariots advancing to the higher banks, oppose the Romans in their march, and begin the fight ; but repulsed by the Roman cavalry, give back into the woods to a place notably made strong both by art and nature ; which, it seems, had been a fort, or hold of strength raised heretofore in time of wars among themselves. For entrance, and access on all sides, by the felling of huge trees overthwart one another, was quite barred up ; and within these the Britains did their utmost to keep out the enemy. But the soldiers of the seventh legion locking all their shields together like a roof close over head, and others raising a mount,

* Dion. Cæsar Com. 5.

† Before the birth of Christ, 52.

without much loss of blood took the place, and drove them all to forsake the woods. Pursuit they made not long, as being through ways unknown, and now evening came on, which they more wisely spent, in choosing out where to pitch and fortify their camp that night. The next morning Cæsar had but newly sent out his men in three bodies to pursue, and the last no further gone than yet in sight, when horsemen all in post from Quintus Atrius bring word to Cæsar, that almost all his ships in a tempest that night had suffered wreck, and lay broken upon the shore. Cæsar at this news recalls his legions, himself in all haste riding back to the sea-side, beheld with his eyes the ruinous prospect. About forty vessels were sunk and lost, the residue so torn and shaken, as not to be new-rigged without much labour. Strait he assembles what number of ship-wrights either in his own legions or from beyond sea could be summoned; appoints Labienus on the Belgian side to build more; and with a dreadful industry of ten days, not respiting the soldiers day or night, drew up all his ships, and entrenched them round within the circuit of his camp. This done, and leaving to their defence the same strength as before, he returns with his whole forces to the same wood, where he had defeated the Britains; who preventing him with greater powers than before, had now repossessed themselves of that place, under Cassibelan their chief leader: whose territory from the states bordering on the sea was divided by the river Thames about eighty miles inward. With him formerly other cities had continual war; but now in the common danger had all made choice of him to be their general. Here the British horse and charioteers meeting with the Roman cavalry, fought stoutly; and at first, something overmatched, they retreat to the near advantage of their woods and hills, but still followed by the Romans, make head again, cut off the forwardest among them, and after some pause, while Cæsar, who thought the day's work had been done, was busied about the entrenching of his camp, march out again, give fierce assault to the very stations of his guards and sentinels; and while the main cohorts of two legions that were sent to the alarm, stood within a small distance of each other, terrified at the newness and boldness of their fight, charged back again through the midst, without loss of a man. Of the Romans that day was slain Quintus Laberius Durus a tribune; the Britains having fought their fill at the very entrance of Cæsar's camp, and sustained the resistance of his whole army entrenched, gave over the assault. Cæsar here acknowledges that the Roman way both of arming, and of fighting, was not so well fitted against this kind of enemy; for that the foot in heavy armour could not follow their cunning flight, and durst not by ancient discipline stir from their ensign; and the horse alone disjoined from the legions, against a foe that turned suddenly upon them with a mixt encounter both of horse and foot, were in equal danger both following and retreating. Besides their fashion was, not in great bodies, and close order, but in small divisions and open distances to make their onset; appointing others at certain spaces, now to relieve and bring off the weary, now to succeed and renew the conflict; which argued no small experience, and use of arms. Next day the Britains afar off upon the hills begin to shew themselves here and there, and though less boldly than before, to skirmish with the Roman horse. But at noon Cæsar having sent out three legions, and all his horse, with Trebonius the legate, to seek fodder, suddenly on all sides they set upon the foragers, and charge up after them to the very legions, and their standards. The Romans with great courage beat them back, and in the chace, being well seconded by the legions, not giving them time either to rally, to stand, or to descend from their chariots as they were wont, slew many. From this overthrow, the Britains that dwelt farther off, befook them home; and came no more after that time with so great a power against Cæsar. Whereof advertised, he marches onward to the frontiers of Cassibelan*, which on this side were bounded by the Thames, not passable except in one place and that difficult, about Coway-stakes near Oatlands, as is conjectured. Hither coming he

* Camden.

descries on the other side great forces of the enemy, placed in good array; the bank set all with sharp stakes, others in the bottom, covered with water; whereof the marks in Beda's time, were to be seen, as he relates. This having learnt by such as were taken, or had run to him, he first commands his horse to pass over; then his foot, who wading up to the neck, went on so resolutely and so fast, that they on the other side not enduring the violence, retreated and fled. Cassibelan no more now in hope to contend for victory, dismissing all but four thousand of those charioteers, through woods and intricate ways attends their motion; where the Romans are to pass, drives all before him; and with continual sallies upon the horse, where they least expected, cutting off some and terrifying others, compels them so close together, as gave them no leave to fetch in prey or booty without ill success. Whereupon Cæsar strictly commanding all not to part from the legions, had nothing left him in his way but empty fields and houses, which he spoiled and burnt. Mean while the Trinobantes, a state or kingdom, and perhaps the greatest then among the Britains, less favouring Cassibelan, send ambassadors, and yield to Cæsar upon this reason. Immanuentius had been their king: him Cassibelan had slain, and purposed the like to Mandubratius his son, whom Orosius calls Androgorius, Beda Androgius; but the youth escaping by flight into Gallia, put himself under the protection of Cæsar. These entreat that Mandubratius may be still defended, and sent home to succeed in his father's right. Cæsar sends him, demands forty hostages and provision for his army, which they immediately bring in, and have their confines protected from the soldiers. By their example the Cenimagi, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, Cassi (so I write them, for the modern names are but guessed) on like terms make their peace. By them he learns that the town of Cassibelan, supposed to be Verulam, was not far distant; fenced about with woods and marshes, well stuffed with men and much cattle. For towns then in Britain were only woody places ditched round, and with a mud wall encompassed against the inroads of enemies. Thither goes Cæsar with his legions, and through a place of great strength both by art and nature, assaults it in two places. The Britains after some defence fled out all at another end of the town; in the flight many were taken, many slain, and great store of cattle found there. Cassibelan for all these losses yet deserts not himself; nor was yet his authority so much impaired, but that in Kent, though in a manner possessed by the enemy, his messengers and commands find obedience enough to raise all the people. By his direction, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus and Segonax, four kings reigning in those countries which lie upon the sea, lead them on to assault that camp wherein the Romans had entrenched their shipping: but they whom Cæsar left there, issuing out slew many, and took prisoner Cingetorix a noted leader, without loss of their own. Cassibelan after so many defeats, moved especially by revolt of the cities from him, their inconstancy and falsehood one to another, uses mediation by Comius of Arras to send ambassadors about treaty of yielding. Cæsar who had determined to winter in the continent, by reason that Gallia was unsettled, and not much of the summer now behind, commands him only hostages, and what yearly tribute the island should pay to Rome, forbids him to molest the Trinobantes, or Mandubratius; and with his hostages, and a great number of captives he puts to sea, having at twice embarked his whole army. At his return to Rome, as from a glorious enterprize, he offers to Venus the patroness of his family, a corslet of British pearls*.

Howbeit other ancient writers have spoken more doubtfully of Cæsar's victories here; and that in plain terms he fled from hence; for which the common verse in Lucan, with divers passages here and there in Tacitus, is alledged. Paulus Orosius†, who took what he wrote from a history of Suetonius now lost, writes that Cæsar in his first journey entertained with a sharp fight, lost no small number of his foot, and by tempest nigh all his horse. Dion affirms that once in the second expedition all his foot were

* Pliny.

† Oros. lib. 6. c. 7, & 8.

routed ; Orofius that another time all his horfe. The Britifh author, whom I ufe only then when others are all filent, hath many trivial difcourfes of Cæfar's being here, which are beft omitted. Nor have we more of Caffibelan, than what the fame ftory tells, how he warred foon after with Androgeus, about his nephew flain by Evelinus nephew to the other ; which bufiness at length compofed, Caffibelan dies, and was buried in York, if the Monmouth book fable not. But at Cæfar's coming hither, fuch likeliest were the Britains, as the writers of thofe times *, and their own actions represent them ; in courage and warlike readinefs to take advantage by ambuſh or fudden onfet, not inferior to the Romans, nor Caffibelan to Cæfar ; in weapons, arms, and the ſkill of encamping, embattleing, fortifying, overmatched ; their weapons were a ſhort ſpear and light target, a ſword alfo by their ſide, their fight ſometimes in chariots phanged at the axle with iron ſithes, their bodies moſt part naked, only painted with woad in ſundry figures, to ſeem terrible †, as they thought, but purſued by enemies, not nice of their painting to run into bogs, worſe than wild Iriſh up to the neck, and there to ſtay many days holding a certain morſel in their mouths no bigger than a bean, to ſuffice hunger § ; but that receipt, and the temperance it taught, is long ſince unknown among us : their towns and ſtrong-holds were ſpaces of ground fenced about with a ditch, and great trees felled overthwart each other, their buildings within were thatched houſes for themſelves and their cattle : in peace the upland inhabitants beſides hunting, tended their flocks and herds, but with little ſkill of country affairs ; the making of cheeſe they commonly knew not, wool or flax they ſpun not, gardening and planting many of them knew not ; cloathing they had none, but what the ſkins of beaſts afforded them ||, and that not always ; yet gallantry they had **, painting their own ſkins with ſeveral portraitures of beaſt, bird, or flower, a vanity which hath not yet left us, removed only from the ſkin to the ſkirt behung now with as many coloured ribands and gewgawes : towards the ſea-ſide they tilled the ground, and lived much after the manner of Gauls, their neighbours, or fiſt planters †† : their money was brazen pieces or iron rings, their beſt merchandize tin, the reſt trifles of glaſs, ivory, and ſuch like §§ ; yet gems and pearls they had, ſaith Mela, in ſome rivers : their ſhips of light timber wickered with oyſter between, and covered over with leather, ſerved not therefore to transport them far, and their commodities were fetched away by foreign merchants : their dealing, ſaith Diodorus, plain and ſimple without fraud ; their civil government under many princes and ſtates |||, not confederate or conſulting in common, but miſtruſtful, and oft-times warring one with the other, which gave them up one by one an eaſy conqueſt to the Romans : their religion was governed by a ſort of prieſts or magicians, called Druides from the Greek name of an oak, which tree they had in great reverence, and the miſletoe eſpecially growing thereon. Pliny writes them ſkilled in magic no leſs than thoſe of Perſia : by their abſtaining from a hen, a hare and a goole, from fiſh alſo, ſaith Dion, and their opinion of the ſoul's paſſing after death into other bodies ¶, they may be thought to have ſtudied Pythagoras ; yet philoſophers I cannot call them, reported men factious and ambitious, contending ſometimes about the archprieſthood not without civil war and ſlaughter ; nor reſtrained they the people under them from a lewd, adulterous and inceſtuous life, ten or twelve men abſurdly againſt nature, poſſeſſing one woman as their common wife, though of neareſt kin, mother, daughter or ſiſter ; progenitors not to be gloried in. But the goſpel, not long after preached here, aboliſhed ſuch impurities, and of the Romans we have cauſe not to ſay much worſe, than that they beat us into ſome civility ; likely elſe to have continued longer in a barbarous and ſavage manner of life. After Julius (for Julius before his death tyrannouſly had made himſelf emperor of the Roman commonwealth, and was ſlain in the ſenate for ſo doing) he who next obtained the empire, Octavianus Cæſar Auguſtus,

* Dion. Mela. Cæſar.

† Herodian.

§ Dion.

|| Herodian.

** So. in 35.

†† Cæſar.

§§ Tacitus, Diodor. Strabo, Lucan.

||| Tacitus.

¶ Cæſar.

either

either contemning the island, as Strabo* would have us think, whose neither benefit was worth the having, nor enmity worth the fearing; or out of a wholeſom ſtate-maxim, as ſome ſay, to moderate and bound the empire from growing vaſt and unwieldy, made no attempt againſt the Britains. But the truer cauſe was partly civil war among the Romans, partly other affairs more urging. For about twenty years after †, all which time the Britains had lived at their own diſpoſe, Auguſtus, in imitation of his uncle Julius, either intending or ſeeming to intend an expedition hither, was come into Gallia, when the news of a revolt in Pannonia diverted him §: about ſeven years after in the ſame reſolution, what with the unſettledneſs of Gallia, and what with ambaffadors from Britain which met him there, he proceeded not. The next year, difference ariſing about covenants, he was again prevented by other new commotions in Spain. Nevertheleſs ſome of the Britiſh potentates omitted not to ſeek his friendſhip by gifts offered in the capitol, and other obſequious addreſſes. Inſomuch that the whole iſland|| became even in thoſe days well known to the Romans; too well perhaps for them, who from the knowledge of us were ſo like to prove enemies. But as for tribute, the Britains paid none to Auguſtus, except what eaſy cuſtoms were levied on the ſlight commodities wherewith they traded into Gallia.

After Caſſibelan, Tenantius the younger ſon of Lud, according to the Monmouth ſtory, was made king. For Androgeus the elder, conceiving himſelf generally hated for ſiding with the Romans, forſook his claim here, and followed Cæſar's fortune. This king is recorded juſt and warlike.

His ſon Kymbeline, or Cunobeline, ſucceeding, was brought up, as is ſaid, in the court of Auguſtus, and with him held friendly correſpondences to the end; was a warlike prince; his chief ſeat Camalodonum, or Maldon, as by certain of his coins, yet to be ſeen, appears. Tiberius, the next emperor, adhering always to the advice of Auguſtus, and of himſelf leſs caring to extend the bounds of his empire, ſought not the Britains; and they, as little to incite him, ſent home courteouſly the ſoldiers of Germanicus, that by ſhipwreck had been caſt on the Britain ſhore ‡. But Caligula ¶, his ſucceſſor, a wild and diſſolute tyrant, having paſt the Alps, with intent to rob and ſpoil thoſe provinces, and ſtirred up by Adminius the ſon of Cunobeline; who, by his father baniſhed, with a ſmall number fled thither to him, made ſemblance of marching toward Britain; but being come to the ocean, and there behaving himſelf madly and ridiculously, went back the ſame way: yet ſent before him boaiſting letters to the ſenate, as if all Britain had been yielded him. Cunobeline now dead, Adminius the eldeſt by his father baniſhed from his country, and by his own practice againſt it from the crown, though by an old coin ſeeming to have alſo reigned; Togodumnus, and Caractacus the two younger, uncertain whether unequal or ſubordinate in power, were advanced into his place. But through civil diſcord, Bericus (what he was further, is not known) with others of his party flying to Rome**, perſuaded Claudius the emperor to an invaſion. Claudius now conſul the third time, and deſirous to do ſomething, whence he might gain the honour of a triumph, at the perſuaſion of theſe fugitives, whom the Britains demanding, he had denied to render, and they for that cauſe had denied further amity with Rome, makes choice of this iſland for his province ††: and ſends before him Aulus Plautius the prætor, with this command, if the buſineſs grew difficult, to give him notice. Plautius with much ado perſuaded the legions to move out of Gallia, murmuring that now they muſt be put to make war beyond the world's end, for ſo they counted Britain; and what welcome Julius the dictator found there, doubtleſs they had heard. At laſt prevailed with, and hoiſting ſail from three ſeveral ports, leſt their landing ſhould in any one place be reſiſted, meeting croſs winds, they were caſt back and diſ-

* Strabo, l. 2. † Year before the birth of Chriſt, 32.
 birth of Chriſt, 25. Dion. l. 53. 24. || Strabo l. 4.
 the birth of Chriſt, 16. Dion. Sueton. Cal. An. Dom. 40.

§ Dion. l. 49. year before the
 ‡ Tacit. an. l. 2. ¶ Year after
 ** Dion. †† 43. Sueton.

heartned: 'till in the night a meteor shooting flames from the East, and, as they fancied, directing their course, they took heart again to try the sea, and without opposition landed. For the Britains having heard of their unwillingness to come, had been negligent to provide against them; and retiring to the woods and moors, intended to frustrate and wear them out with delays, as they had served Cæsar before. Plautius after much trouble to find them out, encountering first with Caractacus, then with Togodumnus, overthrew them; and receiving into conditions part of the Boduni, who then were subject to the Catuellani, and leaving there a garrison, went on toward a river; where the Britains not imagining that Plautius without a bridge could pass, lay on the further side careless and secure. But he sending first the Germans, whose custom was, armed as they were, to swim with ease the strongest current, commands them to strike especially at the horses, whereby the chariots, wherein consisted their chief art of fight, became unserviceable. To second them he sent Vespasian, who in his latter days obtained the empire, and Sabinus his brother; who unexpectedly assailing those who were least aware, did much execution. Yet not for this were the Britains dismayed; but re-uniting the next day, fought with such a courage, as made it hard to decide which way hung the victory: 'till Caius Sidius Geta, at point to have been taken, recovered himself so valiantly, as brought the day on his side; for which at Rome he received high honours. After this the Britains drew back toward the mouth of Thames, and acquainted with those places, crossed over; where the Romans following them through bogs and dangerous flats, hazarded the loss of all. Yet the Germans getting over, and others by a bridge at some place above, fell on them again with sundry alarms and great slaughter; but in the heat of pursuit running themselves again into bogs and mires, lost as many of their own. Upon which ill success, and seeing the Britains more enraged at the death of Togodumnus, who in one of these battles had been slain, Plautius fearing the worst, and glad that he could hold what he held, as was enjoined him, sends to Claudius. He who waited ready with a huge preparation, as if not safe enough amidst the flower of all his Romans, like a great Eastern king, with armed elephants marches through Gallia. So full of peril was this enterprize esteemed, as not without all this equipage, and stranger terrors than Roman armies to meet the native and the naked British valour defending their country. Joined with Plautius, who encamping on the bank of Thames attended him, he passes the river. The Britains, who had the courage, but not the wise conduct of old Cassibelan, laying all stratagem aside, in downright manhood scrupled not to affront in open field almost the whole power of the Roman empire. But overcome and vanquished, part by force, others by treaty come in and yield. Claudius therefore, who took Camalodunum, the royal seat of Cunobeline, was often by the army saluted Imperator; a military title which usually they gave their general after any notable exploit; but to others, not above once in the same war; as if Claudius, by these acts, had deserved more than the laws of Rome had provided honour to reward. Having therefore disarmed the Britains, but remitted the confiscation of their goods *, for which they worshipped him with sacrifice and temple as a god, leaving Plautius to subdue what remained; he returns to Rome, from whence he had been absent only six months, and in Britain but sixteen days; sending the news before him of his victories, though in a small part of the island. By which is manifestly refuted that which Eutropius and Orosius write of his conquering at that time also the Orcades islands, lying to the North of Scotland; and not conquered by the Romans (for ought found in any good author) 'till above forty years after, as shall appear. To Claudius the senate, as for achievements of highest merit, decreed excessive honours; arches, triumphs, annual solemnities, and the surname of Britannicus both to him and his son.

* Dion. l. 62. Tacit. an. 14. 44.

Suetonius writes that Claudius found here no resistance, and that all was done without stroke: but this seems not probable. The Monmouth writer names these two sons of Cunobeline, Guiderius, and Arviragus; that Guiderius being slain in fight, Arviragus to conceal it, put on his brother's habiliments, and in his person held up the battle to a victory; the rest, as of Hano the Roman captain, Genuiffa the emperor's daughter, and such like stuff, is too palpably untrue to be worth rehearsing in the midst of truth. Plautius after this, employing his fresh forces to conquer on, and quiet the rebelling countries, found work enough to deserve at his return a kind of triumphant riding into the capitol side by side with the emperor*. Vespasian also under Plautius had thirty conflicts with the enemy; in one of which encompassed, and in great danger, he was valiantly and piously rescued by his son Titus†: two powerful nations he subdued here, above twenty towns and the Isle of Wight; for which he received at Rome triumphal ornaments, and other great dignities. For that city in reward of virtue was ever magnificent; and long after when true merit was ceased among them, lest any thing resembling virtue should want honour, the same rewards were yet allowed to the very shadow and ostentation of merit. Ostorius in the room of Plautius vice-prætor, met with turbulent affairs; § the Britains not ceasing to vex with inroads all those countries that were yielded to the Romans; and now the more eagerly ||, supposing that the new general, unacquainted with his army, and on the edge of winter, would not hastily oppose them. But he weighing that first events were most available to breed fear or contempt, with such cohorts as were next at hand, sets out against them: whom having routed, so close he follows, as one who meant not to be every day molested with the cavils of a slight peace, or an emboldened enemy. Lest they should make head again, he disarms whom he suspects; and to surround them, places many garrisons upon the rivers of Antona and Sabrina. But the Icenians, a stout people, untouched yet by these wars, as having before sought alliance with the Romans, were the first that brooked not this. By their example others rise; and in a chosen place, fenced with high banks of earth, and narrow lanes to prevent the horse, warily encamp. Ostorius, though yet not strengthened with his legions, causes the auxiliar bands, his troops also alighting, to assault the rampart. They within, though pestered with their own number, stood to it like men resolved, and in a narrow compass did remarkable deeds. But overpowered at last, and others by their success quieted, who till then wavered, Ostorius next bends his force upon the Cangians, wasting all even to the sea of Ireland, without foe in his way, or them, who durst, ill handled; when the Brigantes attempting new matters, drew him back to settle first what was unsecure behind him. They, of whom the chief were punished, the rest forgiven, soon gave over; but the Silures no way tractable, were not to be repressed without a set war. To further this, Camalodunum was planted with a colony of veteran soldiers; to be a firm and ready aid against revolts, and a means to teach the natives Roman law and civility. Cogidunus also a British king, their fast friend, had to the same intent certain cities given him **: a haughty craft, which the Romans used, to make kings also the servile agents of enslaving others. But the Silures hardy of themselves, relied more on the valour of Caractacus; whom many doubtful, many prosperous successes had made eminent above all that ruled in Britain. He adding to his courage policy, and knowing himself to be of strength inferior, in other advantages the better, makes the seat of his war among the Ordovices; a country wherein all the odds were to his own party, all the difficulties to his enemy. The hills and every access he fortified with heaps of stones, and guards of men; to come at whom a river of unsafe passage must be first waded. The place, as Camden conjectures, had thence the name of Caer-caradoc on the West edge of Shropshire. He himself continually went up and down, animating his officers and leaders, that "this was the day, this the field,

* Sueton. Claud. 5. 24.

† Sueton. Vesp. Dio. l. 60. 47.

§ 50. Tacit. an. 12.

|| Eutropius.

** Tacit. vit. Agric.

either to defend their liberty, or to die free ;” calling to mind the names of his glorious ancestors, who drove Cæsar the dictator out of Britain, whose valour hitherto had preserved them from bondage, their wives and children from dishonour. Inflamed with these words, they all vow their utmost, with such undaunted resolution as amazed the Roman general ; but the soldiers less weighing, because less knowing, clamoured to be led on against any danger. Ostorius, after wary circumspection, bids them pass the river : the Britains no sooner had them within reach of their arrows, darts and stones, but slew and wounded largely of the Romans. They on the other side closing their ranks, and over head closing their targets, threw down the loose rampires of the Britains, and pursue them up the hills, both light and armed legions ; ’till what with galling darts and heavy strokes, the Britains, who wore neither helmet nor cuirass to defend them, were at last overcome. This the Romans thought a famous victory ; wherein the wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken, his brothers also reduced to obedience ; himself escaping to Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes, against faith given was to the victors delivered bound ; having held out against the Romans nine years, faith Tacitus, but by truer computation, seven. Whereby his name was up through all the adjoining provinces, even to Italy and Rome ; many desiring to see who he was, that could withstand so many years the Roman puissance : and Cæsar, to extol his own victory, extolled the man whom he had vanquished. Being brought to Rome, the people as to a solemn spectacle were called together, the emperor’s guard stood in arms. In order came first the king’s servants, bearing his trophies won in other wars ; next his brothers, wife, and daughter, last himself. The behaviour of others, through fear, was low and degenerate ; he only neither in countenance, word, or action submissive, standing at the tribunal of Claudius, briefly spake to this purpose : “ If my mind, Cæsar, had been as moderate in the height of fortune, as my birth and dignity was eminent, I might have come a friend rather than a captive into this city. Nor couldst thou have disliked him for a confederate, so noble of descent, and ruling so many nations. My present estate to me disgraceful, to thee is glorious. I had riches, horses, arms, and men ; no wonder then if I contended, not to lose them. But if by fate, yours only must be empire, then of necessity ours among the rest must be subjection. If I sooner had been brought to yield, my misfortune had been less notorious, your conquest had been less renowned ; and in your severest determining of me, both will be soon forgotten. But if you grant that I shall live, by me will live to you for ever that praise which is so near divine, the clemency of a conqueror.” Cæsar moved at such a spectacle of fortune, but especially at the nobleness of his bearing it, gave him pardon, and to all the rest. They all unbound, submissly thank him, and did like reverence to Agrippina the emperor’s wife, who sat by in state ; a new and disdain’d sight to the manly eyes of Romans, a woman sitting public in her female pride among ensigns and armed cohorts. To Ostorius triumph is decreed ; and his acts esteemed equal to theirs, that brought in bonds to Rome famous kings. But the same prosperity attended not his later actions here ; for the Silures, whether to revenge their loss of Caractacus, or that they saw Ostorius, as if now all were done, less earnest to restrain them, beset the prefect of his camp, left there with legionary bands to appoint garrisons : and had not speedy aid come in from the neighbouring holds and castles, had cut them all off ; notwithstanding which, the prefect with eight centurions, and many their stoutest men, were slain : and upon the neck of this, meeting first with Roman foragers, then with other troops hastening to their relief, utterly foiled and broke them also. Ostorius sending more after, could hardly stay their flight ; ’till the weighty legions coming on, at first poised the battle, at length turned the scale : to the Britains without much loss, for by that time it grew night. Then was the war shivered, as it were, into small frays and bickerings ; not unlike sometimes to so many robberies, in woods, at waters, as chance or valour, advice or rashness, led them on, commanded or without command. That which most exasperated

rated the Silures, was a report of certain words cast out by the emperor, "That he would root them out to the very name." Therefore two cohorts more of auxiliars, by the avarice of their leaders too securely pillaging, they quite intercepted; and bestowing liberally the spoils and captives, whereof they took plenty, drew other countries to join with them. These losses falling so thick upon the Romans, Ostorius with the thought and anguish thereof ended his days; the Britains rejoicing, although no battle, that yet adverse war had worn out so great a soldier. Cæsar in his place ordains Aulus Didius: but ere his coming, though much hastened, that the province might not want a governor, the Silures had given an overthrow to Manlius Valens with his legion, rumoured on both sides greater than was true, by the Silures to animate the new general; by him in a double respect, of the more praise if he quelled them, or the more excuse if he failed. Mean time the Silures forgot not to infest the Roman pale with wide excursions; 'till Didius marching out, kept them somewhat more within bounds. Nor were they long to seek, who after Caractacus should lead them; for next to him in worth and skill of war, Venutius, a prince of the Brigantes, merited to be their chief. He at first faithful to the Romans, and by them protected, was the husband of Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes, himself perhaps reigning elsewhere. She who had betrayed Caractacus and her country to adorn the triumph of Claudius, thereby grown powerful and gracious with the Romans, presuming on the hire of her treason, deserted her husband; and marrying Vellocatus one of his squires, confers on him the kingdom also. This deed so odious and full of infamy, disturbed the whole state; Venutius with other forces, and the help of her own subjects, who detested the example of so foul a fact, and withal the uncomeliness of their subjection to the monarchy of a woman, a piece of manhood not every day to be found among Britains, though she had got by subtle train his brother with many of his kindred into her hands, brought her soon below the confidence of being able to resist longer. When imploring the Roman aid, with much ado, and after many a hard encounter, she escaped the punishment which was ready to have seized her. Venutius thus debarred the authority of ruling his own household, justly turns his anger against the Romans themselves; whose magnanimity not wont to undertake dishonourable causes, had arrogantly intermeddled in his domestic affairs, to uphold the rebellion of an adultress against her husband. And the kingdom he retained against their utmost opposition; and of war gave them their fill: first in a sharp conflict of uncertain event, then against the legion of Cæsius Nasica. Insomuch that Didius growing old, and managing the war by deputies, had work enough to stand on his defence, with the gaining now and then of a small castle. And Nero* (for in that part of the isle things continued in the same plight to the reign of Vespasian) was minded but for shame to have withdrawn the Roman forces out of Britain: in other parts whereof, about the same time other things befel†. Verannius, whom Nero sent hither to succeed Didius, dying in his first year, save a few inroads upon the Silures, left only a great boast behind him, "That in two years, had he lived, he would have conquered all." But Suetonius Paulinus, who next was sent hither, esteemed a soldier equal to the best in that age, for two years together went on prosperously, both confirming what was got, and subduing onward. At last over-confident of his present actions, and emulating others, of whose deeds he heard from abroad, marches up as far as Mona, the Isle of Anglesey, a populous place. For they, it seems, had both entertained fugitives, and given good assistance to the rest that withstood him. He makes him boats with flat bottoms, fitted to the shallows which he expected in that narrow frith; his foot so passed over, his horse waded or swam. Thick upon the shore stood several gross bands of men well weaponed, many women like furies running to and fro in dismal habit, with hair loose about their shoulders, held torches in their hands. The Druids (those were their priests, of whom more in another place) with hands lift up to

* Tacit. vit. Agric.

† Tacit. Hist. 3. Sueton.

Heaven uttering direful prayers, astonished the Romans; who at so strange a sight stood in amaze, though wounded: at length awaked and encouraged by their general, not to fear a barbarous and lunatic rout, fall on, and beat them down scorched and rolling in their own fire. Then were they yoked with garrisons, and the places consecrate to their bloody superstitions destroyed. For whom they took in war, they held it lawful to sacrifice; and by the entrails of men used divination. While thus Paulinus had his thought still fixed before to go on winning, his back lay broad open to occasion of losing more behind: for the Britains, urged and oppressed with many unsufferable injuries, had all banded themselves to a general revolt. The particular causes are not all written by one author; Tacitus who lived next those times of any to us extant, writes that Prasutagus king of the Icenians, abounding in wealth, had left Cæsar coheir with his two daughters; thereby hoping to have secured from all wrong both his kingdom and his house; which fell out far otherwife. For under colour to oversee and take possession of the emperor's new inheritance, his kingdom became a prey to centurions, his house to ravening officers, his wife Boadicea violated with stripes, his daughters with rape, the wealthiest of his subjects, as it were, by the will and testament of their king thrown out of their estates, his kindred made little better than slaves. The new colony also at Camalodunum took house or land from whom they pleased, terming them slaves and vassals; the soldiers complying with the colony, out of hope hereafter to use the same licence themselves. Moreover, the temple erected to Claudius as a badge of their eternal slavery, stood a great eye-sore; the priests whereof, under pretext of what was due to the religious service, wasted and embezzled each man's substance upon themselves. And Catus Decianus the procurator, endeavoured to bring all their goods within the compass of a new confiscation*, by disavowing the remitment of Claudius. Lastly, Seneca, in his books a philosopher, having drawn the Britains unwillingly to borrow of him vast sums upon fair promises of easy loan, and for repayment to take their own time, on a sudden compels them to pay in all at once with great extortion. Thus provoked by heaviest sufferings, and thus invited by opportunities in the absence of Paulinus, the Icenians, and by their example the Trinobantes, and as many else as hated servitude, rise up in arms. Of these ensuing troubles many foregoing signs appeared; the image of victory at Camalodunum fell down of itself with her face turned, as it were, to the Britains; certain women, in a kind of extasy, foretold of calamities to come: in the council-house were heard by night barbarous noises; in the theatre hideous howlings, in the creek horrid sights, betokening the destruction of that colony; hereto the ocean seeming of a bloody hue, and human shapes at low ebb, left imprinted on the sand, wrought in the Britains new courage, in the Romans unwonted fears. Camalodunum, where the Romans had seated themselves to dwell pleasantly, rather than defensively, was not fortified; against that therefore the Britains make first assault. The soldiers within were not very many. Decianus the procurator could send them but two hundred, those ill armed: and through the treachery of some among them, who secretly favoured the insurrection, they had deferred both to entrench, and to send out such as bore not arms; such as did, flying to the temple, which on the second day was forcibly taken, were all put to the sword, the temple made a heap, the rest rifled and burnt. Petilius Cerealis coming to his succour, is in his way met and overthrown, his whole legion cut to pieces; he with his horse hardly escaping to the Roman camp. Decianus, whose rapine was the cause of all this, fled into Gallia. But Suetonius at these tidings not dismayed, through the midst of his enemy's country, marches to London (though not termed a colony, yet full of Roman inhabitants, and for the frequency of trade, and other commodities, a town even then of principal note) with purpose to have made there the seat of war. But considering the smallness of his numbers, and the late rashness of Petilius, he chuses

* Dion.

rather with the loss of one town to save the rest. Nor was he flexible to any prayers or weeping of them that besought him to tarry there; but taking with him such as were willing, gave signal to depart; they who through weakness of sex or age, or love of the place went not along, perished by the enemy; so did Verulam, a Roman free town. For the Britains omitting forts and castles, flew thither first where richest booty, and the hope of pillaging tolled them on. In this massacre about seventy thousand Romans and their associates, in the places above-mentioned, of certain lost their lives. None might be spared, none ransomed, but tasted all either a present or a lingering death; no cruelty that either outrage, or the insolence of success put into their heads, was left unacted. The Roman wives and virgins hanged up all naked*, had their breasts cut off, and sewed to their mouths; that in the grimness of death they might seem to eat their own flesh; while the Britains fell to feasting and carousing in the temple of Andate their goddess of victory. Suetonius adding to his legion other old officers and soldiers thereabout, which gathered to him, were near upon ten thousand; and purposing with those not to defer battle, had chosen a place narrow, and not to be overwinged, on his rear a wood; being well informed that his enemy were all in front on a plain unapt for ambush: the legionaries stood thick in order, impaled with light armed; the horse on either wing. The Britains in companies and squadrons were every where shouting and swarming, such a multitude as at other time never; no less reckoned than two hundred and thirty thousand: so fierce and confident of victory, that their wives also came in waggons to sit and behold the sports as they made full account of killing Romans: a folly doubtless for the serious Romans to smile at, as a sure token of prospering that day: a woman also was their commander in chief. For Boadicea and her daughters ride about in a chariot, telling the tall champions as a great encouragement, that with the Britains it was usual for women to be their leaders. A deal of other fondness they put into her mouth, not worth recital; how she was lashed, how her daughters were handled, things worthier silence, retirement, and a veil, than for a woman to repeat, as done to her own person, or to hear repeated before an host of men. The Greek historian† sets her in the field on a high heap of turves, in a loose-bodied gown declaiming, a spear in her hand, a hare in her bosom, which after a long circumlocution, she was to let slip among them for luck's sake; then praying to Andate the British goddess, to talk again as fondly as before. And this they do out of a vanity, hoping to embellish and set out their history with the strangeness of our manners, not caring in the mean while to brand us with the rankest note of barbarism, as if in Britain women were men, and men women. I affect not set speeches in a history, unless known for certain to have been so spoken in effect as they are written, nor then, unless worth rehearsing; and to invent such, though eloquently, as some historians have done, is an abuse of posterity, raising in them that read other conceptions of those times and persons than were true. Much less therefore do I purpose here or elsewhere to copy out tedious orations without decorum, though in their authors composed ready to my hand. Hitherto what we have heard of Cassibelan, Togadumnus, Venutius, and Caractacus, hath been full of magnanimity, soberness, and martial skill: but the truth is, that in this battle and whole business the Britains never more plainly manifested themselves to be right Barbarians; no rule, no foresight, no forecast, experience or estimation, either of themselves or of their enemies; such confusion, such impotence, as seemed likest not to a war, but to the wild hurry of a distracted woman, with as mad a crew at her heels. Therefore Suetonius, contemning their unruly noises and fierce looks, heartens his men but to stand close a while, and strike manfully this headless rabble that stood nearest, the rest would be a purchase rather than a toil. And so it fell out; for the legion, when they saw their time, bursting out like a violent wedge, quickly broke and dissipated what opposed them; all else held only out their necks to the slayer; for their own

* Dion. l. 62.

† Dion.

carts and waggons were so placed by themselves, as left them but little room to escape between. The Roman slew all ; men, women, and the very drawing horses lay heaped along the field in a gory mixture of slaughter. About fourscore thousand Britains are said to have been slain on the place ; of the enemy scarce four hundred, and not many more wounded. Boadicea poisoned herself, or, as others say, sickened and died. * She was of stature big and tall, of visage grim and stern, harsh of voice, her hair of a bright colour flowing down to her hips ; she wore a plighted garment of divers colours, with a great golden chain ; buttoned over all a thick robe. Gildas calls her the crafty lioness, and leaves an ill fame upon her doings. Dion sets down otherwise the order of this fight, and that the field was not won without much difficulty, nor without intention of the Britains to give another battle, had not the death of Boadicea come between. Howbeit Suetonius, to preserve discipline, and to dispatch the reliques of war, lodged with all the army in the open field ; which was supplied out of Germany with a thousand horse and ten thousand foot ; thence dispersed to winter, and with incursions to waste those countries that stood out. But to the Britains famine was a worse affliction ; having left off, during this uproar, to till the ground, and made reckoning to serve themselves on the provisions of their enemy. Nevertheless those nations that were yet untamed, hearing of some discord risen between Suetonius and the new procurator Classicianus, were brought but slowly to terms of peace ; and the rigour used by Suetonius on them that yielded, taught them the better course to stand on their defence†. For it is certain that Suetonius, though else a worthy man, over-proud of his victory, gave too much way to his anger against the Britains. Classician therefore sending such word to Rome, that these severe proceedings would beget an endless war, Polycletus, no Roman but a courtier, was sent by Nero to examine how things went. He admonishing Suetonius to use more mildness, awed the army, and to the Britains gave matter of laughter. Who so much even till then were nursed up in their native liberty, as to wonder that so great a general with his whole army should be at the rebuke and ordering of a court-servitor. But Suetonius a while after, having lost a few galleys on the shore, was bid resign his command to Petronius Turpilianus, who not provoking the Britains, nor by them provoked, was thought to have pretended the love of peace to what indeed was his love of ease and sloth. Trebellius Maximus followed his steps, usurping the name of gentle government to any remissness or neglect of discipline ; which brought in first licence, next disobedience into his camp ; incensed against him partly for his covetousness, partly by the incitement of Roscius Cælius, legate of a legion ; with whom formerly disagreeing, now that civil war began in the empire, he fell to open discord § ; charging him with disorder and sedition, and him Cælius with peeling and defrauding the legions of their pay ; insomuch that Trebellius hated and deserted of the soldiers, was content a while to govern by base entreaty, and forced at length to fly the land. Which notwithstanding remained in good quiet, governed by Cælius and the other legate of a legion, both faithful to Vitellius then emperor ; who sent hither Vectius Bolanus ; under whose lenity, though not tainted with other fault, against the Britains nothing was done, nor in their own discipline reformed ||. Petilius Cerealis by appointment of Vespasian succeeding, had to do with the populous Brigantes in many battles, and some of those not unbloody. For as we heard before, it ¶ was Venusius who even to these times held them tack, both himself remaining to the end unvanquished, and some part of his country not so much as reached. It appears also by several passages in the histories of Tacitus **, that no small matter of British forces were commanded over sea the year before to serve in those bloody wars between Otho and Vitellius, Vitellius and Vespasian contending for the empire. To Cerealis succeeded Julius Frontinus in

* Dion.
hist. 2. & vit. Agric.

† Tacit. vit. Agric.
¶ Calvin.

§ Tac. hist. 1. 1. & vit. Agric. Anno post Christ. 69.
** Tacit. hist. 3. & vit. Agric.

|| Tacit.

the government of Britain*, who by taming the Silures, a people warlike and strongly inhabiting, augmented much his reputation. But Julius Agricola, whom Vespasian in his last year sent hither, trained up from his youth in the British wars, extended with victories the Roman limit beyond all his predecessors. His coming was in the midst of summer; and the Ordovices to welcome the new general had hewn in pieces a whole squadron of horse which lay upon their bounds, few escaping. Agricola, who perceived that the noise of this defeat had also in the province desirous of novelty stirred up new expectations, resolves to be before-hand with the danger: and drawing together the choice of his legions with a competent number of auxiliaries, not being met by the Ordovices, who kept the hills, himself in the head of his men, hunts them up and down through difficult places, almost to the final extirpating of that whole nation. With the same current of success, what Paulinus had left unfinished he conquers in the Isle of Mona: for the islanders altogether fearless of his approach, whom they knew to have no shipping, when they saw themselves invaded on a sudden by the auxiliars, whose country-use had taught them to swim over with horse and arms, were compelled to yield. This gained Agricola much opinion; who at his very entrance, a time which others bestowed of course in hearing compliments and gratulations, had made such early progress into laborious and hardest enterprizes. But by far not so famous was Agricola in bringing war to a speedy end, as in cutting off the causes from whence war arises. For he knowing that the end of war was not to make way for injuries in peace, began reformation from his own house; permitted not his attendants and followers to sway, or have to do at all in publick affairs: lays on with equality the proportions of corn and tribute that were imposed; takes off exactions, and the fees of encroaching officers, heavier than the tribute itself. For the countries had been compelled before, to sit and wait the opening of public granaries, and both to sell and to buy their corn at what rate the publicans thought fit; the purveyors also commanding when they pleased to bring it in, not to the nearest, but still to the remotest places, either by the compounding of such as would be excused, or by causing a dearth, where none was, made a particular gain. These grievances and the like, he in the time of peace removing, brought peace into some credit; which before, since the Romans coming, had as ill a name as war. The summer following, Titus then emperor †, he so continually with inroads disquieted the enemy over all the isle, and after terror so allured them with his gentle demeanour, that many cities which till that time would not bend, gave hostages, admitted garrisons, and came in voluntarily. The winter he spent all in worthy actions; teaching and promoting like a public father the institutes and customs of civil life. The inhabitants rude and scattered, and by that the prone to war, he so persuaded as to build houses, temples, and seats of justice; and by praising the forward, quickening the slow, assisting all, turned the name of necessity into an emulation. He caused moreover the noblemen's sons to be bred up in liberal arts; and by preferring the wits of Britain before the studies of Gallia, brought them to affect the Latin eloquence, who before hated the language. Then were the Roman fashions imitated, and the gown; after a while the incitements also and materials of vice, and voluptuous life, proud buildings, baths, and the elegance of banqueting; which the foolisher sort called civility, but was indeed a secret art to prepare them for bondage. Spring appearing, he took the field, and with a prosperous expedition wasted as far northward as the frith of Taus all that obeyed not, with such a terror, as he went, that the Roman army, though much hindered by tempestuous weather, had the leisure to build forts and castles where they pleased, none daring to oppose them. Besides, Agricola had this excellence in him, so providently to chuse his places where to fortify, as not another general then alive. No sence or fortress of his raising was ever known either to have been forced, or yielded up or quitted. Out of these impregnable by siege, or in that case duly relieved, with continual irruptions he so prevailed; that the enemy, whose manner was

* Post Christ. 79.

† Post Christ. 80.

in winter to regain what in summer he had lost, was now alike in both seasons kept short and streightened. For these exploits, then esteemed so great and honourable, Titus, in whose reign they were atchieved, was the fifteenth time saluted imperator * ; and of him Agricola received triumphal honours. The fourth summer, Domitian then ruling the empire, he spent in settling and confirming what the year before he had travelled over with a running conquest. And had the valour of his soldiers been answerable, he had reached that year, as was thought, the utmost bounds of Britain. For Glota and Bodotria, now Dunbritton, and the frith of Edinburgh, two opposite arms of the sea, divided only by a neck of land, and all the creeks and inlets on this side, were held by the Romans, and the enemy driven as it were into another island. In his fifth year † he passed over into the Orcades, as we may probably guess, and other Scotch isles ; discovering and subduing nations, till then unknown. He gained also with his forces that part of Britain which faces Ireland, as aiming also to conquer that island ; where one of the Irish kings driven out by civil wars coming to him, he both gladly received and retained him as against a fit time. The summer ensuing, on mistrust that the nations beyond Bodotria would generally rise, and forelay the passages by land, he caused his fleet, making a great shew, to bear along the coast, and up the friths and harbours ; joining most commonly at night on the same shore both land and sea-forces, with mutual shouts and loud greetings. At sight whereof the Britains, not wont to see their sea so ridden, were much daunted. Howbeit the Caledonians § with great preparation, and by rumour, as of things unknown much greater, taking arms, and of their own accord beginning war by the assault of sundry castles, sent back some of their fear to the Romans themselves : and there were of the commanders, who cloaking their fear under shew of sage advice, counselled the general to retreat back on this side Bodotria. He in the mean while having intelligence, that the enemy would fall on in many bodies, divided also his army into three parts. Which advantage the Britains quickly spying, and on a sudden uniting what before they had disjoined, assail by night with all their forces that part of the Roman army which they knew to be the weakest ; and breaking in upon the camp, surpris'd between sleep and fear, had begun some execution. When Agricola, who had learnt what way the enemies took, and followed them with all speed, sending before him the lightest of his horse and foot to charge them behind, the rest as they came on to affright them with clamour, so plied them without respite, that by approach of day the Roman ensigns glittering all about, had encompassed the Britains : who now after a sharp fight in the very ports of the camp, betook them to their wonted refuge, the woods and fens, pursued a while by the Romans ; that day else in all appearance had ended the war. The legions reincouraged by this event, they also now boasting, who but lately trembled, cry all to be led on as far as there was British ground. The Britains also not acknowledging the loss of that day to Roman valour, but to the policy of their captain, abated nothing of their stoutness ; but arming their youth, conveying their wives and children to places of safety, in frequent assemblies, and by solemn covenants bound themselves to mutual assistance against the common enemy. About the same time a cohort of Germans having slain their centurion with other Roman officers in a mutiny, and for fear of punishment fled on shipboard, launched forth in three light galleys without pilot || ; and by tide or weather carried round about the coast, using piracy where they landed, while their ships held out, and as their skill served them, with various fortune, were the first discoverers to the Romans that Britain was an island. ¶ The following summer, Agricola having before sent his navy to hover on the coast, and with sundry and uncertain landings to divert and disunite the Britains, himself with a power best appointed for expedition, wherein also were many Britains, whom he had long tried both valiant

* Dion. l. 66. Post Christ. 82.

† Post Christ. 83.

§ Post Christ. 84.

|| Dion l. 66.

¶ Post Christ. 85.

and faithful, marches onward to the mountain Grampius, where the British, above thirty thousand, were now lodged, and still encreasing; for neither would their old men, so many as were yet vigorous and lusty, be left at home, long practised in war, and every one adorned with some badge, or cognizance of his warlike deeds long ago. Of whom Galgacus, both by birth and merit the prime leader to their courage, though of itself hot and violent, is by his rough oratory, in detestation of servitude and the Roman yoke, said to have added much more eagerness of fight, testified by their shouts and barbarous applauses. As much did on the other side Agricola exhort his soldiers to victory and glory; as much the soldiers by his firm and well-grounded exhortations were all on a fire to the onset. But first he orders them on this sort: Of eight thousand auxiliary foot he makes his middle ward, on the wings three thousand horse, the legions as a reserve, stood in array before the camp; either to seize the victory won without their own hazard, or to keep up the battle if it should need. The British powers on the hill side, as might best serve for shew and terror, stood in their battalions; the first on even ground, the next rising behind, as the hill ascended. The field between rung with the noise of horsemen and chariots ranging up and down. Agricola doubting to be over-winged, stretches out his front, though somewhat with the thinnest, insomuch that many advised to bring up the legions: yet he not altering, alights from his horse, and stands on foot before the ensigns. The fight began aloof, and the Britains had a certain skill with their broad swashing swords and short bucklers either to strike aside, or to bear off the darts of their enemies; and withal to send back showers of their own. Until Agricola discerning that those little targets and unweildy glaves ill pointed, would soon become ridiculous against the thrust and close, commanded three Batavian cohorts, and two of the Tungrians exercised and armed for close fight, to draw up, and come to handy-strokes. The Batavians, as they were commanded, running in upon them, now with their long tucks thrusting at the face, now with their piked targets bearing them down, had made good riddance of them that stood below; and for haste omitting further execution, began apace to advance up hill, seconded now by all the other cohorts. Mean while the horsemen fly, the charioteers mix themselves to fight among the foot, where many of their horse also fallen in disorderly, were now more a mischief to their own, than before a terror to their enemies. The battle was a confused heap, the ground unequal; men, horses, chariots crouded pelmel; sometimes in little room, by and by in large, fighting, rushing, felling, over-bearing, over-turning. They on the hill, which were not yet come to blows, perceiving the fewness of their enemies, came down amain; and had enclosed the Romans unawares behind, but that Agricola with a strong body of horse, which he reserved for such a purpose, repelled them back as fast; and others drawn off the front, were commanded to wheel about and charge them on the backs. Then were the Romans clearly masters; they follow, they wound, they take, and to take more, kill whom they take: the Britains in whole troops with weapons in their hands, one while flying the pursuer, anon without weapons desperately running upon the slayer. But all of them, when once they got the woods to their shelter, with fresh boldness made head again, and the forwardest on a sudden they turned and slew, the rest so hampered, as had not Agricola, who was every where at hand, sent out his readiest cohorts, with part of his horse to alight and scower the woods, they had received a foil in the midst of victory; but following with a close and orderly pursuit, the Britains fled again, and were totally scattered; till night and weariness ended the chase. And of them that day ten thousand fell; of the Romans three hundred and forty, among whom Aulus Atticus the leader of a cohort; carried with heat of youth, and the fierceness of his horse too far on. The Romans jocund of this victory, and the spoil they got, spent the night; the vanquished wandering about the field, both men and women, some lamenting, some calling their lost friends, or carrying off their wounded; others forsaking, some burning

burning their own houses ; and it was certain enough, that there were who with a stern compassion laid violent hands on their wives and children, to prevent the more violent hands of hostile injury. Next day appearing, manifested more plainly the greatness of their loss received ; every where silence, desolation, houses burning afar off, not a man seen, all fled, and doubtful whither : such word the scouts bringing in from all parts, and the summer now spent, no fit season to disperse a war, the Roman general leads his army among the Horestians ; by whom Hostages being given, he commands his admiral with a sufficient navy to sail round the coast of Britain ; himself with slow marches, that his delay in passing might serve to awe those new conquered nations, bestows his army in their winter-quarters. The fleet also having fetched a prosperous and speedy compass about the isle, put in at the haven Trutulensis, now Richburgh near Sandwich, from whence it first set out * : and now likeliest, if not two years before, as was mentioned, the Romans might discover and subdue the isles of Orkney ; which others with less reason, following † Eusebius and Orosius, attribute to the deeds of Claudius. These perpetual exploits abroad won him wide fame : with Domitian, under whom great virtue was as punishable as open crime, won him hatred §. For he maligning the renown of these his acts, in shew decreed him honours, in secret devised his ruin. || Agricola therefore, commanded home for doing too much of what he was sent to do, left the province to his successor quiet and secure. Whether he, as is conjectured, were Salustius Lucullus, or before him some other, for Suetonius only names him legate of Britain under Domitian ; but further of him, or aught else done here until the time of Hadrian, is no where plainly to be found. Some gather by a preface in Tacitus to the book of his histories, that what Agricola won here, was soon after by Domitian either through want of valour lost, or through envy neglected. And Juvenal the poet speaks of Arviragus in these days, and not before, king of Britain ; who stood so well in his resistance, as not only to be talked of at Rome, but to be held matter of a glorious triumph, if Domitian could take him captive, or overcome him. Then also Claudia Rufina the daughter of a Britain, and wife of Pudence a Roman senator, lived at Rome ; famous by the verse of Martial for beauty, wit, and learning. The next we hear of Britain, is, that when Trajan was emperor, it revolted, and was subdued. But Hadrian next entering on the empire ¶, they soon unsubdued themselves. Julius Severus, saith Dion, then governed the island, a prime soldier of that age : he being called away to suppress the Jews then in tumult, left things at such a pass, as caused the emperor in person to take a journey hither ** ; where many things he reformed, and, as Augustus, and Tiberius counseled to gird the empire within moderate bounds, he raised a wall with great stakes driven in deep, and fastened together, in manner of a strong mound, fourscore mile in length, to divide what was Roman from Barbarian ; as his manner was to do in other frontiers of his empire, where great rivers divided not the limits. No ancient author names the place, but old inscriptions, and the ruin itself yet testifies where it went along between Solway frith by Carlisle, and the mouth of Tine ††. Hadrian having quieted the island, took it for honour to be titled on his coin, “ The restorer of Britain.” In his time also Priscus Licinius, as appears by an old inscription, was lieutenant here. Antoninus Pius reigning §§, the Brigantes ever least patient of foreign servitude, breaking in upon Genounia (which Camden guesses to be Guinethia or North-Wales) part of the Roman province, were with the loss of much territory driven back by Lollius Urbicus, who drew another wall of turves ; in likelihood much beyond the former, and as Camden proves, between the frith of Dunbritton, and of Edinburgh ; to hedge out incursions from the north. And Seius Saturninus, as is collected from the digests |||, had charge here of the Roman navy. With like success did Marcus Aurelius ¶¶, next emperor, by his legate Calphurnius Agricola,

* Camden. Juven. sat. 2.

† Eutrop. 1. 7.

§ Dion 1. 66.

|| Post Christ. 86.

¶ Spartianus in vit. Hadrian.

** Post Christ. 122.

Spartianus ibid.

†† Camden.

§§ Pausan. archad.

||| Cap. vit. Ant. Post Christ. 144.

¶¶ Post Christ. 162. Digest. l. 36.

finish here a new war : Commodus after him obtaining the empire. In his time, as among so many different accounts may seem most probable, * Lucius a supposed king in some part of Britain, the first of any king in Europe, that we read of, received the Christian faith, and this nation the first by public authority professed it : a high and singular grace from above, if sincerity and perseverance went along, otherwise an empty boast, and to be feared the verifying of that true sentence, " The first shall be last." And indeed the praise of this action is more proper to king Lucius, than common to the nation ; whose first professing by public authority was no real commendation of their true faith, which had appeared more sincere and praise-worthy, whether in this or other nation, first professed without public authority or against it, might else have been but outward conformity. Lucius in our Monmouth story is made the second by descent from Marius ; Marius the son of Arviragus is there said to have overthrown the Picts then first coming out of Scythia, slain Roderic their king ; and in sign of victory to have set up a monument of stone in the country since called Westmaria : but these things have no foundation. Coilus the son of Marius, all his reign, which was just and peaceable, holding great amity with the Romans, left it hereditary to Lucius. He (if Beda err not, living near five hundred years after, yet our ancientest author of this report) sent to Elutherius then bishop of Rome†, an improbable letter, as some of the contents discover, desiring that by his appointment he and his people might receive christianity. From whom two religious doctors, named in our chronicles Faganus and Deruvianus, forthwith sent, are said to have converted and baptized well nigh the whole nation § : thence Lucius to have had the surname of Levermaur, that is to say, great light. Nor yet then first was the Christian faith here known, but even from the latter days of Tiberius, as Gildas confidently affirms, taught and propagated, and that as some say by Simon Zelotes, as others by Joseph of Arimathea, Barnabas, Paul, Peter, and their prime disciples. But of these matters, variously written and believed, ecclesiastic historians can best determine ; as the best of them do, with little credit given to the particulars of such uncertain relations. As for Lucius, they write ||, that after a long reign he was buried in Glocester ; but dying without issue, left the kingdom in great commotion. By truer testimony ¶ we find that the greatest war which in those days busied Commodus, was in this island. For the nations northward, notwithstanding the wall raised to keep them out, breaking in upon the Roman province, wasted wide ; and both the army and the leader that came against them wholly routed, and destroyed ; which put the emperor in such a fear, as to dispatch hither one of his best commanders, Ulpius Marcellus**. He a man endowed with all nobleness of mind, frugal and temperate, mild and magnanimous, in war bold and watchful, invincible against lucre, and the assault of bribes ; what with his valour, and these his other virtues, quickly ended this war that looked so dangerous, and had himself like to have been ended by the peace which he brought home, for presuming to be so worthy and so good under the envy of so worthless and so bad an emperor. †† After whose departure the Roman legions fell to sedition among themselves ; fifteen hundred of them went to Rome in name of the rest, and were so terrible to Commodus himself, as that to please them he delivered up to their care Perennis the captain of his guard, for having in the British war removed their leaders, who were senators, and in their places put those of the equestrian order. Notwithstanding which compliance, they endeavoured here to set up another emperor against him ; and Helvius Pertinax §§ who succeeded governor, found it a work so difficult to appease them, that once in a mutiny he was left for dead among many slain ; and though afterwards he severely punished the tumulters, was fain at length to seek a dismission from his charge. After him Clodius Albinus ||| took the government ; but he,

* Beda.

† Post Christ. 181.

§ Nennius.

|| Gef. Mon.

¶ Dion. l. 72.

** Post Christ. 183.

†† Lamprid. in comun. Post Christ. 186.

§§ Capitolin. in Pert.

||| Capitlin. in Alb.

for having to the foldiers made an oration againſt monarchy, by the appointment of Commodus was bid reſign to Junius Severus*. But Albinus in thoſe troubleſome times enſuing under the ſhort reign of Pertinax and Didius Julianus †, found means to keep in his hands the government of Britain; although Septimius Severus § who next held the empire, ſent hither Heraclitus to diſplace him; but in vain, for Albinus with all the Britiſh powers and thoſe of Gallia met Severus about Lyons in France ||, and fought a bloody battle with him for the empire, though at laſt vanquiſhed and ſlain. The government of Britain ¶, Severus divided between two deputies; till then one legate was thought ſufficient; the north he committed to Virius Lupus. ** Where the Meatae riſing in arms, and the Caledonians, though they had promiſed the contrary to Lupus ††, preparing to defend them, ſo hard beſet, he was compelled to buy his peace, and a few of priſoners with great ſums of money. But hearing that Severus had now brought to an end his other wars, he writes him plainly the ſtate of things here §§, “that the Britains of the north made war upon him, broke into the province, and haraſſed all the countries nigh them, that there needed ſuddenly either more aid, or himſelf in perſon.” Severus, though now much weakened with age and the gout, yet deſirous to leave ſome memorial of his warlike atchievements here, as he had done in other places, and beſides to withdraw by this means his two ſons from the pleaſures of Rome, and his foldiers from idleneſs, with a mighty power far ſooner than could be expected, arrives in Britain. ||| The northern people much daunted with the report of ſo great forces brought over with him, and yet more preparing, ſend embaſſadors to treat of peace, and to excuſe their former doings. The emperor now loth to return home without ſome memorable thing done, whereby he might aſſume to his other titles the addition of Britannicus, delays his anſwer, and quickens his preparations; till in the end, when all things were in readineſs to follow them, they are diſmiſſed without effect. His principal care was to have many bridges laid over bogs and rotten moors, that his foldiers might have to fight on ſure footing. For it ſeems through lack of tillage, the northern parts were then, as Ireland is at this day; and the inhabitants in like manner wanted to retire, and defend themſelves in ſuch watry places half naked. He alſo being paſt Adrian’s wall ¶¶, cut down woods, made ways through hills, faſtened and filled up unſound and pleaſhy fens. Notwithſtanding all this induſtry uſed, the enemy kept himſelf ſo cunningly within his beſt advantages, and ſeldom appearing, ſo opportunely found his times to make irruption upon the Romans, when they were moſt in ſtreights and difficulties, ſometimes training them on with a few cattle turned out, and drawn within ambuſh cruelly handling them, that many a time enclosed in the miſt of ſloughs and quagmires, they choſe rather themſelves to kill ſuch as were faint and could not ſhift away, than leave them there a prey to the Caledonians *. Thus loſt Severus, and by ſickneſs in thoſe noiſome places, no leſs than fifty thouſand men: and yet deſiſted not, though for weakneſs carried in a litter, till he had marched through with his army to the utmoſt northern verge of the iſle: and the Britains offering peace, were compelled to loſe much of their country not before ſubject to the Romans †. Severus on the frontiers of what he had firmly conquered, builds a wall croſs the iſland from ſea to ſea; which one author judges the moſt magnificent of all his other deeds; and that he thence received the ſtile of Britannicus §; in length a hundred and thirty two miles. Oroſius adds it fortified with a deep trench, and between certain ſpaces many towers, or battlements. The place whereof ſome will have to be in Scotland, the ſame which Lollius Urbicus had walled before. || Others affirm it only Hadrian’s work re-edified; both plead authorities and the ancient track yet viſible: but this I leave among the ſtudious of theſe antiquities to be

* Poſt Chriſt. 193. † Dion. Did. Jul. § Spartian. in Sever. || Herod. l. 3.
¶ Ibid. ** Digeſt l. 28. tit. 6. †† Dion. §§ Herod. l. 3. ||| Poſt Chriſt. 208.
¶¶ Poſt Chriſt. 209. * Dion. † Poſt Chriſt. 210. Spartianus in Sever. § Eutropii
Péan. Oroſ. l. 7. Caſſid. Chro. || Buchanan.

discussed more at large. While peace held, the empress Julia meeting on a time certain British ladies, and discoursing with the wife of Argentocoxus a Caledonian, cast out a scoff against the looseness of our island women; whose manner then was to use promiscuously the company of divers men. Whom straight the British woman boldly thus answered: "Much better do we Britains fulfil the work of nature than you Romans; we with the best men accustom openly; you with the basest commit private adulteries." Whether she thought this answer might serve to justify the practice of her country, as when vices are compared, the greater seems to justify the less; or whether the law and custom wherein she was bred, had whipt out of her conscience the better dictate of nature, and not convinced her of the shame; certain it is, that whereas other nations used a liberty not unnatural for one man to have many wives, the Britains* altogether as licentious, but more absurd and preposterous in their licence, had one or many wives in common among ten or twelve husbands; and those for the most part incestuously. But no sooner was Severus returned into the province, than the Britains take arms again. Against whom Severus, worn out with labours and infirmity, sends Antoninus his eldest son, expressly commanding him to spare neither sex nor age. But Antoninus, who had his wicked thoughts taken up with the contriving of his father's death, a safer enemy than a son, did the Britains not much detriment. Whereat Severus, more overcome with grief than any other malady, ended his life at York†. After whose decease Antoninus Caracalla his impious son, concluding peace with the Britains, took hostages, and departed to Rome. The conductor of all this northern war, Scottish writers name Donaldus, he of Monmouth Fulgenius, in the rest of his relation nothing worth. From hence the Roman empire declining apace, good historians growing scarce, or lost, have left us little else but fragments for many years ensuing. Under Gordian the emperor we find, by the inscription§ of an altar-stone, that Nonius Philippus governed here. Under Galienus we read there was a strong and general revolt from the Roman legate. Of the thirty tyrants which not long after took upon them the stile of emperor||, by many coins found among us, Lollianus, Victorinus, Posthumus, the Tetrici and Marius are conjectured to have risen or born great sway in this island**. Whence Porphyrius, a philosopher then living, said that Britain was a soil fruitful of tyrants; and is noted to be the first author that makes mention of the Scottish nation. While Probus was emperor††, Bonosus the son of a rhetorician, bred up a Spaniard, though by descent a Britain, and a matchless drinker, nor much to be blamed, if, as they write, he were still wisest in his cups, having attained in warfare to high honours, and lastly in his charge over the German shipping, willingly, as was thought, miscarried, trusting on his power with the Western armies, and joined with Proculus, bore himself a while for emperor; but after a long and bloody fight at Cullen, vanquished by Probus, he hanged himself, and gave occasion of a ready jest made on him for his much drinking: "Here hangs a tankard, not a man." After this§§, Probus with much wisdom prevented a new rising here in Britain by the severe loyalty of Victorinus a Moor, at whose entreaty he had placed here that governor which rebelled. For the emperor upbraiding him with the disloyalty of whom he had commended, Victorinus undertaking to set all right again, hastes thither, and finding indeed the governour to intend sedition, by some contrivance not mentioned in the story, slew him, whose name||| some imagine to be Cornelius Lelianus. They write also that Probus gave leave to the Spaniards, Gauls and Britains to plant vines, and to make wine; and having subdued the Vandals, and Burgundians in a great battle‡, sent over many of them hither to inhabit, where they did good service to the Romans when any insurrection happened in the isle. After

* Cæsar.

† Post Christ. 211. Spartianus in Sever.

§ Post Christ. 242. Camd. Cumber.

|| Post Christ. 259. Eumen. Paneg. Const.

** Post Christ. 267. Camden. Gildas. Hieronym.

†† Post Christ. 282. Vopisc. in Bonos.

§§ Zozim. l. 1.

||| Camd.

‡ Zozimus.

whom

whom Carus emperor going against the Persians, left Carinus † one of his sons to govern among other Western provinces this island with imperial authority; but him Dioclesian, saluted emperor by the Eastern arms, overcame and slew. About which time Carausius §, a man of low parentage, born in Menapia, about the parts of Cleves and Juliers, who through all military degrees was made at length admiral of the Belgic and Armoric seas, then much infested by the Franks and Saxons, what he took from the pyrates, neither restoring to the owners, nor accounting to the public, but enriching himself, and yet not scowring the seas, but conniving rather at those sea-robbers, was grown at length too great a delinquent to be less than an emperor ||; for fear and guiltiness in those days made emperors oftner than merit: and understanding that Maximianus Herculus **, Dioclesian's adopted son, was come against him into Gallia, passed over with the navy which he had made his own, into Britain, and possessed the island. Where he built a new ‡ fleet after the Roman fashion, got into his power the legion that was left here in garison, other outlandish cohorts detained, listed the very merchants and factors of Gallia, and with the allurements of spoil invited great numbers of other barbarous nations to his part, and trained them to sea-service, wherein the Romans at that time were grown so out of skill, that Carausius with his navy did at sea what he listed, robbing on every coast; whereby Maximilian, able to come no nearer than the shore of Boloigne, was forced to conclude a peace with Carausius, and yield him Britain ††; as one fittest to guard the province there against inroads from the North. But not long after ¶ having assumed Constantius Chlorus to the dignity of Cæsar, sent him against Carausius; who in the mean while had made himself strong both within the land and without §§. Galfred of Monmouth writes, that he made the Picts his confederates; to whom lately come out of Scythia he gave Albany to dwell in: and it is observed, that before his time the Picts are not known to have been any where mentioned, and then first by Eumenius a rhetorician |||. He repaired and fortified the wall of Severus with seven castles, and a round house of smooth stone on the bank of Carron, which river, saith Ninnius, was of his name so called; he built also a triumphal arch in remembrance of some victory there obtained ††. In France he held Gessoriacum, or Boloigne; and all the Franks which had by his permission seated themselves in Belgia, were at his devotion. But Constantius hasting into Gallia, besieges Boloigne, and with stones and timber obstructing the port, keeps out all relief that could be sent in by Carausius. Who ere Constantius with the great fleet which he had prepared, could arrive hither, was slain treacherously * by Aleetus one of his friends, who longed to step into his place; when he seven years, and worthily as some say, as others tyrannically, had ruled the island. So much the more did Constantius prosecute that opportunity, before Aleetus could well strengthen his affairs ¶¶: and though in ill weather, putting to sea with all urgency from several havens to spread the terror of his landing, and the doubt where to expect him, in a mist passing the British fleet unseen, that lay scouting near the isle of Wight, no sooner got ashore, but fires his own ships, to leave no hope of refuge but in victory. Aleetus also, though now much dismayed, transfers his fortune to a battle on the shore; but encountered by Asclepiodotus, captain of the prætorian bands, and desperately rushing on, unmindful both of ordering his men, or bringing them all to fight, save the accessories of his treason, and his outlandish hirelings, is overthrown, and slain with little or no loss to the Romans, but great execution on the Franks. His body was found almost naked in the field, for his purple robe he had thrown aside, lest it should descry him, unwilling to be found. The rest taking flight to London, and purposing with the pillage of that city to escape by sea, are met by another part of the

† Post Christ. 283. Vopisc. in Carin.

§ Post Christ 284. Aurel Victor. de Cæsar.

|| Post Christ. 285. Eutrop Oros.

** Eumen. Paneg. 2.

‡ Post Christ 286.

†† Victor. Eutrop.

¶ Post Christ. 291.

§§ Buchanan.

||| Paneg. 2.

‡‡ Paneg. Sigonius.

* Post Christ. 292.

¶¶ Camd. ex Nin Eumen. Pan. 3. Oros. l. 7 c. 25.

Roman army, whom the mist at sea disjoining had by chance brought thither, and with a new slaughter chased through all the streets. The Britains, their wives also and children, with great joy got out to meet Constantius, as one whom they acknowledge their deliverer from bondage and insolence. All this seems by Eumenius*, who then lived, and was of Constantius's household, to have been done in the course of one continued action; so also thinks Sigonius, a learned writer: though all others allow three years to the tyranny of Alectus. In these days were great store of workmen, and excellent builders in this island, whom, after the alteration of things here, the Æduans in Burgundy entertained to build their temples, and public edifices. Dioclesian having hitherto successfully used his valour against the enemies of his empire, uses now his rage in a bloody persecution against his obedient and harmless christian subjects: from the feeling whereof neither was this island, though most remote, far enough removed †. Among them here who suffered gloriously, Aron, and Julius of Caerleon upon Uſk, but chiefly Alban of Verulam, were most renowned: the story of whose martyrdom soiled, and worse martyred with the fabling zeal of some idle fancies, more fond of miracles, than apprehensive of truth, deserves not longer digression. Constantius, after Dioclesian, dividing the empire with Galerius, had Britain among his other provinces; where either preparing or returning with victory from an expedition against the Caledonians, he died at York §. His son Constantine, who happily came post from Rome to Boloigne, just about the time, saith Eumenius, that his father was setting sail his last time hither, and not long before his death, was by him on his death-bed named, and after his funeral, by the whole army saluted emperor. There goes a fame, and that seconded by most of our own historians, though not those the antientest, that Constantine was born in this island, his mother Helena the daughter of Coilus a British prince, not sure the father of king Lucius, whose sister she must then be, for that would detect her too old by a hundred years to be the mother of Constantine. But to salve this incoherence, another Coilus is feigned to be then earl of Colchester. To this therefore the Roman authors give no testimony, except a passage or two in the Panegyrics, about the sense whereof much is argued: others || nearest to those times clear the doubt, and write him certainly born of a mean woman, Helena, the concubine of Constantius, at Naïsus in Dardania. ‡ Howbeit, ere his departure hence, he seems to have had some bickerings in the North, which by reason of more urgent affairs composed, he passes into Gallia; and after four years returns either to settle or to alter the state of things here, until a new war against Maxentius called him back, leaving Pacatianus his vicegerent. ** He deceasing, Constantine his eldest son enjoyed for his part of the empire, with all the provinces that lay on this side the Alps, this island also. †† But falling to civil war with Constans his brother, was by him slain; who with his third brother Constantius coming into Britain, seized it as victor. Against him rose Magnentius §§, one of his chief commanders, by some affirmed the son of a Britain, he having gained on his side great forces, contested with Constantius in many battles for the sole empire; but vanquished, in the end slew himself. ¶¶ Somewhat before this time Gratianus Funarius, the father of Valentinian, afterwards emperor, had chief command of those armies which the Romans kept here. ||| And the Arian doctrine which then divided Christendom, wrought also in this island no small disturbance; a land, saith Gildas, greedy of every thing new, stedfast in nothing. At last †† Constantius appointed a synod of more than four hundred bishops to assemble at Ariminum on the emperor's charges, which the rest all refusing, three only of the British, poverty constraining them, accepted; though

* Eumen. † Gildas.

Eumen idem. Auth. ignot.

† Post Christ. 307. Sigon.

†† Post Christ. 340. Libanius in Basilico.

¶¶ Post Christ. 350, Camden.

§ Author. ign. post Marcellin. Valesii. Post Christ. 306 Eutrop.

|| Idem vit. Auth. ignot. Euseb. Const. Oros. l. 7. 25 cap. Cass. Chron.

** Post Christ. 311. Camd. Ammian. l. 20. & in eum Valesius.

§§ Post Christ. 343. Camb. ex Firmico.

||| Post Christ. 353. Ammian.

†† Post Christ. 359.

the other bishops among them offered to have borne their charges; esteeming it more honourable to live on the public, than to be obnoxious to any private purse. Doubtless an ingenuous mind, and far above the presbyters of our age; who like well to sit in assembly on the public stipend, but liked not the poverty that caused these to do so. After this Martinus was deputy of the province; who being offended with the cruelty which Paulus, an inquisitor sent from Constantius, exercised in his enquiry after those military officers who had conspired with Magnentius, was himself laid hold on as an accessory: at which enraged he runs at Paulus with his drawn sword; but failing to kill him, turns it on himself. Next to whom, as may be guessed, Alipius was made deputy. In the mean time Julian*, whom Constantius had made Cæsar, having recovered much territory about the Rhine, where the German inrodes before had long insulted; to relieve those countries almost ruined, causes eight hundred pinnaces to be built; and with them, by frequent voyages, plenty of corn to be fetched in from Britain; which even then was the usual bounty of this soil to those parts, as oft as French and Saxon pirates hindered not the transportation†. While ¶ Constantius yet reigned, the Scots and Picts breaking in upon the Northern confines, Julian, being at Paris, sends over Lupicinus, a well-tryed foldier, but a proud and covetous man, who with a power of light-armed Herulians, Batavians, and Mærians, in the midst of winter sailing from Boloigne, arrives at Rutupiaë, seated on the opposite shore, and comes to London, to consult there about the war; but soon after was recalled by Julian, then chosen emperor. Under whom we read not of aught happening here, only that Palladius, one of his great officers, was hither banished. ‡ This year Valentinian being emperor, the Attacots, Picts, and Scots, roving up and down, and last the Saxons with perpetual landings and invasions harried the South coast of Britain; slew Nectaridius who governed the sea-borders, and Bulchobaudes with his forces by an ambush. With which news Valentinian not a little perplexed, sends first Severus high steward of his house, and soon recalls him; then Jovinus, who intimating the necessity of greater supplies, he sends at length Theodosius, a man of tried valour and experience, father to the first emperor of that name. He § with selected numbers out of the legions, and cohorts, crosses the sea from Boloigne to Rutupiaë; from whence with the Batavians, Herulians, and other legions that arrived soon after, he marches to London; and dividing his forces into several bodies, sets upon the dispersed and plundering enemy, laden with spoil; from whom recovering the booty which they led away, and were forced to leave there with their lives, he restores all to the right owners, save a small portion to his wearied soldiers, and enters London victoriously; which, before in many straits and difficulties, was now revived as with a great deliverance. The numerous enemy with whom he had to deal, was of different nations, and the war scattered: which Theodosius, getting daily some intelligence from fugitives and prisoners, resolves to carry on by sudden parties and surprisals, rather than set battles; nor omits he to proclaim indemnity to such as would lay down arms, and accept of peace, which brought in many. Yet all this not ending the work, he requires that Civilis, a man of much uprightness, might be sent him, to be as deputy of the island, and Dulcitius a famous captain. Thus was Theodosius busied, besetting with ambushes the roving enemy, repressing his roads, restoring cities and castles to their former safety and defence, laying every where the firm foundation of a long peace, when || Valentinus a Pannonian, for some great offence banished into Britain, conspiring with certain exiles and soldiers against Theodosius, whose worth he dreaded as the only obstacle to his greater design of gaining the isle into his power, is discovered, and with his chief accomplices delivered over to condign

* Liban. Or. 10. Zozim. l. 3. Marcel. l. 18.

† Amm. l. 23.

¶ Post Christ. 360. Amm. l. 20.

‡ Post Christ. 364. Amm. l. 26, 27.

§ Post Christ. 367.

|| Post Christ. 368. Amm.

l. 28. Zozim. l. 4.

punishment: against the rest, Theodosius with a wise lenity suffered not inquisition to proceed too rigorously, lest the fear thereof appertaining to so many, occasion might arise of new trouble in a time so unsettled. This done, he applies himself to reform things out of order, raises on the confines many strong-holds; and in them appoints due and diligent watches: and so reduced all things out of danger, that the province which but lately was under command of the enemy, became now wholly Roman, new named Valentia of Valentinian, and the city of London, Augusta. Thus Theodosius nobly acquitting himself in all affairs, with general applause of the whole province, accompanied to the sea-side, returns to Valentinian. Who about five years after sent hither Fraomarius, a king of the Almans*, with authority of a tribune over his own country forces; which then both for number and good service, were in high esteem: Against Gratian who succeeded in the Western empire, Maximus a Spaniard, and one who had served in the British wars with younger † Theodosius, (for he also, either with his father, or not long after him, seems to have done something in this island) and now general of the Roman armies here, either discontented that Theodosius was preferred before him to the empire, or constrained by the soldiers who hated Gratian, assumes the imperial purple‡; and having attained victory against the Scots and Picts, with the flower and strength of Britain, passes into France; there slays Gratian, and without much difficulty, the space of || five years, obtains his part of the empire, overthrown at length, and slain by Theodosius. With whom perishing most of his followers, or not returning out of Armorica, which Maximus had given them to possess, the South of Britain by this means exhausted of her youth, and what there was of Roman soldiers on the confines drawn off, became a prey to savage invasions; ¶ of Scots from the Irish seas, of Saxons from the German, of Picts from the North. Against them, first, §§ Chrysanthus the son of Marcian a bishop, made deputy of Britain by Theodosius, demeaned himself worthily: then Stilicho a man of great power, whom, Theodosius dying, left protector of his son Honorius, either came in person, or sending over sufficient aid, repressed them, and as it seems new fortified the wall against them. But that legion being called away, when the Roman armies from all parts hastened to relieve Honorius, ||| then besieged in Asta of Piemont, by Alaric the Goth, Britain was left exposed as before, to those barbarous robbers. Lest any wonder how the Scots came to infest Britain from the Irish sea, it must be understood, that the Scots not many years before had been driven all out of Britain by Maximus**; and their king Eugenius slain in fight, as their own annals report: whereby, it seems, wandering up and down, without certain feat, they lived by scumming those seas and shores as pirates. But more authentic writers confirm us, that the Scots, whoever they be originally, came first into Ireland, and dwelt there, and named it Scotia long before the North of Britain took that name. †† Orosius who lived at this time writes, that Ireland was then inhabited by Scots. About this time ‡‡, though troublesome, Pelagius a Britain found the leisure to bring new and dangerous opinions into the church, and is largely writ against by St. Austin. But the Roman powers which were called into Italy, when once the fear of Alaric was over, made return into several provinces; and perhaps Victorinus of Tolosa, whom Rutilius the poet much commends, might be then prefect of this island; if it were not he whom Stilicho sent hither. Buchanan writes, that endeavouring to reduce the Picts into a province, he gave the occasion of their calling back Fergusius and the Scots, whom Maximus with their help had quite driven out of the island: and indeed the verses of that poet speak him to have been active in those parts. But the time which is assigned

* Post Christ. 373. Amm. l. 29.
Post Christ. 383.

† Zozim l. 4. Sigon.
|| Gildas Post Christ 388. Beda. Ninn.

§§ Socrat l. 7. Claudian. de laud. Stil. l. 2. & de Bello Get.

** Ethelwerd Sax. an. Bede epit. in the year 565; and Bede, l. 2. c. 4.

†† Post Christ 405.

‡ Prof Aquitanic. Chron.

¶ Post Christ. 389.

||| Post Christ. 402.

†† Oros. l. 1. c. 2.

him later by Buchanan after Gratianus Municeps, by Camden after Constantine the tyrant, accords not with that which follows in the plain course of history. * For the Vandals having broke in and wasted all Belgia, even to those places from whence easiest passage is into Britain, the Roman forces here, doubting to be suddenly invaded, were all in uproar, and in tumultuous manner set up Marcus, who it may seem was then deputy. But him not found agreeable to their heady courses, they as hastily kill†; for the giddy favour of a mutinying rout is as dangerous as their fury. The like they do by ‡ Gratian a British Roman, in four months advanced, adored, and destroyed. There was among them a common soldier whose name was Constantine, with him on a sudden so taken they are, upon the conceit put in them of the luckiness in his name, as without other visible merit to create him emperor. It fortuned that the man had not his name for nought; so well he knew to lay hold, and make good use of an unexpected offer. He therefore with a wakened spirit, to the extent of his fortune dilating his mind, which in his mean condition before lay contracted and shrunk up, orders with good advice his military affairs: and with the whole force of the province, and what of British was able to bear arms, he passes into France, aspiring at least to an equal share with Honorius in the empire. Where, by the valour of Edobecus a Frank, and Gerontius a Britain, and partly by persuation, gaining all in his way, he comes to Arles §. With like felicity by his son Constans, whom of a monk he had made a Cæsar, and by the conduct of Gerontius he reduces all Spain to his obedience. But Constans after this, displacing Gerontius, the affairs of Constantine soon went to wreck; for he by this means alienated, set up Maximus one of his friends against him in Spain ||; and passing into France, took Vienna by assault, and having slain Constans in that city, calls on the Vandals against Constantine; who by him incited, as by him before they had been repressed, breaking forward, over-run most part of France. But when Constantius Comes, the emperor's general, with a strong power came out of Italy, ¶ Gerontius deserted by his own forces, retires into Spain; where also growing into contempt with the soldiers, after his flight out of France, by whom his house in the night was beset **, having first with a few of his servants defended himself valiantly, and slain above three hundred, though when his darts and other weapons were spent, he might have escaped at a private door, as all his servants did, not enduring to leave his wife Nonnichia, whom he loved, to the violence of an enraged crew, he first cuts off the head of his friend Alanus, as was agreed; next his wife, though loth and delaying, yet by her entreated and importuned, refusing to outlive her husband, he dispatches: for which her resolution, Sozomenus an ecclesiastic writer gives her high praise, both as a wife, and as a christian. Last of all, against himself he turns his sword; but missing the mortal place, with his poniard finishes the work. Thus far is pursued the story of a famous Britain, related negligently by our other historians. As for Constantine, his ending was not answerable to his setting out; for he with his other son Julian besieged by Constantius in Arles, and mistrusting the change of his wonted success, to save his head, poorly turns priest; but that not availing him, is carried into Italy, and there put to death; having four years acted the emperor. While these things were doing ††, the Britains at home, destitute of Roman aid, and the chief strength of their own youth, that went first with Maximus, then with Constantine, not returning home, vexed and harassed by their wonted enemies, had sent messages to Honorius; but he at that time not being able to defend Rome itself, which the same year was taken by Alaric, advises them by his letter to consult how best they might for their own safety, and acquits them of the Roman jurisdiction §§. They therefore thus relinquished, and by all right the government relapsing into their own hands, thenceforth betook themselves to live after

* Post Christ. 407, Zozim. l. 6.

† Sozom. l. 9.

‡ Oros. l. 7.

§ Post Christ. 408.

|| Post Christ. 409.

¶ Sozom. l. 9.

** Olympiodor. apud Photium.

†† Gildas. Beda Zozim. l. 6.

§§ Procopius vandalic.

their own laws, defending their bounds as well as they were able ; and the Armoricans, who not long after were called the Britains of France, followed their example. Thus expired this great empire of the Romans ; first in Britain, soon after in Italy itself : having born chief sway in this island, though never thoroughly subdued, or all at once in subjection, if we reckon from the coming in of Julius to the taking of Rome by Alaric, in which year Honorius wrote those letters of discharge into Britain, the space of 462 years *. And with the empire fell also what before in this Western world was chiefly Roman ; learning, valour, eloquence, history, civility, and even language itself, all these together, as it were, with equal pace, diminishing and decaying. Henceforth we are to steer by another sort of authors ; near enough to the things they write, as in their own country, if that would serve ; in time not much belated, some of equal age ; in expression barbarous, and to say how judicious, I suspend a while : this we must expect ; in civil matters to find them dubious relaters, and still to the best advantage of what they term Holy Church, meaning indeed themselves : in most other matters of religion, blind, astonished, and struck with superstition as with a planet ; in one word, Monks. Yet these guides, where can be had no better, must be followed ; in gross, it may be true enough ; in circumstance each man as his judgment gives him, may reserve his faith, or bestow it. But so different a state of things requires a several relation.

* Calvis. Sigon.

The End of the Second BOOK.

THE

T H E H I S T O R Y O F B R I T A I N.

T H E T H I R D B O O K.

THIS third book having to tell of accidents as various and exemplary as the intermission or change of government hath any where brought forth, may deserve attention more than common, and repay it with like benefit to them who can judiciously read: considering especially that the late civil broils had cast us into a condition not much unlike to what the Britains then were in, when the imperial jurisdiction departing hence left them to the sway of their own councils; which times by comparing seriously with these latter, and that confused anarchy with this interreign, we may be able from two such remarkable turns of state, producing like events among us, to raise a knowledge of ourselves both great and weighty, by judging hence what kind of men the Britains generally are in matters of so high enterprize; how by nature, industry, or custom, fitted to attempt or undergo matters of so main consequence: for if it be a high point of wisdom in every private man, much more is it in a nation to know itself; rather than puffed up with vulgar flatteries and encomiums, for want of self-knowledge, to enterprize rashly and come off miserably in great undertakings.

[* “ Of these who swayed most in the late troubles, few words as to this point may suffice. They had arms, leaders, and successes to their wish; but to make use of so great an advantage was not their skill.

“ To other causes therefore, and not to the want of force, or warlike manhood in the Britains, both those, and these lately, we must impute the ill husbanding of those fair opportunities, which might seem to have put liberty so long desired, like a bridle into their hands. Of which other causes equally belonging to ruler, priest, and people, above hath been related: which, as they brought those ancient natives to misery and ruin, by liberty, which, rightly used, might have made them happy;

* Note. The following paragraphs, marked with inverted comma's, have been omitted in all the former editions of our author's History of Britain, except that published in the collection of his works, 1738. 2 vol. folio.

“ so brought they these of late, after many labours, much bloodshed, and vast expence,
 “ to ridiculous frustration: in whom the like defects, the like miscarriages notoriously
 “ appeared, with vices not less hateful or inexcusable.

“ For a parliament being called, to redress many things, as 'twas thought, the peo-
 “ ple with great courage, and expectation to be eased of what discontented them, chose
 “ to their behoof in parliament, such as they thought best affected to the public good,
 “ and some indeed men of wisdom and integrity; the rest, (to be sure the greater part,)
 “ whom wealth or ample possessions, or bold and active ambition (rather than merit)
 “ had commended to the same place.

“ But when once the superficial zeal and popular fumes that acted their New ma-
 “ gistracy were cooled, and spent in them, strait every one betook himself (setting
 “ the common-wealth behind, his private ends before) to do as his own profit or am-
 “ bition led him. Then was justice delayed, and soon after denied: spight and favour
 “ determined all: hence faction, thence treachery, both at home and in the field:
 “ every where wrong, and oppression: foul and horrid deeds committed daily, or
 “ maintained, in secret, or in open. Some who had been called from shops and ware-
 “ houses, without other merit, to sit in supreme councils and committees, (as their
 “ breeding was) fell to huckster the commonwealth. Others did thereafter as men
 “ could soothe and humour them best; so he who would give most, or under covert of
 “ hypocritical zeal, insinuate basest, enjoyed unworthily the rewards of learning and
 “ fidelity; or escaped the punishment of his crimes and misdeeds. Their votes and
 “ ordinances, which men looked should have contained the repealing of bad laws, and
 “ the immediate constitution of better, refounded with nothing else, but new imposi-
 “ tions, taxes, excises; yearly, monthly, weekly. Not to reckon the offices, gifts,
 “ and preferments bestowed and shared among themselves: they in the mean while,
 “ who were ever faithfullest to this cause, and freely aided them in person, or with their
 “ substance, when they durst not compel either, slighted and bereaved after, of their
 “ just debts by greedy sequestrations, were tossed up and down after miserable atten-
 “ dance from one committee to another with petitions in their hands, yet either missed
 “ the obtaining of their suit, or though it were at length granted, (mere shame and
 “ reason oft-times extorting from them at least a shew of justice) yet by their sequestra-
 “ tors and sub-committees abroad, men for the most part of insatiable hands, and
 “ noted disloyalty, those orders were commonly disobeyed: which for certain durst not
 “ have been, without secret compliance, if not compact with some superiors able to
 “ bear them out. Thus were their friends confiscate in their enemies, while they for-
 “ feited their debtors to the state, as they called it, but indeed to the ravening seizure
 “ of innumerable thieves in office: yet were withal no less burthened in all extraordi-
 “ nary assessments and oppressions, than those whom they took to be disaffected: nor
 “ were we happier creditors to what we called the state, than to them who were
 “ sequestred as the state's enemies.

“ For that faith which ought to have been kept as sacred and inviolable as any thing:
 “ holy, “ the Publick Faith,” after infinite sums received, and all the wealth of the
 “ church not better employed, but swallowed up into a private Gulph, was not ere
 “ long ashamed to confess bankrupt. And now besides the sweetness of bribery, and
 “ other gain, with the love of rule, their own guiltiness, and the dreaded name of Just-
 “ Account, which the people had long called for, discovered plainly that there were
 “ of their own number, who secretly contrived and fomented those troubles and com-
 “ bustions in the land, which openly they sat to remedy; and would continually find
 “ such work, as should keep them from being ever brought to that Terrible Stand, of
 “ laying down their authority for lack of new business, or not drawing it out to any
 “ length of time, tho' upon the ruin of a whole nation.

“ And

“ And if the state were in this plight, religion was not in much better ; to reform
“ which, a certain number of divines were called, neither chosen by any rule or custom
“ ecclesiastical, nor eminent for either piety or knowledge above others left out ; only
“ as each member of parliament in his private fancy thought fit, so elected one by one.
“ The most part of them were such, as had preached and cried down, with great shew
“ of zeal, the avarice and pluralities of bishops and prelates ; that one cure of souls
“ was a full employment for one spiritual pastor how able soever, if not a charge rather
“ above human strength. Yet these conscientious men (ere any part of the work done
“ for which they came together, and that on the public salary) wanted not boldness, to
“ the ignominy and scandal of their pastor-like profession, and especially of their boasted
“ reformation, to seize into their hands, or not unwillingly to accept (besides one,
“ sometimes two or more of the best livings) collegiate masterships in the universities,
“ rich lectures in the city, setting sail to all winds that might blow gain into their co-
“ vetous bosoms : by which means these great rebukers of non-residence, among so
“ many distant cures, were not ashamed to be seen so quickly pluralists and non-
“ residents themselves, to a fearful condemnation doubtless by their own mouths. And
“ yet the main doctrine for which they took such pay, and insisted upon with more
“ vehemence than gospel, was but to tell us in effect, that their doctrine was worth
“ nothing, and the spiritual power of their ministry less available than bodily com-
“ pulsion ; persuading the magistrate to use it, as a stronger means to subdue and bring
“ in conscience, than evangelical persuasion : distrusting the virtue of their own spiritual
“ weapons, which were given them, if they be rightly called, with full warrant of
“ sufficiency to pull down all thoughts and imaginations that exalt themselves against
“ God. But while they taught compulsion without convincement, which not long
“ before they complained of, as executed unchristianly, against themselves ; these
“ intents are clear to have been no better than antichristian : setting up a spiritual
“ tyranny by a secular power, to the advancing of their own authority above the ma-
“ gistrate, whom they would have made their executioner, to punish church-delin-
“ quencies, whereof civil laws have no cognizance.

“ And well did their disciples manifest themselves to be no better principled than
“ their teachers, trusted with commitments and other gainful offices, upon their
“ commendations for zealous, (and as they stuck not to term them) godly men ;
“ but executing their places like children of the devil, unfaithfully, unjustly, unmerci-
“ fully, and where not corruptly, stupidly. So that between them the teachers, and
“ these the disciples, there hath not been a more ignominious and mortal wound to faith,
“ to piety, to the work of reformation, nor more cause of blaspheming given to the
“ enemies of God and truth, since the first preaching of reformation.

“ The people therefore looking one while on the statists, whom they beheld without
“ constancy or firmness, labouring doubtfully beneath the weight of their own too
“ high undertakings, busiest in petty things, trifling in the main, deluded and quite
“ alienated, expressed divers ways their disaffection ; some despising whom before they
“ honoured, some deserting, some inveighing, some conspiring against them. Then
“ looking on the church men, whom they saw under subtle hypocrisy to have preached
“ their own follies, most of them not the gospel, time-servers, covetous, illiterate
“ persecutors, not lovers of the truth, like in most things whereof they accused their
“ predecessors : looking on all this, the people which had been kept warm a while
“ with the counterfeit zeal of their pulpits, after a false heat, became more cold and
“ obdurate than before, some turning to lewdness, some to flat atheism, put beside
“ their old religion, and foully scandalized in what they expected should be new.

“ Thus they who of late were extolled as our greatest deliverers, and had the people
“ wholly at their devotion, by so discharging their trust as we see, did not only weaken
“ and unfit themselves to be dispensers of what liberty they pretended, but unfitted
“ also

“ also the people, now grown worse and more disordinate, to receive or to digest any
 “ liberty at all. For stories teach us, that liberty fought out of season, in a corrupt
 “ and degenerate age, brought Rome itself to a farther slavery : for liberty hath a
 “ sharp and double edge, fit only to be handled by just and virtuous men ; to bad and
 “ dissolute, it becomes a mischief unwieldy in their own hands : neither is it com-
 “ pletly given, but by them who have the happy skill to know what is grievance, and
 “ unjust to a people, and how to remove it wisely ; what good laws are wanting, and
 “ how to frame them substantially, that good men may enjoy the freedom which they
 “ merit, and the bad the curb which they need. But to do this, and to know these
 “ exquisite proportions, the heroic wisdom which is required, surmounted far the prin-
 “ ciples of these narrow politicians : what wonder then if they sunk as these unfortunate
 “ Britains before them, entangled and oppressed with things too hard and generous above
 “ their strain and temper ? For Britain, to speak a truth not often spoken, as it is a
 “ land fruitful enough of men stout and courageous in war, so it is naturally not over-
 “ fertile of men able to govern justly and prudently in peace, trusting only in their
 “ mother-wit ; who consider not justly, that civility, prudence, love of the public
 “ good, more than of money or vain honour, are to this soil in a manner outlandish ;
 “ grow not here, but in minds well implanted with solid and elaborate breeding, too
 “ impolitic else and rude, if not headstrong and intractable to the industry and virtue
 “ either of executing or understanding true civil government. Valiant indeed, and
 “ prosperous to win a field ; but to know the end and reason of winning, unjudicious,
 “ and unwise : in good or bad success alike unteachable. For the sun which we want,
 “ ripens wits as well as fruits ; and as wine and oil are imported to us from abroad,
 “ so must ripe understanding, and many civil virtues, be imported into our minds from
 “ foreign writings, and examples of best ages ; we shall else miscarry still, and come
 “ short in the attempts of any great enterprize. Hence did their victories prove as
 “ fruitless, as their losses dangerous ; and left them still conquering under the same
 “ grievances, that men suffer conquered : which was indeed unlikely to go otherwise ;
 “ unless men more than vulgar bred up, as few of them were, in the knowledge of
 “ ancient and illustrious deeds, invincible against many and vain titles, impartial to
 “ friendships and relations, had conducted their affairs : but then from the chapman to
 “ the retailer, many whose ignorance was more audacious than the rest, were admitted
 “ with all their sordid rudiments to bear no mean sway among them, both in church
 “ and state.

“ From the confluence of all their errors, mischiefs, and misdemeanours, what in
 “ the eyes of man could be expected, but what befel those ancient inhabitants whom
 “ they so much resembled, confusion in the end ?

“ But on these things, and this parallel, having enough insisted, I return to the
 “ story which gave us matter of this digression.]

The Britains thus, as we heard, being left without protection from the empire, and
 the land in a manner emptied of all her youth, consumed in wars abroad, or not caring
 to return home, themselves through long subjection, servile in mind*, slothful of body,
 and with the use of arms unacquainted, sustained but ill for many years the violence of
 those barbarous invaders, who now daily grew upon them. For although at first greedy
 of Change†, and to be thought the leading nation to freedom from the empire, they
 seemed a while to bestir them with a shew of diligence in their new affairs, some
 secretly aspiring to rule, others adoring the name of liberty, yet so soon as they felt by
 proof the weight of what it was to govern well themselves, and what was wanting
 within them, not stomach or the love of licence, but the wisdom, the virtue, the la-
 bour, to use and maintain true liberty, they soon remitted their heat, and shrunk more

* Gild. Bede. Malins.

† Zozim. l. 6.

wretchedly under the burden of their own liberty, than before under a foreign yoke. Infomuch that the residue of those Romans which had planted themselves here, despairing of their ill deportment at home, and weak resistance in the field by those few who had the courage or the strength to bear arms, nine years after the sacking of Rome removed out of Britain into France *, hiding for haste great part of their treasure, which was never after found †. And now again the Britains, no longer able to support themselves against the prevailing enemy, solicit Honorius to their aid §, with mournful letters, embassages and vows of perpetual subjection to Rome, if the northern foe were but repulsed. || He at their request spares them one legion, which with great slaughter of the Scots and Picts drove them beyond the borders, rescued the Britains, and advised them to build a wall cross the island, between sea and sea, from the place where Edinburgh now stands to the frith of Dunbritton, by the city Alcluith ¶. But the material being only turf, and by the rude multitude unartificially built up without better direction, availed them little. ‡ For no sooner was the legion departed, but the greedy spoilers returning, land in great numbers from their boats and pinnaces, wasting, slaying, and treading down all before them. Then are messengers again posted to Rome in lamentable sort, beseeching that they would not suffer a whole province to be destroyed, and the Roman name, so honourable yet among them, to become the subject of Barbarian scorn and insolence. ** The emperor, at their sad complaint, with what speed was possible, sends to their succour. Who coming suddenly on those ravenous multitudes that minded only spoil, surprise them with a terrible slaughter. They who escaped fled back to those seas, from whence yearly they were wont to arrive, and return laden with booties. But the Romans, who came not now to rule, but charitably to aid, declaring that it stood not longer with the ease of their affairs to make such laborious voyages in pursuit of so base and vagabond robbers, of whom neither glory was to be got, nor gain, exhorted them to manage their own warfare; and to defend like men their country, their wives, their children, and what was to be dearer than life, their liberty, against an enemy not stronger than themselves, if their own sloth and cowardice had not made them so; if they would but only find hands to grasp defensive arms, rather than basely stretch them out to receive bonds. †† They gave them also their help to build a new wall, not of earth as the former, but of stone, (both at the public cost, and by particular contributions) traversing the isle in a direct line from east to west, between certain cities placed there as frontiers to bear off the enemy, where Severus had walled once before. They raised it twelve foot high, eight broad. Along the south shore, because from thence also like hostility was feared, they place towers by the sea-side at certain distances, for safety of the coast. Withal they instruct them in the art of war, leaving patterns of their arms and weapons behind them; and with animating words, and many lessons of valour to a faint-hearted audience, bid them finally farewell, without purpose to return. And these two friendly expeditions, the last of any hither by the Romans, were performed, as may be gathered out of Bede and Diaconus, the two last years of Honorius. §§ Their leader, as some modernly write, was Gallio of Ravenna; Buchanan, who departs not much from the fables of his predecessor Boethius, names him Maximianus, and brings against him to this battle Fergus first king of Scots, after their second supposed coming into Scotland, Durstus king of Picts, both there slain, and Dioneth an imaginary king of Britain, or duke of Cornwall, who improbably sided with them against his own country, hardly escaping |||. With no less exactness of particular circumstances he takes upon him to relate all those tumultuary inroads of the Scots and Picts into Britain, as if they had but yesterday happened, their order of battle,

* Post Christ. 418. † Ethelwerd. annal. Sax. § Gildas. Post Christ. 422. || Diaconus, l. 14. ¶ Bede, l. 1. c. 2. ‡ Gildas. ** Post Christ. 423. †† Bede, ibid. Gildas, §§ Blond. Sabellic, ||| Buch, l. 5.

manner of fight, number of slain, articles of peace, things whereof Gildas and Beda are utterly silent, authors to whom the Scotch writers have none to cite comparable in antiquity ; no more therefore to be believed for bare assertions, however quaintly drest, than our Geoffrey of Monmouth when he varies most from authentic story. But either the inbred vanity of some, in that respect unworthily called historians, or the fond zeal of praising their nations above truth, hath so far transported them, that where they find nothing faithfully to relate, they fall confidently to invent what they think may either best set off their history, or magnify their country.

The Scots and Picts in manners differing somewhat from each other, but still unanimous to rob and spoil, hearing that the Romans intended not to return from their gorroghs or leathern frigates *, pour out themselves in swarms upon the land more confident than ever ; and from the north-end of the isle to the very wall-side, then first took possession as inhabitants ; while the Britains with idle weapons in their hands stand trembling on the battlements, till the half naked Barbarians with their long and formidable iron hooks pull them down headlong. The rest not only quitting the wall, but towns and cities, leave them to the bloody pursuer, who follows killing, waisting, and destroying all in his way. From these confusions arose a famine, and from thence discord and civil commotion among the Britains ; each man living by what he robbed or took violently from his neighbour. When all stores were consumed and spent where men inhabited, they betook them to the woods, and lived by hunting, which was their only sustinment. † To the heaps of these evils from without were added new divisions within the church. § For Agricola the son of Severianus a Pelagian bishop had spread his doctrine wide among the Britains, not uninfected before. The sounder part neither willing to embrace his opinion to the overthrow of divine grace, nor able to refute him, crave assistance from the churches of France : who send them Germanus bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus of Troyes. They by continual preaching in churches ||, in streets, in fields, and not without miracles, as is written, confirmed some, regained others, and at Verulam in a public disputation put to silence their chief adversaries. This reformation in the church was believed to be the cause of their success a while after in the field. For the Saxons and Picts with joint force ¶, which was no new thing before the Saxons at least had any dwelling in this island, during the abode of Germanus here, had made a strong impression from the north. ** The Britains marching out against them, and mistrusting their own power, send to Germanus and his colleague, reposing more in the spiritual strength of those two men, than in their own thousands armed. They came, and their presence in the camp was not less than if a whole army had come to second them. It was then the time of Lent, and the people instructed by the daily sermons of these two pastors, came flocking to receive baptism. There was a place in the camp set apart as a church, and tricked up with boughs upon Easter-day. The enemy understanding this, and that the Britains were taken up with religions more than with feats of arms, advances after the paschal feast, as to a certain victory. German, who also had intelligence of their approach, undertakes to be captain that day ; and riding out with selected troops to discover what advantages the place might offer, lights on a valley compassed about with hills, by which the enemy was to pass. And placing there his ambush, warns them, that what word they heard him pronounce aloud, the same they should repeat with universal shout. The enemy passes on securely, and German thrice aloud cries Hallelujah ; which answered by the soldiers with a sudden burst of clamour, is from the hills and valleys redoubled. The Saxons and Picts on a sudden supposing it the noise of a huge host, throw themselves into flight, casting down their arms, and

* Gildas, Bede.
West. ad ann. 446.

† Bede.
¶ Post Christ. 430.

§ Constantius.

|| Post Christ. 426. Prosp. Aquit. Matth.

** Constant. vit. German.

great numbers of them are drowned in the river which they had newly passed. This victory, thus won without hands, left to the Britains plenty of spoil, and the person and the preaching of German greater authority and reverence than before. And the exploit might pass for current, if Constantius, the writer of his life in the next age, had resolved us how the British army came to want baptizing; for of any paganism at that time, or long before, in the land we read not, or that Pelagianism was rebaptized. The place of this victory, as is reported, was in Flintshire*, by a town called Guid-cruc, and the river Allen, where a field retains the name of Maes German to this day. But so soon as German was returned home†, the Scots and Picts, (though now so many of them christians, that Palladius a deacon was ordained and sent by Celestine the pope to be a bishop over them,) were not so well reclaimed, or not so many of them, as to cease from doing mischief to their neighbours§, where they found no impeachment to fall in yearly as they were wont. They therefore of the Britains who perhaps were not yet wholly ruined, in the strongest and south-west parts of the isle||, send letters to Ætius, then third time consul of Rome, with this superscription; “To Ætius thrice consul, the groans of the Britains.” And after a few words thus: “The barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea drives us back to the barbarians; thus bandied up and down between two deaths, we perish either by the sword or by the sea.” But the empire, at that time overspread with Hunns and Vandals, was not in condition to lend them aid. Thus rejected and wearied out with continual flying from place to place, but more afflicted with famine, which then grew outrageous among them, many for hunger yielded to the enemy; others either more resolute, or less exposed to wants, keeping within woods and mountainous places, not only defended themselves, but sallying out, at length gave a stop to the insulting foe, with many seasonable defeats; led by some eminent person, as may be thought, who exhorted them not to trust in their own strength, but in divine assistance. And perhaps no other here is meant than the fore-said deliverance by German, if computation would permit, which Gildas either not much regarded, or might mistake; but that he tarried so long here, the writers of his life assent not¶. Finding therefore such opposition, the Scots or Irish robbers, for so they are indifferently termed, without delay get them home. The Picts, as before was mentioned, then first began to settle in the utmost parts of the island, using now and then to make inroads upon the Britains. But they in the mean while thus rid of their enemies, begin afresh to till the ground; which after cessation yields her fruit in such abundance, as had not formerly been known for many ages. But wantonness and luxury, the wonted companions of plenty, grow up as fast, and with them, if Gildas deserve belief, all other vices incident to human corruption. That which he notes especially to be the chief perverting of all good in the land, and so continued in his days, was the hatred of truth, and all such as durst appear to vindicate and maintain it. Against them, as against the only disturbers, all the malice of the land was bent. Lies and falsities, and such as could best invent them, were only in request. Evil was embraced for good, wickedness honoured and esteemed as virtue. And this quality their valour had, against a foreign enemy to be ever backward and heartless; to civil broils eager and prompt. In matters of government, and the search of truth, weak and shallow; in falsehood and wicked deeds pregnant and industrious. Pleasing to God, or not pleasing, with them weighed alike; and the worse most an end was the weightier. All things were done contrary to public welfare and safety; nor only by secular men, for the clergy also, whose example should have guided others, were as vicious and corrupt. Many of them besotted with continual drunkenness, or swoln with pride and wilfulness, full of contention, full of envy, indiscreet, incompetent judges to deter-

* Uffer. Primord. p. 333.
Bede. || Malmſbury, l. i. c. i. p. 8.

† Post Christ. 431. Proſp. Aquit. Ethelwerd.
¶ Gildas.

§ Florent Gild.

mine what in the practice of life is good or evil, what lawful or unlawful. Thus furnished with judgment, and for manners thus qualified both priest and lay, they agree to choose them several kings of their own; as near as might be, likest themselves; and the words of my author import as much. Kings were anointed, saith he, not of God's anointing, but such as were cruellest; and soon after as inconsiderately, without examining the truth, put to death, by their anointers, to set up others more fierce and proud. As for the election of their kings (and that they had not all one monarch, appears both in ages past and by the sequel) it began, as high as may be guessed, either this year * or the following, when they saw the Romans had quite deserted their claim. About which time also Pelagianism again prevailing by means of some few, the British clergy too weak, it seems, at dispute, entreat the second time German to their assistance, who coming with Severus a disciple of Lupus, that was his former associate, stands not now to argue, for the people generally continued right; but enquiring those authors of new disturbance, adjudges them to banishment. They therefore by consent of all were delivered to German; who carrying them over with him †, disposed of them in such place where neither they could infect others, and were themselves under cure of better instruction. But Germanus the same year died in Italy; and the Britains not long after found themselves again in much perplexity, with no slight rumour that their old troublers the Scots and Picts had prepared a strong invasion, purposing to kill all, and dwell themselves in the land from end to end. But ere their coming in, as if the instruments of divine justice had been at strife, which of them first should destroy a wicked nation, the pestilence forestalling the sword, left scarce alive whom to bury the dead; and for that time, as one extremity keeps off another, preserved the land from a worse incumbrance of those barbarous dispossessioners, whom the contagion gave not leave now to enter far. § And yet the Britains, nothing bettered by these heavy judgments, the one threatened, the other felt, instead of acknowledging the hand of heaven, run to the palace of their king Vortigern with complaints and cries of what they suddenly feared from the Pictish invasion. Vortigern, who at that time was chief rather than sole king, unless the rest had perhaps left their dominions to the common enemy, is said by him of Monmouth to have procured the death first of Constantine, then of Constance his son, who of a monk was made king, and by that means to have usurped the crown. But they who can remember how Constantine with his son Constance the Monk, the one made emperor, the other Cæsar, perished in France, may discern the simple fraud of this fable. But Vortigern however coming to reign, is decyphered by truer stories a proud unfortunate tyrant, and yet of the people much beloved, because his vices sorted so well with theirs. For neither was he skilled in war, nor wise in counsel, but covetous, lustful, luxurious, and prone to all vice; wasting the public treasure in gluttony and riot, careless of the common danger, and through a haughty ignorance, unapprehensive of his own. Nevertheless importuned and awaked at length by unusual clamours of the people, he summons a general council, to provide some better means than heretofore had been used against these continual annoyances from the north. Wherein by advice of all it was determined, that the Saxons be invited into Britain against the Scots and Picts; whose breaking in they either shortly expected, or already found they had not strength enough to oppose. The Saxons were a barbarous and heathen nation, famous for nothing else but robberies and cruelties done to all their neighbours, both by sea and land; in particular to this island, witness that military force, which the Roman emperors maintained here purposely against them, under a special commander, whose title, as is found on good record ||, was "Count of the Saxon shore in Britain," and the many mischiefs done by their landing here, both alone and with the Picts, as above hath been related, witness as much. ¶ They were a people thought by good

* Post Christ. 447. Constant. Bede. † Post Christ. 448. Sigon. Gildas. § Malmf. l. i.
 || Notitiæ imperii. ¶ Florent. Wigorn. ad an. 370.

writers, to be descended of the Sacæ, a kind of Scythian in the north of Asia, thence called Sacasons, or sons of Sacæ, who with a flood of other northern nations came into Europe, toward the declining of the Roman empire; and using piracy from Denmark all along these seas, possessed at length by intrusion all that coast of Germany*, and the Netherlands, which took thence the name of Old Saxony, lying between the Rhine and Elbe, and from thence north as far as Eidora, the river bounding Holsatia, though not so firmly, or so largely, but that their multitude wandered yet uncertain of habitation. Such guests as these the Britains resolve now to send for, and entreat into their houses and possessions, at whose very name heretofore they trembled afar off. So much do men through impatience count ever that the heaviest which they bear at present, and to remove the evil which they suffer, care not to pull on a greater; as if variety and change in evil also were acceptable. Or whether it be that men in the despair of better, imagine fondly a kind of refuge from one misery to another.

† The Britains therefore with Vortigern, who was then accounted king over them all, resolve in full council to send ambassadors of their choicest men with great gifts, and saith a Saxon writer in these words, desiring their aid; “Worthy Saxons, hearing the fame of your prowess, the distressed Britains wearied out, and overpressed by a continual invading enemy, have sent us to beseech your aid. They have a land fertile and spacious, which to your commands they bid us surrender. Heretofore we have lived with freedom, under the obedience and protection of the Roman empire. Next to them we know none worthier than yourselves; and therefore become suppliants to your valour. Leave us not below our present enemies, and to aught by you imposed, willingly we shall submit.” Yet Ethelwerd writes not that they promised subjection, but only amity and league. They therefore who had chief rule among them §, hearing themselves entreated by the Britains, to that which gladly they would have wished to obtain of them by entreating, to the British embassy return this answer: || “Be assured henceforth of the Saxons, as of faithful friends to the Britains, no less ready to stand by them in their need, than in their best of fortune.” The ambassadors return joyful, and with news as welcome to their country, whose sinister fate had now blinded them for destruction. ¶ The Saxons, consulting first their gods (for they had answer, that the land whereto they went, they should hold three hundred years, half that time conquering, and half quietly possessing) furnish out three long galleys**, or kyules, with a chosen company of warlike youth, under the conduct of two brothers, Hengist and Horfa, descended in the fourth degree from Woden; of whom, deified for the fame of his acts, most kings of those nations derive their pedigree. These, and either mixt with these, or soon after by themselves, two other tribes, or neighbouring people, Jutes and Angles, the one from Jutland, the other from Anglen by the city of Sleswick, both provinces of Denmark, arrive in the first year of Martian the Greek emperor, from the birth of Christ four hundred and fifty ††, received with much goodwill of the people first, then of the king, who after some assurances given and taken, bestows on them the isle of Tanet, where they first landed, hoping they might be made hereby more eager against the Picts, when they fought as for their own country, and more loyal to the Britains, from whom they had received a place to dwell in, which before they wanted. The British Nennius writes, that these brethren were driven into exile out of Germany, and to Vortigern who reigned in much fear, one while of the Picts, then of the Romans and Ambrosius, came opportunely into the haven. §§ For it was the custom in Old Saxony when their numerous offspring overflowed the narrowness of their bounds, to send them out by lot into new dwellings wherever they found room, either vacant or to be forced. ||| But whether sought, or unsought, they dwelt

* Ethelwerd. † Ethelwerd. Malmfb. Witichind. gest. Sax. l. i. p. 3.
¶ Gildas. ** Bede. †† Post Christ 450. Nennius. Mamlmf.

§ Malmf. || Witichind.
§§ Malmf. ||| Henry

not here long without employment. For the Scots and Picts were now come down, some say, as far as Stamford, in Lincolnshire, whom, perhaps not imagining to meet new opposition, the Saxons, though not till after a sharp encounter, put to flight * ; and that more than once ; slaying in fight †, as some Scotch writers affirm, their king Eugenius the son of Fergus. § Hengist perceiving the island to be rich and fruitful, but her princes and other inhabitants given to vicious ease, sends word home, inviting others to a share of his good success. Who returning with seventeen ships, were grown up now to a sufficient army, and entertained without suspicion on these terms, that they “ should bear the brunt of war against the Picts, receiving stipend and some place to inhabit.” With these was brought over the daughter of Hengist, a virgin wonderful fair, as is reported, Rowen the British call her : she by commandment of her father, who had invited the king to a banquet, coming in presence with a bowl of wine to welcome him, and to attend on his cup till the feast ended, won so much upon his fancy, though already wived, as to demand her in marriage upon any conditions. Hengist at first, though it fell out perhaps according to his drift, held off, excusing his meanness ; then obscurely intimating a desire and almost a necessity, by reason of his augmented numbers, to have his narrow bounds of Tanet enlarged to the circuit of Kent, had it strait by donation ; though Guoramongus till then, was king of that place ; and so, as it were overcome by the great munificence of Vortigern, gave his daughter. And still encroaching on the king’s favour, got further leave to call over Octa and Ebissa, his own and his brother’s son ; pretending that they, if the north were given them, would sit there as a continual defence against the Scots, while himself guarded the east. || They therefore sailing with forty ships, even to the Orcades, and every way curbing the Scots and Picts, possessed that part of the isle which is now Northumberland. Notwithstanding this they complain that their monthly pay was grown much into arrear ; which when the Britains found means to satisfy, though alledging withal that they to whom promise was made of wages, were nothing so many in number : quieted with this a while, but still seeking occasion to fall off, they find fault next, that their pay is too small for the danger they undergo, threatening open-war unless it be augmented. Guortimer, the king’s son, perceiving his father and the kingdom thus betrayed, from that time bends his utmost endeavour to drive them out. They on the other side making league with the Picts and Scots, and issuing out of Kent, wasted without resistance almost the whole land even to the western sea, with such a horrid devastation, that towns and colonies overturned, priests and people slain, temples and palaces, what with fire and sword, lay altogether heaped in one mixed ruin. Of all which multitude, so great was the sinfulness that brought this upon them, Gildas adds, that few or none were likely to be other than lewd and wicked persons. The residue of these, part overtaken in the mountains were slain ; others subdued with hunger preferred slavery before instant death ; some getting to rocks, hills, and woods inaccessible, preferred the fear and danger of any death, before the shame of a secure slavery ¶ ; many fled over sea into other countries ; some into Holland, where yet remain the ruins of Brittenburgh, an old castle on the sea, to be seen at low water not far from Leyden, either built, as writers of their own affirm, or seized on by those Britains, in their escape from Hengist : ** others into Armorica, peopled, as some think, with Britains long before, either by gift of Constantine the Great, or else of Maximus to those British forces which had served them in foreign wars ††, to whom those also that miscarried not with the latter Constantine at Arles ; and lastly, these exiles driven out by Saxons, fled for refuge. But the ancient chronicles of those provinces attest their coming thither to be then first when they fled the Saxons ; and indeed the name of

* Ethelwerd.

† Bel. Nin.

§ Nenn.

|| Gildas, Bed. Ninn.

¶ Primord. p. 418.

** Malmf l. i. c. 1.

†† Huntingd. l. i.

Britain in France is not read till after that time. Yet how a sort of fugitives, who had quitted without stroke their own country, should so soon win another, appears not, unless joined to some party of their own settled there before. * Vortigern nothing bettered by these calamities, grew at last so obdurate as to commit incest with his daughter, tempted or tempting him out of an ambition to the crown. For which being censured and condemned in a great synod of Clercs and Laics, and partly for fear of the Saxons, according to the counsel of his peers, he retired into Wales, and built him there a strong castle in Radnorshire †, by the advice of Ambrosius a young prophet, whom others call Merlin. Nevertheless Faustus, who was the son thus incestuously begotten, under the instructions of German, or some of his disciples, for German was dead before, proved a religious man, and lived in devotion by the river Remnis, in Glamorganshire. § But the Saxons, though finding it so easy to subdue the isle, with most of their forces, uncertain for what cause, returned home: whenas the easiness of their conquest might seem rather likely to have called in more; which makes more probable that which the British write of Guortemir. || For he coming to reign, instead of his father deposed for incest, is said to have thrice driven and besieged the Saxons in the isle of Tanet; and when they issued out with powerful supplies sent from Saxony, to have fought with them four other battles, whereof three are named; the first on the river Darwent, the second at Episford, wherein Horfa the brother of Hengist fell, and on the British part Catigern the other son of Vortigern. The third in a field by Stonar, then called Lapis tituli, in Tanet, where he beat them into their ships that bore them home, glad to have so escaped, and not venturing to land again for five years after. In the space whereof Guortemir dying, commanded they should bury him in the port of Stonar; persuaded that his bones lying there, would be terror enough to keep the Saxons from ever landing in that place: they, saith Ninnius, neglecting his command, buried him in Lincoln. But concerning these times, ancientest annals of the Saxons relate in this manner. ¶ In the year four hundred and fifty five, Hengist and Horfa fought against Vortigern, in a place called Eglesthrup, now Ailsford in Kent, where Horfa lost his life, of whom Horsted, the place of his burial, took name.

After this first battle and the death of his brother, Hengist with his son Esca took on him kingly title **, and peopled Kent with Jutes; who also then, or not long after, possessed the Isle of Wight, and part of Hampshire lying opposite. †† Two years after in a fight at Creganford, or Craford, Hengist and his son slew of the Britains four chief commanders, and as many thousand men; the rest in great disorder flying to London, with the total loss of Kent. §§ And eight years passing between, he made new war on the Britains; of whom in a battle at Wippeds-fleet, twelve princes were slain, and Wipped the Saxon earl, who left his name to that place, though not sufficient to direct us where it now stands. ||| His last encounter was at a place not mentioned, where he gave them such an overthrow, that flying in great fear they left the spoil of all to their enemies. And these perhaps are the four battles, according to Ninnius, fought by Guortemir, though by these writers far differently related; and happening besides many other bickerings, in the space of twenty years, as Malmesbury reckons. Nevertheless it plainly appears that the Saxons, by whomsoever, were put to hard shifts, being all this while fought withal in Kent, their own allotted dwelling, and sometimes on the very edge of the sea, which the word Wippeds-fleet seems to intimate. ¶¶ But Guortemir now dead, and none of courage left to defend the land, Vortigern either by the power of his faction, or by consent of all, re-assumes the government: and Hengist thus rid of his grand opposer, hearing gladly the restoration of his old favourer, returns again

* Ninn. Malmsh.

† Ninn.

§ Gildas.

|| Ninn.

¶ Post Christ. 455.

Bede. Ethelwerd. Florent. Annal Sax.

** The kingdom of Kent.

†† Post Christ. 457.

§§ Post Christ. 465.

||| Post Christ. 473.

¶¶ Nennius.

with great forces ; but to Vortigern whom he well knew how to handle without warring, as to his son-in-law, now that the only author of diffension between them was removed by death, offers nothing but all terms of new league and amity. The king, both for his wife's sake and his own sottishness, consulting also with his peers not unlike himself, readily yields ; and the place of parly is agreed on ; to which either side was to repair without weapons. Hengist, whose meaning was not peace, but treachery, appointed his men to be secretly armed, and acquainted them to what intent. * The watch-word was, *Nemet eour Saxes*, that is, Draw your daggers ; which they observing, when the Britains were thoroughly heated with wine (for the treaty it seems was not without cups) and provoked, as was plotted, by some affront, dispatched with those poniards every one his next man, to the number of three hundred, the chief of those that could do aught against him, either in counsel or in field. Vortigern they only bound and kept in custody, until he granted them for his ransom three provinces, which were called afterward Essex, Suffex, and Middlesex. Who thus dismiss, retiring again to his solitary abode in the country of Guorthigirniaun, so called by his name, from thence to the castle of his own building in North-Wales, by the river Tiebi ; and living there obscurely among his wives, was at length burnt in his tower by fire from heaven, at the prayer†, as some say, of German, but that coheres not ; as others, by Ambrosius Aurelianus ; of whom, as we have heard at first, he stood in great fear, and partly for that cause invited in the Saxons. Who, whether by constraint, or of their own accord, after much mischief done, most of them returning back into their own country, left a fair opportunity to the Britains of avenging themselves easier on those who staid behind. Repenting therefore, and with earnest supplication imploring divine help to prevent their final rooting out, they gather from all parts, and under the leading of Ambrosius Aurelianus, a virtuous and modest man, the last here of the Roman stock, advancing now onward against the late victors, defeat them in a memorable battle. Common opinion, but grounded chiefly on the British fables, makes this Ambrosius to be a younger son of that Constantine, whose eldest, as we heard, was Constance the Monk ; who both lost their lives abroad, usurping the empire. But the express words both of Gildas and Bede assure us, that the parents of this Ambrosius having here borne regal dignity, were slain in these Pictish wars and commotions in the island. And if the fear of Ambrose induced Vortigern to call in the Saxons, it seems Vortigern usurped his right. I perceive not that Nennius makes any difference between him and Merlin ; for that child without father that prophesied to Vortigern, he names not Merlin, but Ambrose ; makes him the son of a Roman consul, but concealed by his mother, as fearing that the king therefore sought his life : yet the youth no sooner had confessed his parentage, but Vortigern either in reward of his predictions, or as his right, bestowed upon him all the west of Britain ; himself retiring to a solitary life. Whose-ever son he was, he was the first §, according to surest authors, that led against the Saxons, and overthrew them ; but whether before this time or after, none have written. This is certain, that in a time when most of the Saxon forces were departed home, the Britains gathered strength ; and either against those who were left remaining, or against their whole powers, the second time returning obtained this victory. Thus Ambrose as chief monarch of the isle succeeded Vortigern ; to whose third son Pascentius he permitted the rule of two regions in Wales, Buelth and Guorthigirniaun. In his days, saith Ninnius ||, the Saxons prevailed not much : against whom Arthur, as being then chief general for the British kings, made great war, but more renowned in songs and romances, than in true stories. And the sequel itself declares as much. For in the year four hundred and seventy seven ¶, Ella the Saxon, with his

* Malmf. † Min. ex legend St. Ger. Galfrid. Monmouth.
¶ Post Christ. 477. Sax. an. Ethelw. Florent.

§ Gildas, Bed.

|| Nenn.

three sons, Cymen, Pleting, and Cissa, at a place in Suffex called Cymensshore, arrive in three ships, kill many of the Britains, chasing them that remained into the wood Andreds Leage. * Another battle was fought at Mercreds-Burnamsted, wherein Ella had by far the victory; but † Huntingdon makes it so doubtful, that the Saxons were constrained to send home for supplies. § Four years after died Hengist, the first Saxon king of Kent; noted to have attained that dignity by craft, as much as valour, and giving scope to his own cruel nature, rather than proceeding by mildness or civility. His son Oeric, surnamed Oisc, of whom the Kentish kings were called Oiscings, succeeded him, and sate content with his father's winnings, more desirous to settle and defend, than to enlarge his bounds: he reigned twenty four years. || By this time Ella and his son Cissa besieging Andredchester, supposed now to be Newenden in Kent, take it by force, and all within it put to the sword.

Thus Ella three years after the death of Hengist, began his kingdom of the South-Saxons ¶; peopling it with new inhabitants, from the country which was then Old Saxony, at this day Holstein in Denmark, and had besides at his command all those provinces which the Saxons had won on this side Humber ‡. Animated with these good successes, as if Britain were become now the field of fortune, Kerdic another Saxon prince, the tenth by lineage from Woden **, an old and practised soldier, who in many prosperous conflicts against the enemy in those parts, had nursed up a spirit too big to live at home with equals, coming to a certain place which from thence took the name of Kerdic-shore ††, with five ships, and Kenric his son, the very same day overthrew the Britains that opposed him; and so effectually, that smaller skirmishes after that day were sufficient to drive them still further off, leaving him a large territory. §§ After him Porta another Saxon, with his two sons Bida and Megla, in two ships arrive at Portsmouth thence called, and at their landing slew a young British nobleman, with many others who unadvisedly set upon them. ||| The Britains to recover what they had lost, draw together all their forces led by Natanleod, or Nazaleod, a certain king in Britain, and the greatest, faith one; but with him five thousand of his men Kerdic puts to rout and slays. From whence the place in Hantshire, as far as Kerdicsford, now Chardford, was called of old Nazaleod. Who this king should be, hath bred much question; some think it to be the British name of Ambrose; others to be the right name of his brother, who for the terror of his eagerness in fight, became more known by the surname of Uther, which in the Welch tongue signifies Dreadful. And if ever such a king in Britain there was as Uther Pendragon, for so also the Monmouth book surnames him, this in all likelihood must be he. Kerdic by so great a blow given to the Britains had made large room about him; not only for the men he brought with him, but for such also of his friends, as he desired to make great; for which cause, and withal the more to strengthen himself, his two nephews Stuff and Withgar, in three vessels bring him new levies to Kerdic-shore ¶¶. Who, that they might not come sluggishly to possess what others had won for them, either by their own seeking, or by appointment, are set in a place where they could not but at their first coming give proof of themselves upon the enemy; and so well they did it, that the Britains after a hard encounter left them masters of the field ††. About the same time, Ella the first South-Saxon king died; whom Cissa, his youngest, succeeded; the other two failing before him.

Nor can it be much more or less than about this time, for it was before the West-Saxon kingdom, that Uffa the eighth from Woden, made himself king of the East-Angles *; who by their name testify the country above-mentioned; from whence they

* Post Christ. 485. Florent. † Huntingd. § Post Christ. 489. Malmf. Bed. l. 2. c. 5.
 ¶ Post Christ. 492. Camden. ¶ The kingdom of South-Saxons. † Bed. l. c. 15. & l. 2. c. 5.
 ** Sax. ann. omn. †† Post Christ. 495. §§ Post Christ. 501. Sax. an. omn. Huntingdon.
 ||| Post Christ. 508. Ann. omn. Huntingd. Camden. Uff. Primord. ¶¶ Post Christ. 514.
 An. omn. †† Huntingdon. * The kingdom of East-Angles.

came in such multitudes, that their native soil is said to have remained in the days of Beda uninhabited *. Huntingdon defers the time of their coming in to the ninth year of Kerdic's reign : for, saith he †, at first many of them strove for principality, seizing every one his province, and for some while so continued, making petty wars among themselves ; § till in the end Uffa, of whom those kings were called Uffings, over-topt them all in the year five hundred and seventy one ; || then Titilus his son, the father of Redwald, who became potent.

And not much after the East-Angles, began also the East-Saxons to erect a kingdom under Sleda, the tenth from Woden. But Huntingdon, as before, will have it later by eleven years, and Erchenwin to be the first king.

Kerdic the same in power, though not so fond of title, forbore the name twenty four years after his arrival ; but then founded so firmly the kingdom of West-Saxons **, that it subjected all the rest at length, and became the sole monarchy of England. The same year he had a victory against the Britains at Kerdic's ford, by the river Aven : and after eight years ††, another great fight at Kerdic's leage, but which won the day is not by any set down. Hitherto hath been collected what there is of certainty with circumstance of time and place to be found registered, and no more than barely registered in annals of best note ; without describing after Huntingdon the manner of those battles and encounters, which they who compare, and can judge of books, may be confident he never found in any current author whom he had to follow. But this disease hath been incident to many more historians : and the age whereof we now write, hath had the ill hap, more than any since the first fabulous times, to be surcharged with all the idle fancies of posterity. Yet that we may not rely altogether on Saxon relaters, Gildas in antiquity far before these, and every way more credible, speaks of these wars in such a manner, though nothing conceited of the British valour, as declares the Saxons in his time and before to have been foiled not seldomer than the Britains. For besides that first victory of Ambrose, and the interchangeable success long after, he tells that the last overthrow which they received at Badon hill was not the least ; which they in their oldest annals mention not at all. And because the time of this battle, by any who could do more than guess, is not set down, or any foundation given from whence to draw a solid compute, it cannot be much wide to insert it in this place. For such authors as we have to follow, give the conduct and praise of this exploit to Arthur ; and that this was the last of twelve great battles which he fought victoriously against the Saxons. The several places written by Nennius in their Welch names §§, were many hundred years ago unknown, and so here omitted. But who Arthur was, and whether ever any such reigned in Britain, hath been doubted heretofore, and may again with good reason. For the monk of Malmfbury, and others, whose credit hath swayed most with the learned sort, we may well perceive to have known no more of this Arthur five hundred years past, nor of his doings, than we, now living ; and what they had to say, transcribed out of Nennius, a very trivial writer yet extant, which hath already been related ; or out of a British book, the same which he of Monmouth set forth, utterly unknown to the world, till more than six hundred years after the days of Arthur, of whom (as Sigebert in his chronicle confesses) all other histories were silent, both foreign and domestic, except only that fabulous book. Others of later time have sought to assert him by old legends and cathedral regests. But he who can accept of legends for good story, may quickly swell a volume with trash, and had need be furnished with two only necessities, leisure and belief ; whether it be the writer, or he that shall read. As to Arthur, no less is in doubt who was his father ; for if it be true, as Nennius or his notist avers, that Arthur was called Mab-Uther, that is to say, a cruel

* Malmfb. l. 1. c. 5. Bed. l. 1. c. 15.

|| Malmf. l. 1. c. 6.

** Post Christ. 519.

† Huntingd l. 2. p. 313, 315.

†† Sax. ann. omn. 527.

§ Bed. l. 2. c. 15.

§§ Nenn.

son, for the fierceness that men saw in him of a child, and the intent of his name Arturus imports as much, it might well be that some in after-ages who sought to turn him into a fable, wrested the word Uther into a proper name, and so feigned him the son of Uther; since we read not in any certain story, that ever such person lived till Geoffrey of Monmouth set him off with the surname of Pendragon. And as we doubted of his parentage, so may we also of his puissance; for whether that victory at Badon-hill were his or no, is uncertain; Gildas not naming him, as he did Ambrose in the former. Next, if it be true as Caradoc relates *, that Melvas, king of that country which is now Somerset, kept from him Gueniver his wife a whole year in the town of Glaston, and restored her at the entreaty of Gildas, rather than for any enforcement that Arthur with all his chivalry could make against a small town defended only by a moory situation; had either his knowledge in war, or the force he had to make, been answerable to the fame they bear, that petty king had neither dared such affront, nor he been so long, and at last without effect, in revenging it. Considering lastly how the Saxons gained upon him every where all the time of his supposed reign, which began, as some write †, in the tenth year of Kerdic, who wrung from him by long war the countries of Somerset and Hampshire; there will remain neither place nor circumstance in story, which may administer any likelihood of those great acts that are ascribed him. § This only is alledged by Nennius in Arthur's behalf, that the Saxons tho' vanquished never so oft, grew still more numerous upon him by continual supplies out of Germany. And the truth is, that valour may be overtoiled, and overcome at last with endless overcoming. But as for this battle of mount Badon, where the Saxons were hemmed in, or besieged, whether by Arthur won, or whensoever, it seems indeed to have given a most undoubted and important blow to the Saxons, and to have stopped their proceedings for a good while after. Gildas himself witnessing that the Britains having thus compelled them to sit down with peace, fell thereupon to civil discord among themselves. Which words may seem to let in some light toward the searching out when this battle was fought. And we shall find no time since the first Saxon war, from whence a longer peace ensued, than from the fight at Kerdic's Leage, in the year five hundred and twenty seven, which all the chronicles mention, without victory to Kerdic; and give us argument from the custom they have of magnifying their own deeds upon all occasions, to presume here his ill speeding. And if we look still onward, even to the forty fourth year after, wherein Gildas wrote, if his obscure utterance be understood, we shall meet with very little war between the Britains and Saxons. || This only remains difficult, that the victory first won by Ambrose, was not so long before this at Badon siege, but that the same men living might be eye-witnesses of both; and by this rate hardly can the latter be thought won by Arthur, unless we reckon him a grown youth at least in the days of Ambrose, and much more than a youth, if Malmsbury be heard, who affirms all the exploits of Ambrose to have been done chiefly by Arthur as his general, which will add much unbelief to the common assertion of his reigning after Ambrose and Uther, especially the fight of Badon, being the last of his twelve battles. But to prove by that which follows, that the fight at Kerdic's Leage, though it differ in name from that of Badon, may be thought the same by all effects; Kerdic three years after ¶, not proceeding onward, as his manner was, on the continent, turns back his forces on the Isle of Wight; which, with the slaying of a few only in Withgarburgh, he soon masters; and not long surviving, left it to his nephews by the mother's side, Stuff and Withgar **: the rest of what he had subdued, Kenric his son held; and reigned

* Caradoc. Llancarvon. vit. Gild.
p. 468. Polychronic. l. 5. c. 6.

† Malmf. antiquit. Glaston. Post Christ. 529.
¶ Gildas. ¶ Post Christ. 530. Sax. an. om.

§ Primord.
** Post Christ.

twenty six years, in whose tenth year †† Withgar was buried in the town of that island which bore his name. Notwithstanding all these unlikelihoods of Arthur's reign and great atchievements, in a narration crept in I know not how among the laws of Edward the Confessor, Arthur the famous king of Britains, is said not only to have expelled hence the Saracens, who were not then known in Europe, but to have conquered Friesland, and all the north-east isles as far as Russia, to have made Lapland the eastern bound of his empire, and Norway the chamber of Britain. When should this be done? From the Saxons, till after twelve battles, he had no rest at home; after those, the Britains contented with the quiet they had from their Saxon enemies, were so far from seeking conquests abroad, that by report of Gildas above cited, they fell to civil wars at home. Surely Arthur much better had made war in old Saxony, to repress their flowing hither, than to have won kingdoms as far as Russia, scarce able here to defend his own. Buchanan our neighbour historian reprehends him of Monmouth, and others, for fabling in the deeds of Arthur; yet what he writes thereof himself, as of better credit, shews not whence he had but from those fables; which he seems content to believe in part, on condition that the Scots and Picts may be thought to have assisted Arthur in all his wars, and atchievements; whereof appears as little ground by credible story, as of that which he most counts fabulous. But not further to contest about such uncertainties.

In the year five hundred and forty seven *, Ida the Saxon, sprung also from Woden in the tenth degree, began the kingdom of Bernicia in Northumberland; built the town Bebenburgh, which was after walled; and had twelve sons, half by wives and half by concubines. Hengist, by leave of Vortigern, we may remember, had sent Octave and Ebissa, to seek them seats in the north, and there, by warring on the Picts, to secure the southern parts. Which they so prudently effected, that what by force and fair proceeding, they well quieted those countries; and though so far distant from Kent, nor without power in their hands, yet kept themselves nigh a hundred and eighty years within moderation; and, as inferior governors, they and their offspring gave obedience to the kings of Kent, as to the elder family. Till at length following the example of that age, when no less than kingdoms were the prize of every fortunate commander, they thought it but reason, as well as others of their nation, to assume royalty. Of whom Ida was the first †, a man in the prime of his years, and of parentage as we heard; but how he came to wear the crown, aspiring or by free choice, is not said. Certain enough it is, that his virtues made him not less noble than his birth, in war undaunted, and unfoiled; in peace tempering the awe of magistracy with a natural mildness, he reigned about twelve years. § In the mean while Kenric in a fight at Searesbirig, now Salisbury, killed and put to flight many of the Britains; and the fourth year after at Beranvirig ||, now Banbury, as some think, with Keaulin his son, put them again to flight. Keaulin shortly after succeeded his father in the West-Saxons. And Alla descended also of Woden, but of another line, set up a second kingdom in Deira, the south part of Northumberland ¶, and held it thirty years; while Adda, the son of Ida, and five more after him reigned without other memory in Bernicia: and in Kent, Ethelbert the next year began ‡. But Esca the son of Hengist had left Otha, and he Emeric to rule after him; both which, without adding to their bounds, kept what they had in peace fifty three years. But Ethelbert in length of reign equalled both his progenitors, and as Beda counts, three years exceeded. ** Young at his first entrance, and unexperienced, he was the first raiser of civil war among the Saxons; claiming from the priority of time wherein Hengist took possession here, a kind of right over

†† Post Christ. 544.

* Post Christ. 547. Annal. omn. Bed. Epit. Malmfb.

† Malmf.

§ Post Christ. 552. Annal. omn.

|| Post Christ. 556. Camden.

¶ Post Christ. 560. Annal.

Florent.

‡ Post Christ. 561.

** Malmf.

the later kingdoms ; and thereupon was troublesome to their confines : but by them twice defeated, he who but now thought to seem dreadful, became almost contemptible. For Keaulin and Cutha his son, pursuing him into his own territory *, slew there in battle, at Wibbandun, two of his earls, Oslac and Cneban. By this means the Britains, but chiefly by this victory at Badon, for the space of forty four years, ending in five hundred and seventy one, received no great annoyance from the Saxons : but the peace they enjoyed, by ill using it, proved more destructive to them than war. For being raised on a sudden by two such eminent successes, from the lowest condition of thralldom, they whose eyes had beheld both those deliverances, that by Ambrose and this at Badon, were taught by the experience of either fortune, both kings, magistrates, priests, and private men, to live orderly. But when the next age †, unacquainted with past evils, and only sensible of their present ease and quiet, succeeded, strait followed the apparent subversion of all truth, and justice, in the minds of most men : scarce the least footstep, or impression of goodness left remaining through all ranks and degrees in the land ; except in some so very few, as to be hardly visible in a general corruption : which grew in short space not only manifest, but odious to all the neighbour nations. And first their kings, amongst whom also the sons or grandchildren of Ambrose, were foully degenerated to all tyranny and vicious life. Whereof to hear some particulars out of Gildas, will not be impertinent. They avenge, saith he, and they protect ; not the innocent, but the guilty : they swear oft, but perjure ; they wage war, but civil and unjust war. They punish rigorously them that rob by the high-way ; but those grand robbers that sit with them at table, they honour and reward. They give alms largely, but in the face of their alms-deeds, pile up wickedness to a far higher heap. They sit in the seat of judgment, but go seldom by the rule of right ; neglecting and proudly overlooking the modest and harmless, but countenancing the audacious, though guilty of abominable crimes ; they stuff their prisons, but with men committed rather by circumvention than any just cause. Nothing better were the clergy, but at the same pass, or rather worse than when the Saxons came first in ; unlearned, unapprehensive, yet impudent ; subtle prowlers, pastors in name, but indeed wolves ; intent upon all occasions, not to feed the flock, but to pamper and well-line themselves : not called, but seizing on the ministry as a trade, not as a spiritual charge ; teaching the people not by sound doctrine, but by evil example ; usurping the chair of Peter, but through the blindness of their own worldly lusts, they stumble upon the seat of Judas ; deadly haters of truth, broachers of lies ; looking on the poor christian with eyes of pride and contempt ; but fawning on the wickedest rich men without shame : great promoters of other mens alms, with their set exhortations ; but themselves contributing ever least : slightly touching the many vices of the age, but preaching without end their own grievances, as done to Christ ; seeking after preferments and degrees in the church, more than after heaven ; and so gained, made it their whole study how to keep them by any tyranny. Yet lest they should be thought things of no use in their eminent places, they have their niceties and trivial points to keep in awe the superstitious multitude ; but in true saving knowledge leave them still as gross and stupid as themselves ; bunglers at the scripture, nay, forbidding and silencing them that know ; but in worldly matters, practised and cunning shifters ; in that only art and simony, great clerks and masters, bearing their heads high, but their thoughts abject and low. He taxes them also as gluttonous, incontinent, and daily drunkards. And what shouldst thou expect from these, poor laity, so he goes on, these beasts, all belly ? Shall these amend thee, who are themselves laborious in evil doings ? Shalt thou see with their eyes, who see right forward nothing but gain ? Leave them

* Ann. omn. Post Christ. 568.

† Gildas.

rather, as bids our Saviour, lest ye fall both blindfold into the same perdition. Are all thus? Perhaps not all, or not so grossly. But what availed it Eli to be himself blameless, while he connived at others that were abominable? Who of them hath been envied for his better life? Who of them hath hated to consort with these, or withstood their entering the ministry, or endeavoured zealously their casting out? Yet some of these perhaps by others are legended for great saints. This was the state of government, this of religion among the Britains, in that long calm of peace, which the fight at Badon-hill had brought forth. Whereby it came to pass, that so fair a victory came to nothing. Towns and cities were not reinhabited, but lay ruined and waste; nor was it long ere domestic war breaking out, wasted them more. For Britain*, as at other times, had then also several kings: five of whom Gildas, living then in Armorica at a safe distance, boldly reproves by name: first Constantine (fabled the son of Cadur, duke of Cornwall, Arthur's half-brother, by the mother's side) who then reigned in Cornwall and Devon, a tyrannical and bloody king, polluted also with many adulteries: he got into his power two young princes of the blood royal, uncertain whether before him in right, or otherwise suspected; and after solemn oath given of their safety the year that Gildas wrote, slew them with their two governors in the church, and in their mother's arms, through the abbot's cope which he had thrown over them, thinking by the reverence of his vesture to have withheld the murderer. These are commonly supposed to be the sons of Mordred, Arthur's nephew, said to have revolted from his uncle, given him in a battle his death's wound, and by him after to have been slain. Which things, were they true, would much diminish the blame of cruelty in Constantine, revenging Arthur on the sons of so false a Mordred. In another part, but not expressed where, Aurelius Conan was king: him he charges also with adulteries, and parricide; cruelties worse than the former; to be a hater of his country's peace, thirsting after civil war and prey. His condition, it seems, was not very prosperous, for Gildas wishes him, being now left alone, like a tree withering in the midst of a barren field, to remember the vanity and arrogance of his father, and elder brethren, who came all to untimely death in their youth. The third reigning in Demetia, or South-Wales, was Vortipor, the son of a good father; he was, when Gildas wrote, grown old, not in years only, but in adulteries; and in governing, full of falsehood and cruel actions. In his latter days, putting away his wife, who died in divorce, he became, if we mistake not Gildas, incestuous with his daughter. The fourth was Cuneclas, imbrued in civil war; he also had divorced his wife, and taken her sister, who had vowed widowhood: he was a great enemy to the clergy, high-minded, and trusting to his wealth. The last, but greatest of all in power, was Maglocune, and greatest also in wickedness: he had driven out, or slain, many other kings, or tyrants, and was called the Island Dragon, perhaps having his seat in Anglesey; a profuse giver, a great warrior, and of a goodly stature. While he was yet young, he overthrew his uncle, though in the head of a compleat army, and took from him the kingdom: then touched with remorse of his doings, not without deliberation, took upon him the profession of a monk; but soon forsook his vow, and his wife also; which for that vow he had left, making love to the wife of his brother's son then living. Who not refusing the offer, if she were not rather the first that enticed, found means both to dispatch her own husband, and the former wife of Maglocune, to make her marriage with him the more unquestionable. Neither did he this for want of better instructions, having had the learnedest and wisest man, reputed of all Britain, the instituter of his youth. Thus much, the utmost that can be learnt by truer story, of what past among the

* Primord. p. 444.

Britains from the time of their useleſs victory at Badon, to the time that Gildas wrote, that is to ſay, as may be gueſſed, from five hundred and twenty ſeven to five hundred and ſeventy one, is here ſet down altogether; not to be reduced under any certainty of years. But now the Saxons, who for the moſt part all this while had been ſtill, unleſs among themſelves, began aſreſh to aſſault them, and ere long to drive them out of all which they had maintained on this ſide Wales. For Cuthulf, the brother of Keaulin *, by a victory obtained at Bedanford, now Bedford, took from them four good towns Liganburgh, Eglesburgh, Benſington now Benſon in Oxfordſhire, and Igneſham; but outlived not many months his good ſucceſs. And after ſix years more †, Keaulin, and Cuthwin his ſon, gave them a great overthrow at Deorrham in Glouceſterſhire, ſlew three of their kings, Comail, Condidan, and Farinmaile; and took three of their chief cities, Glouceſter, Cirenceſter, and Baden-ceſter. The Britains notwithstanding, after ſome ſpace of time §, judging to have out-grown their loſſes, gather to a head and encounter Keaulin, with Cutha his ſon, at Fethanleage; whom valiantly fighting, they ſlew among the thickeſt, and, as is ſaid, forced the Saxons to retire. ¶ But Keaulin reinforcing the fight, put them to a main rout; and following his advantage, took many towns, and returned laden with rich booty.

The laſt of thoſe Saxons, who raiſed their own atchievements to a monarchy, was Crida, much about this time, firſt founder of the Mercian kingdom ¶, drawing alſo his pedigree from Woden. Of whom all to write the ſeveral genealogies, though it might be done without long ſearch, were in my opinion to encumber the ſtory with a ſort of barbarous names, to little purpoſe. ** This may ſuffice, that of Woden's three ſons, from the eldeſt iſſued Hengiſt, and his ſucceſſion; from the ſecond, the kings of Mercia; from the third, all that reigned in Weſt-Saxony, and moſt of the Northumbers, of whom Alla was one, the firſt king of Deira; which, after his death, the race of Ida ſeized, and made it one kingdom with Bernicia ††, uſurping the childhood of Edwin, Alla's ſon: whom Ethelric the ſon of Ida expelled. Notwithſtanding others write of him, that from a poor life, and beyond hope in his old age, coming to the crown, he could hardly, by the acceſs of a kingdom, have overcome his former obſcurity, had not the fame of his ſon preſerved him. Once more the Britains §§, ere they quitted all on this ſide the mountains, forgot not to ſhew ſome manhood; for meeting Keaulin at Woden's-beorth, that is to ſay, at Woden's-mount in Wiltſhire |||; whether it were by their own forces, or aſſiſted by the Angles, whoſe hatred Keaulin had incurred, they ruined the whole army, and chaſed him out of his kingdom; from whence flying, he died the next year in poverty, who a little before was the moſt potent, and indeed ſole king of all the Saxons on this ſide Humber. But who was chief among the Britains in this exploit, had been worth remembering, whether it were Maglocune, of whoſe prowels hath been ſpoken, or Teudric king of Glamorgan, whom the regiſt of Landaff recounts to have been always victorious in fight; to have reigned about this time, and at length to have exchanged his crown for an hermitage; till in the aid of his ſon Mouric, whom the Saxons had reduced to extremes, taking arms again, he defeated them at Tinterne by the river Wye; but himſelf received a mortal wound. ¶¶ The ſame year with Keaulin, whom Keola the ſon of Cuthulf, Keaulin's brother, ſucceeded, Crida alſo the Mercian king deceaſed, in

* Poſt Chriſt. 571. Camden. Annal. omn. † Poſt Chriſt. 577. § Poſt Chriſt. 584.
 ¶ Huntingd. ¶ The kingdom of Mercia. Huntingd. Matt. Weſtm. ** Malmſb. l. 1. c. 3.
 †† Florent. ad ann. Poſt Chriſt. 559. §§ Poſt Chriſt. 588. Annal. omn. ||| Poſt Chriſt.
 592. Florent. Bed. l. 2. c. 3. Malmſ. Florent. Sax. ann. ¶¶ Poſt Chriſt. 593.

whose room Wibba succeeded; and in Northumberland, Ethelfrid, in the room of Ethelric, reigning twenty four years. Thus omitting fables, we have the view of what with reason can be rely'd on for truth, done in Britain since the Romans forsook it. Wherein we have heard the many miseries and desolations brought by divine hand on a perverse nation; driven, when nothing else would reform them, out of a fair country, into a mountainous and barren corner, by strangers and pagans. So much more tolerable in the eye of heaven is infidelity professed, than christian faith and religion dishonoured by unchristian works. Yet they also at length renounced their heathenism; which how it came to pass, will be the matter next related.

The End of the Third BOOK.

THE

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

THE Saxons grown up now to seven absolute kingdoms, and the latest of them established by succession, finding their power arrive well nigh at the utmost of what was to be gained upon the Britains, and as little fearing to be displaced by them, had time now to survey at leisure one another's greatness. Which quickly bred among them either envy or mutual jealousies; till the west kingdom at length grown over-powerful, put an end to all the rest*. Mean while, above others, Ethelbert of Kent, who by this time had well ripened his young ambition, with more ability of years and experience in war, what before he attempted to his loss, now successfully attains; and by degrees brought all the other monarchies between Kent and Humber to be at his devotion. To which design the kingdom of West-Saxons, being the firmest of them all, at that time sore shaken by their overthrow at Wodens-beorth, and the death of Keaulin, gave him, no doubt, a main advantage; the rest yielded not subjection, but as he earned it by continual victories. † And to win him the more regard abroad, he marries Bertha the French king's daughter, though a christian, and with this condition, to have the free exercise of her faith, under the care and instruction of Letardus a bishop, sent by her parents along with her; the king notwithstanding and his people retaining their old religion. § Beda out of Gildas lays it sadly to the Britains charge, that they never would vouchsafe their Saxon neighbours the means of conversion; but how far to blame they were ||, and what hope there was of converting in the midst of so much hostility, at least falsehood, from their first arrival, is not now easy to determine. ¶ Howbeit not long after they had the christian faith preached to them by a nation more remote, and (as report went, accounted old in Beda's time) upon this occasion.

The Northumbrians had a custom at that time, and many hundred years after not abolished, to sell their children for a small value into any foreign land. Of which number two comely youths were brought to Rome, whose fair and honest countenances

* Bed. Malmf.
l. 1. c. 3.

† Bed. l. 1. c. 25.

§ Bed. l. 1. c. 22.

|| Bed. l. 2. c. 1.

¶ Malmf.

invited Gregory arch-deacon of that city, among others that beheld them, pitying their condition, to demand whence they were ; it was answered by some who stood by, that they were Angli of the province Deira, subjects to Alla king of Northumberland ; and by religion, Pagans. Which last Gregory deploring, framed on a sudden this allusion to the three names he heard ; that the Angli so like to angels should be snatched ‘ de ira,’ that is, from the wrath of God, to sing hallelujah : and forthwith obtaining licence of Benedict the pope, had come and preached here among them, had not the Roman people, whose love endured not the absence of so vigilant a pastor over them, recalled him then on his journey, though but deferred his pious intention. * For a while after, succeeding in the papal seat, and now in his fourth year, admonished, saith Beda, by divine instinct, he sent Augustine, whom he had designed for bishop of the English nation, and other zealous monks with him, to preach to them the gospel. Who being now on their way, discouraged by some reports, or their own carnal fear, sent back Austin, in the name of all, to beseech Gregory they might return home, and not be sent a journey so full of hazard, to a fierce and infidel nation, whose tongue they understood not. Gregory with pious and apostolic persuasions exhorts them not to shrink back from so good a work, but cheerfully to go on in the strength of divine assistance. The letter itself yet extant among our writers of ecclesiastic story, I omit here, as not professing to relate of those matters more than what mixes aptly with civil affairs. The abbot Austin, for so he was ordained over the rest, re-incouraged by the exhortations of Gregory, and his fellows by the letter which he brought them, came safe to the isle of Tanet †, in number about forty, besides some of the French nation whom they took along as interpreters. Ethelbert the king, to whom Austin at his landing had sent a new and wonderous message, that he came from Rome to proffer heaven and eternal happiness in the knowledge of another God than the Saxons knew, appoints them to remain where they had landed, and necessities to be provided them, consulting in the mean time what was to be done. And after certain days coming into the island, chose a place to meet them under the open sky, possessed with an old persuasion, that all spells, if they should use any to deceive him, so it were not within doors, would be unavailable. They on the other side called to his presence, advancing for their standard a silver cross, and the painted image of our Saviour, came slowly forward, singing their solemn litanies : which wrought in Ethelbert more suspicion perhaps that they used enchantments ; till sitting down as the king willed them, they there preached to him and all in that assembly, the tidings of salvation. Whom having heard attentively, the king thus answered : “ Fair indeed and ample are the promises which ye bring, and such things as have the appearance in them of much good ; yet such as being new and uncertain, I cannot hastily assent to, quitting the religion which from my ancestors, with all the English nation, so many years I have retained. Nevertheless because ye are strangers, and have endured so long a journey, to impart us the knowledge of things, which I persuade me you believe to be the truest and the best, ye may be sure, we shall not recompence you with any molestation, but shall provide rather how we may friendliest entertain ye ; nor do we forbid whom ye can by preaching gain to your belief.” And accordingly their residence he allotted them in Doroverne or Canterbury his chief city, and made provision for their maintenance, with free leave to preach their doctrine where they pleased. By which, and by the example of their holy life, spent in prayer, fasting, and continual labour in the conversion of souls, they won many ; on whose bounty and the king’s, receiving only what was necessary, they subsisted. There stood without the city on the east-side, an ancient church built in honour of St. Martin, while yet the Romans remained here : in which Bertha the queen went out usually to pray : § here they also began first to preach,

* Post Christ. 596.

† Post Christ. 597.

§ Post Christ. 598.

baptize, and openly to exercise divine worship. But when the king himself, convinced by their good life and miracles, became christian, and was baptized, which came to pass in the very first year of their arrival, then multitudes daily, conforming to their prince, thought it honour to be reckoned among those of his faith. To whom Ethelbert indeed principally shewed his favour, but compelled none. * For so he had been taught by them who were both the instructors and the authors of his faith, that christian religion ought to be voluntary, not compelled. About this time Kelwulf the son of Cutha, Keaulin's brother, reigned over the West-Saxons †, after his brother Keola or Kelric, and had continual war either with English, Welch, Picts, or Scots. § But Austin, whom with his fellows, Ethelbert had now endowed with a better place for their abode in the city, and other possessions necessary to livelihood, crossing into France, was by the archbishop of Arles, at the appointment of pope Gregory, ordained archbishop of the English; and returning, sent to Rome Laurence and Peter, two of his associates, to acquaint the pope of his good success in England, and to be resolved of certain theological, or rather levitical questions: with answers to which, not proper in this place, Gregory sends also to the great work of converting, that went on so happily, a supply of labourers, Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, Rufinian, and many others; who what they were, may be guessed by the stuff which they brought with them, vessels and vestments for the altar, copes, reliques, and for the archbishop Austin a pall to say mass in: to such a rank superstition that age was grown, though some of them yet retaining an emulation of apostolic zeal. Lastly, to Ethelbert they brought a letter with many presents. Austin thus exalted to archiepiscopal authority, recovered from the ruins and other prophane uses, a christian church in Canterbury built of old by the Romans, which he dedicated by the name of Christ's-church, and joining to it built a seat for himself and his successors; a monastery also near the city eastward, where Ethelbert at his motion built St. Peter's, and enriched it with great endowments, to be a place of burial for the archbishops and kings of Kent: so quickly they stept up into fellowship of pomp with kings. ¶ While thus Ethelbert and his people had their minds intent, Ethelfrid the Northumbrian king was not less busied in far different affairs: for being altogether warlike, and covetous of fame, he more wasted the Britains than any Saxon king before him; winning from them large territories, which either he made tributary, or planted with his own subjects. ¶ Whence Edan king of those Scots that dwelt in Britain, jealous of his successes, came against him with a mighty army, to a place called Degfastan; but in the fight losing most of his men, himself with a few escaped: only Theobald the king's brother, and the whole wing which he commanded, unfortunately cut off, made the victory to Ethelfrid less intire. Yet from that time no king of Scots in hostile manner durst pass into Britain for a hundred and more years after: and what some years before, Kelwulf the West-Saxon is annaled to have done against the Scots and Picts, passing through the land of Ethelfrid a king so potent, unless in his aid and alliance, is not likely. Buchanan writes as if Ethelfrid, assisted by Keaulin whom he mis-titles king of East-Saxons, had before this time a battle with Aidan, wherein Cutha Keaulin's son, was slain. But Cutha, as is above-written from better authority, was slain in fight against the Welch twenty years before. ** The number of christians began now to increase so fast, that Augustin ordaining bishops under him, two of his assistants Mellitus and Justus, sent them out both to the work of their ministry. And Mellitus by preaching converted the East-Saxons, over whom Sebert the son of Sleda, by permission of Ethelbert, being born of his sister Rricula, then reigned. Whose conversion Ethelbert to gratulate, built them the great church of St. Paul in London to be their bishop's cathedral; as Justus also

* Bed. l. 2. c. 5. † Sax. ann. Maimf. Post Christ. 601. § Bed. l. 1. c. 27. ¶ Bed. l. 2. c. 34. ¶ Post Christ. 603. ** Post Christ. 604. Bed. l. 2. c. 3.

had his built at Rochester, and both gifted by the same king with fair possessions. Hitherto Austin laboured well among infidels, but not with like commendation soon after among christians. For by means of Ethelbert summoning the Britain bishops to a place on the edge of Worcestershire, called from that time Augustin's-oak, he requires them to conform with him in the same day of celebrating Easter, and many other points wherein they differed from the rites of Rome : which when they refused to do, not prevailing by dispute, he appeals to a miracle, restoring to sight a blind man whom the Britains could not cure. At this something moved, though not minded to recede from their own opinions without further consultation, they request a second meeting : to which came seven Britain bishops, with many other learned men, especially from the famous monastery of Bangor, in which were said to be so many monks, living all by their own labour, that being divided under seven rectors, none had fewer than three hundred. One man there was who staid behind, a hermit by the life he led, who by his wisdom effected more than all the rest, who went : being demanded, for they held him as an oracle, how they might know Austin to be a man from God, that they might follow him, he answered, that if they found him meek and humble, they should be taught by him, for it was likeliest to be the yoke of Christ, both what he bore himself, and would have them bear ; but if he bore himself proudly, that they should not regard him, for he was then certainly not of God. They took his advice, and hastened to the place of meeting. Whom Austin, being already there before them, neither arose to meet, nor received in any brotherly sort, but sat all the while pontifically in his chair. Whereat the Britains, as they were counselled by the holy man, neglected him, and neither hearkened to his proposals of conformity, nor would acknowledge him for an archbishop : and in the name of the rest *, Dinohus, then abbot of Bangor, is said thus sagely to have answered him : “ As to the subjection which you require, be thus persuaded of us, that in the bond of love and charity we are all subjects and servants to the church of God, yea to the pope of Rome, and every good christian to help them forward, both by word and deed, to be the children of God : other obedience than this we know not to be due to him whom you term the pope ; and this obedience we are ready to give both to him and to every christian continually. Besides, we are governed under God by the bishop of Caerleon, who is to oversee us in spiritual matters.” To which Austin thus presaging, some say menacing, replies, “ Since ye refuse to accept of peace with your brethren, ye shall have war from your enemies ; and since ye will not with us preach the word of life to whom ye ought, from their hands ye shall receive death.” This, though writers agree not whether Austin spake it as his prophecy, or as his plot against the Britains, fell out accordingly. † For many years were not past, when Ethelfrid, whether of his own accord, or at the request of Ethelbert, incensed by Austin, with a powerful host came to Westchester, then Caer-legion. Where being met by the British forces, and both sides in readiness to give the onset, he discerns a company of men, not habited for war, standing together in a place of some safety ; and by them a squadron armed. Whom having learnt upon some enquiry to be priests and monks, assembled thither after three days fasting, to pray for the good success of their forces against him, “ therefore they first,” saith he, “ shall feel our swords ; for they who pray against us, fight heaviest against us by their prayers, and are our dangeroudest enemies.” And with that turns his first charge upon the monks : Brocmail the captain set to guard them, quickly turns his back, and leaves above twelve hundred monks to a sudden massacre, whereof scarce fifty escaped. But not so easy work found Ethelfrid against another part of Britains that stood in arms, whom though at last he overthrew, yet with slaughter nigh as great to his own soldiers. To excuse Austin of this blood-shed, lest some might think it his revengeful policy,

* Spelman. Concil. p. 108.

† Sax. ann. Huntingd. Post Christ. 607.

Beda writes that he was dead long before, although if the time of his sitting archbishop be right computed sixteen years, he must survive this action. * Other just ground of charging him with this imputation appears not, save what evidently we have from Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose weight we know. † The same year Kelwulf made war on the South-Saxons, bloody, saith Huntingdon, to both sides, but most to them of the south: § and four years after dying, left the government of West-Saxons to Kinegils and Cuichelm, the sons of his brother Keola. Others, as Florent of Worcester, and Matthew of Westminster, will have Cuichelm son of Kinegils, but admitted to reign with his father, in whose third year || they are recorded with joint forces or conduct to have fought against the Britains in Beandune, now Bindon in Dorsetshire, and to have slain of them above two thousand. ¶ More memorable was the second year following, by the death of Ethelbert the first christian king of Saxons, and no less a favourer of all civility in that rude age. He gave laws and statutes after the example of Roman emperors, written with the advice of his sagest counsellors, but in the English tongue, and observed long after. Wherein his special care was to punish those who had stolen aught from church or churchman, thereby shewing how gratefully he received at their hands the christian faith. Which, he no sooner dead, but his son Eadbald took the course as fast to extinguish; not only falling back into heathenism, but that which heathenism was wont to abhor, marrying his father's second wife. Then soon was perceived what multitudes for fear or countenance of the king had professed christianity, returning now as eagerly to their old religion. Nor staid the apostacy within one province, but quickly spread over to the East-Saxons; occasioned there likewise, or set forward by the death of their christian king Sebert: whose three sons, of whom two are named Sexted and Seward **, neither in his life-time would be brought to baptism, and after his decease re-established the free exercise of idolatry; nor so content, they set themselves in despight to do some open profanation against the other sacrament. Coming therefore into the church where Mellitus the bishop was ministering, they required him in abuse and scorn to deliver to them unbaptized the consecrated bread; and him refusing, drove disgracefully out of their dominion. Who crossed forthwith into Kent, where things were in the same plight, and thence into France, with Justus bishop of Rochester. But divine vengeance deferred not long the punishment of men so impious; for Eadbald, vexed with an evil spirit, fell often into foul fits of distraction; and the sons of Sebert, in a fight against the West-Saxons, perished with their whole army. But Eadbald, within the year, by an extraordinary means became penitent. For when Lawrence the archbishop and successor of Austin was preparing to ship for France, after Justus and Mellitus, the story goes, if it be worth believing, that St. Peter, in whose church he spent the night before in watching and praying, appeared to him, and to make the vision more sensible, gave him many stripes for offering to desert his flock; at sight whereof the king (to whom next morning he shewed the marks of what he had suffered, by whom and for what cause) relenting and in great fear, dissolved his incestuous marriage, and applied himself to the christian faith more sincerely than before, with all his people. But the Londoners addicted still to paganism, would not be persuaded to receive again Mellitus their bishop, and to compel them was not in his power. † Thus much through all the south was troubled in religion, as much were the north parts disquieted through ambition. For Ethelfrid of Bernicia, as was touched before, having thrown Edwin out of Deira, and joined that kingdom to his own, not content to have bereaved him of his right, whose known virtues and high parts gave cause of suspicion to his enemies, sends messengers to demand him of Redwald king of East-Angles; under whose protection,

* Malmf. gest. pont. l. i.
Christ. 614. Camd.

† Sax. ann.
¶ Post Christ. 616. Sax. an.

§ Post Christ. 611. Sax. an. Malm.

** Malmf.

|| Post
†† Post Christ. 617.

after many years wandering obscurely through all the island, he had placed his safety. Redwald, though having promised all defence to Edwin as to his suppliant, yet tempted with continual and large offers of gold, and not contemning the puissance of Ethelfrid, yielded at length, either to dispatch him, or to give him into their hands : but earnestly exhorted by his wife, not to betray the faith and inviolable law of hospitality and refuge given *, prefers his first promise as the more religious ; nor only refuses to deliver him, but since war was thereupon denounced, determines to be beforehand with the danger ; and with a sudden army raised, surprizes Ethelfrid, little dreaming an invasion, and in a fight near to the east side of the river Idle, on the Mercian border, now Nottinghamshire, slays him †, dissipating easily those few forces which he had got to march out over-hastily with him ; who yet, as a testimony of his fortune, not his valour to be blamed, slew first with his own hands, Reiner the king's son. His two sons Ofwald and Ofwi, by Acca, Edwin's sister, escaped into Scotland. By this victory Redwald became so far superior to the other Saxon kings, that Beda reckons him the next after Ella and Ethelbert ; who besides this conquest of the north, had likewise all on the hither side Humber at his obedience. He had formerly in Kent received baptism §, but coming home, and persuaded by his wife, who still it seems was his chief counsellor to good or bad alike, relapsed into his old religion : yet not willing to forego his new, thought it not the worst way, lest perhaps he might err in either, for more assurance to keep them both ; and in the same temple erected one altar to Christ, another to his idols. But Edwin, as with more deliberation he undertook, and with more sincerity retained the christian profession, so also in power and extent of dominion far exceeded all before him ; subduing all, saith Beda, English or British, even to the isles, then called Mevanian, Anglesey, and Man ; settled in his kingdom by Redwald, he sought in marriage Edelburga, whom others call Tate, the daughter of Ethelbert. To whose ambassadors Eadbald her brother made answer, that “ to wed their daughter to a pagan, was not the christian law.” Edwin replied, that “ to her religion he would be no hindrance, which with her whole household she might freely exercise. And moreover, that if examined it were found the better, he would embrace it.” These ingenuous offers, opening so fair a way to the advancement of truth, are accepted ¶, and Paulinus as a spiritual guardian sent along with the virgin. He being to that purpose made bishop by Justus, omitted no occasion to plant the gospel in those parts, but with small success, till the next year ¶, Cuichelm, at that time one of the two West-Saxon kings, envious of the greatness which he saw Edwin growing up to, sent privily Eumerus a hired sword-man to assassinate him ; who under pretence of doing a message from his master, with a poisoned weapon, stabs at Edwin, conferring with him in his house, by the river Derwent in Yorkshire, on an Easter-day ; which Lilla one of the king's attendants, at the instant perceiving, with a loyalty that stood not then to deliberate, abandoned his whole body to the blow ; which notwithstanding made passage through to the king's person, with a wound not to be slighted. The murderer encompassed now with swords, and desperate, fore-revenges his own fall with the death of another, whom his poniard reached home. Paulinus omitting no opportunity to win the king from misbelief, obtained at length this promise from him ; that if Christ, whom he so magnified, would give him to recover of his wound, and victory of his enemies who had thus assaulted him, he would then become christian, in pledge whereof he gave his young daughter Eanfled, to be bred up in religion ; who with twelve others of his family, on the day of Pentecost was baptized. And by that time well recovered of his wound, to punish the authors of so foul a fact, he went with an army against the West-Saxons : whom having quelled by war, and of such as had

* Maimf. l. 1. c. 3.
¶ Post Christ. 626.

† Camden.

§ Bed. l. 2. c. 15.

¶ Post Christ. 625.

conspired

conspired against him, put some to death, others pardoned, he returned home victorious, and from that time worshipped no more his idols, yet ventured not rashly into baptism, but first took care to be instructed rightly what he learnt; examining and still considering with himself and others, whom he held wisest; though Boniface the pope, by large letters of exhortation both to him and his queen, was not wanting to quicken his belief. But while he still deferred, and his deferring might seem now to have passed the maturity of wisdom to a faulty lingering, Paulinus by revelation, as was believed, coming to the knowledge of a secret, which befel him strangely in the time of his troubles, on a certain day went in boldly to him, and laying his right hand on the head of the king, asked him if he remembered what that sign meant; the king trembling, and in a maze rising up, strait fell at his feet. "Behold," saith Paulinus, raising him from the ground, "God hath delivered you from your enemies, and given you the kingdom as you desired: perform now what long since you promised him, to receive his doctrine, which I now bring you, and the faith, which if you accept, shall to your temporal felicity, add eternal." The promise claimed of him by Paulinus, how and wherefore made, though favouring much of legend, is thus related. Redwald, as we heard before, dazzled with the gold of Ethelfrid, or by his threatening over-awed, having promised to yield up Edwin, one of his faithful companions, of which he had some few with him in the court of Redwald, that never shrunk from his adversity, about the first hour of night comes in haste to his chamber, and calling him forth for better secrecy, reveals to him his danger, offers him his aid to make escape; but that course not approved, as seeming dishonourable without more manifest cause to begin distrust towards one who had so long been his only refuge, the friend departs. Edwin left alone without the palace-gate, full of sadness and perplexed thoughts, discerns about the dead of night, a man neither by countenance nor by habit to him known, approaching towards him. Who after salutation, asked him "why at this hour, when all others were at rest, he alone so sadly sat waking on a cold stone?" Edwin not a little misdoubting who he might be, asked him again, "what his sitting within doors, or without, concerned him to know?" To whom he again, "Think not that who thou art, or why sitting here, or what danger hangs over thee, is to me unknown: but what would you promise to that man, who ever would befriend you out of all these troubles, and persuade Redwald to the like?" "All that I am able," answered Edwin. And he, "What if the same man should promise to make you greater than any English king hath been before you?" "I should not doubt," quoth Edwin, "to be answerably grateful." "And what if to all this he would inform you," said the other, "in a way to happiness, beyond what any of your ancestors hath known? would you hearken to his council?" Edwin without stopping promised "he would." And the other laying his right hand on Edwin's head, "When this sign," saith he, "shall next befall thee, remember this time of night, and this discourse, to perform what thou hast promised;" and with these words disappearing, he left Edwin much revived, but not less filled with wonder, who this unknown should be. When suddenly the friend who had been gone all this while to listen further what was like to be decreed of Edwin, comes back and joyfully bids him rise to his repose, for that the king's mind, though for a while drawn aside, was now fully resolved not only not to betray him, but to defend him against all enemies, as he had promised. This was said to be the cause why Edwin admonished by the bishop of a sign which had befallen him so strangely, and as he thought so secretly, arose to him with that reverence and amazement, as to one sent from heaven, to claim that promise of him which he perceived well was due to a divine power, that had assisted him in his troubles. To Paulinus therefore he makes answer, that the christian belief he himself ought by promise, and intended to receive; but would confer first with his chief peers and counsellors, that if they likewise could be won, all at once might be baptized. They therefore

therefore being asked in council what their opinion was concerning this new doctrine, and well perceiving which way the king inclined, every one thereafter shaped his reply. The chief priest speaking first, discovered an old grudge he had against his gods, for advancing others in the king's favour above him their chief priest : another hiding his court-compliance with a grave sentence, commended the choice of certain before uncertain, upon due examination ; to like purpose answered all the rest of his sages, none openly dissenting from what was likely to be the king's creed : whereas the preaching of Paulinus could work no such effect upon them, toiling till that time without success. Whereupon Edwin renouncing heathenism, became christian : and the pagan priest offering himself freely to demolish the altars of his former gods, made some amends for his teaching to adore them. * With Edwin, his two sons Osfrid and Eanfrid, born to him by Quenburga, daughter, as saith Beda, of Kearle king of Mercia, in the time of his banishment, and with them most of the people, both nobles and commons, easily converted, were baptized ; he with his whole family at York, in a church hastily built up of wood, the multitude most part in rivers. Northumberland thus christened, Paulinus crossing Humber, converted also the province of Lindsey, and Blecca the governour of Lincoln, with his household and most of that city ; wherein he built a church of stone, curiously wrought, but of small continuance ; for the roof in Beda's time, uncertain whether by neglect or enemies, was down ; the walls only standing. Mean while in Mercia, Kearle a kinsman of Wibba, saith Huntingdon, not a son, having long withheld the kingdom from Penda Wibba's son, left it now at length to the fiftieth year of his age : with whom Kinegils and Cuichelm, the West-Saxon kings, two years after †, having by that time it seems recovered strength, since the inroad made upon them by Edwin, fought at Cirencester, then made truce. But Edwin seeking every way to propagate the faith, which with so much deliberation he had received, persuaded Eorpwald the son of Redwald, king of East-Angles, to embrace the same belief § ; willingly or in awe, is not known, retaining under Edwin the name only of a king. ¶ But Eorpwald not long survived his conversion, slain in fight by Ricbert a pagan : whereby the people having lightly followed the religion of their king, as lightly fell back to their old superstitions for above three years after : Edwin in the mean while, to his faith adding virtue, by the due administration of justice wrought such peace over all his territories, that from sea to sea, man or woman might have travelled in safety. His care also was of fountains by the way side, to make them fittest for the use of travellers. And not unmindful of regal state, whether in war or in peace, he had a royal banner carried before him. But having reigned with much honour seventeen years, he was at length by Kedwallay or Cadwallon, king of the Britains, who with aid of the Mercian Penda had rebelled against him, slain in a battle with his son Osfrid, at a place called Hethfield, and his whole army overthrown or dispers'd in the year six hundred and thirty three ¶, and the forty seventh of his age, in the eye of man worthy a more peaceful end. His head brought to York was there buried in the church by him begun. Sad was this overthrow, both to church and state of the Northumbrians : for Penda being a heathen, and the British king, though in name a christian, but in deeds more bloody than the pagan, nothing was omitted of barbarous cruelty in the slaughter of sex or age ; Kedwalla threatening to root out the whole nation, though then newly christian. For the Britains, and, as Beda saith, even to his days, accounted Saxon christianity no better than paganism, and with them held as little communion. From these calamities no refuge being left but flight, Paulinus taking with him Ethilburga the queen and her children, aided by Bassus, one of Edwin's captains, made escape by sea to Eadbald king of Kent : who receiving his

* Post Christ. 627.

¶ Florent Genealog.

† Post Christ. 629. Sax. ann.

¶ Post Christ. 633.

§ Post Christ. 632. Sax. ann.

sister with all kindness, made Paulinus bishop of Rochester, where he ended his days. After Edwin, the kingdom of Northumberland became divided as before, each rightful heir seizing his part; in Deira Osric, the son of Elfric, Edwin's uncle, by profession a christian, and baptized by Paulinus: in Bernicia, Eanfrid the son of Ethelfrid; who all the time of Edwin, with his brother Oswald, and many of the young nobility, lived in Scotland exiled, and had been there taught and baptized. No sooner had they gotten each a kingdom, but both turned recreant, sliding back into their old religion; and both were the same year slain; Osric by a sudden eruption of Kedwalla, whom he in a strong town had unadvisedly besieged; Eanfrid seeking peace, and inconsiderately with a few surrendering himself. Kedwalla now ranged at will through both those provinces, using cruelly his conquest*; when Oswald the brother of Eanfrid with a small but christian army unexpectedly coming on, defeated and destroyed both him and his huge forces, which he boasted to be invincible, by a little river running into Tine, near the ancient Roman wall then called Denisburn, the place afterwards Heaven-field, from the cross reported miraculous for cures, which Oswald there erected before the battle, in token of his faith against the great number of his enemies. Obtaining the kingdom, he took care to instruct again the people in christianity. Sending therefore to the Scottish elders, Beda for terms them, among whom he had received baptism, requested of them some faithful teacher, who might again settle religion in his realm, which the late troubles had much impaired; they as readily hearkening to his request, send Aidan, a Scotch monk and bishop, but of singular zeal and meekness, with others to assist him, whom at their own desire he seated in Lindisfarne, as the episcopal seat, now Holy Island: and being the son of Ethelfrid, by the sister of Edwin, as right heir, others failing, easily reduced both kingdoms of Northumberland as before into one; nor of Edwin's dominion lost any part, but enlarged it rather; over all the four British nations, Angles, Britains, Picts and Scots, exercising regal Authority. Of his devotion, humility, and alms-deeds, much is spoken; that he disdained not to be the interpreter of Aidan, preaching in Scotch or bad English, to his nobles and household servants; and had the poor continually served at his gate, after the promiscuous manner of those times: his meaning might be upright, but the manner more ancient of private or of church-contribution, is doubtless more evangelical. † About this time the West-Saxons, anciently called Gevissi, by the preaching of Berinus, a bishop, whom pope Honorius had sent, were converted to the faith with Kinegils their king: him Oswald received out of the font, and his daughter in marriage. § The next year Cui-chelm was baptized in Dorchester, but lived not to the year's end. The East-Angles also this year were reclaimed to the faith of Christ, which for some years past they had thrown off. But Sigbert the brother of Eorpwald now succeeded in that kingdom, praised for a most christian and learned man: who while his brother yet reigned, living in France an exile, for some displeasure conceived against him by Redwald his father, learned there the christian faith; and reigning soon after, in the same instructed his people, by the preaching of Felix a Burgundian bishop.

|| In the year six hundred and forty Eadbald deceasing, left to Ercombert his son by Emma the French king's daughter, the kingdom of Kent; recorded the first of English kings, who commanded through his limits the destroying of idols; laudably, if all idols without exception; and the first to have established Lent among us, under strict penalty; not worth remembering, but only to inform us, that no Lent was observed here till his time by compulsion: especially being noted by some to have fraudulently usurped upon his elder brother Ermenred ¶, whose right was precedent to the crown. Oswald having reigned eight years**, worthy also as might seem of longer

* Post Christ. 634.
Christ. 640.

† Post Christ. 635. Sax. an.
¶ Mat. West. ** Post Christ. 642.

§ Post Christ. 636.

|| Post

life, fell into the same fate with Edwin, and from the same hand, in a great battle overcome and slain by Penda, at a place called Maserfield, now Oswestre in Shropshire *, miraculous, as saith Beda, after his death. † His brother Oswi succeeded him; reigning, though in much trouble, twenty eight years; opposed either by Penda, or his own son Alfred, or his brother's son Ethilwald. § Next year Kinegils the West-Saxon king dying, left his son Kenwalk in his stead, though as yet unconverted. About this time Sigebert king of East-Angles having learnt in France, ere his coming to reign, the manner of their schools, with the assistance of some teachers out of Kent, instituted a school here after the same discipline, thought to be the university of Cambridge, then first founded; and at length weary of his kingly office, betook him to a monastical life; commending the care of government to his kinsman Egric, who had sustained with him part of that burden before. It happened some years after, that Penda made war on the East-Angles: they expecting a sharp encounter, besought Sigebert, whom they esteemed an expert leader, with his presence to confirm the soldiery; and him refusing, carried by force out of the monastery into the camp; where acting the monk rather than the captain, with a single wand in his hand, he was slain with Egric, and his whole army put to flight. Anna of the royal stock, as next in right, succeeded; and hath the praise of a virtuous and most christian prince. || But Kenwalk the West-Saxon having married the sister of Penda, and divorced her, was by him with more appearance of a just cause vanquished in fight, and deprived of his crown: whence retiring to Anna king of East-Angles, after three years abode in his court ¶, he there became christian, and afterwards regained his kingdom. Oswi in the former years of his reign had sharer with him, Oswin nephew of Edwin, who ruled in Deira seven years, commended much for his zeal in religion, and for comeliness of person, with other princely qualities, beloved of all. Notwithstanding which, dissensions growing between them, it came to arms. Oswin seeing himself much exceeded in numbers, thought it more prudence, dismissing his army, to reserve himself for some better occasion. But committing his person with one faithful attendant to the loyalty of Hunwald an earl, his imagined friend, he was by him treacherously discovered, and by command of Oswi slain. ** After whom within twelve days, and for grief of him whose death he foretold, died bishop Aidan, famous for his charity, meekness, and labour in the gospel. The fact of Oswi was detestable to all; which therefore to expiate, a monastery was built in the place where it was done, and prayers there daily offered up for the souls of both kings, the slain and the slayer. Kenwalk by this time re-installed in his kingdom, kept it long, but with various fortune; for Beda relates him oft-times afflicted by his enemies ††, with great losses: and in six hundred and fifty two, by the annals, fought a battle (civil war Ethelwerd calls it) at Bradanford by the river Afene; against whom, and for what cause, or who had the victory, they write not. Camden names the place Bradford in Wiltshire, by the river Avon, and Cuthred his near kinsman, against whom he fought, but cites no authority; certain it is, that Kenwalk four years before had given large possessions to his nephew Cuthred, the more unlikely therefore now to have rebelled.

||| The next year Peada, whom his father Penda, though a heathen, had for his princely virtues made prince of Middle-Angles, belonging to the Mercians, was with that people converted to the faith. For coming to Oswi with request to have in marriage Alflæda his daughter, he was denied her, but on condition, that he with all his people should receive christianity. Hearing therefore not unwillingly what was preached to him of resurrection and eternal life, much persuaded also by Alfrid the king's son, who had his sister Kyniburg to wife, he easily assented, for the truth's sake only as he pro-

* Camden. † Bed. l. 3. c. 14. § Post Christ. 643. Sax. an. || Post Christ. 645.
Sax. an. ¶ Post Christ. 648. ** Post Christ. 651. Bede. †† Bed. l. 3. c. 7. Post Christ. 652.
||| Post Christ. 653.

fessed, whether he obtained the virgin or no, and was baptized with all his followers. Returning, he took with him four presbyters to teach the people of his province; who by their daily preaching won many. Neither did Penda, though himself no believer, prohibit any in his kingdom to hear or believe the gospel, but rather hated and despised those, who professing to believe, attested not their faith by good works; condemning them for miserable and justly to be despised, who obey not that God in whom they choose to believe. How well might Penda, this heathen, rise up in judgment against many pretended christians, both of his own and these days! yet being a man bred up to war (as no less were others then reigning, and oft-times one against another, though both Christians) he warred on Anna king of the † East-Angles, perhaps without cause, for Anna was esteemed a just man, and at length slew him. About this time the East-Saxons, who, as above hath been said, had expelled their bishop Mellitus, and renounced the faith, were by the means of Oswi thus reconverted. Sigebert, surnamed the small, being the son of Seward, without other memory of his reign, left his son king of that province, after him Sigebert the second; who coming often to visit Oswi his great friend, was by him at several times fervently dissuaded from idolatry, and convinced at length to forsake it, was there baptized; on his return home taking with him Kedda a laborious preacher, afterwards made bishop; by whose teaching, with some help of others, the people were again recovered from misbelief. But Sigebert some years after, though standing fast in religion, was by the conspiracy of two brethren, in place near about him, wickedly murdered; who being asked "What moved them to a deed so heinous," gave no other than this barbarous answer; "That they were angry with him for being so gentle to his enemies, as to forgive them their injuries whenever they besought him." Yet his death seems to have happened not without some cause by him given of divine displeasure. For one of those earls who slew him, living in unlawful wedlock, and therefore excommunicated so severely by the bishop, that no man might presume to enter into his house, much less to sit at meat with him, the king not regarding this church-censure, went to feast with him at his invitation. Whom the bishop meeting in his return, though penitent for what he had done, and fallen at his feet, touched with the rod in his hand, and angrily thus foretold: "Because thou hast neglected to abstain from the house of that excommunicate, in that house thou shalt die;" and so it fell out, perhaps from that prediction, God bearing witness to his minister in the power of church-discipline, spiritually executed, not juridically on the contemner thereof. This year || 655 proved fortunate to Oswi, and fatal to Penda; for Oswi by the continual inroads of Penda having long endured much devastation, to the endangering once by assault and fire Bebbanburg *, his strongest city, now Bamborrough-castle, unable to resist him, with many rich presents offered to buy his peace, which not accepted by the pagan †, who intended nothing but destruction to that king, though more than once in affinity with him, turning gifts into vows, he implores divine assistance, devoting, if he were delivered from his enemy, a child of one year old, his daughter, to be a nun, and twelve portions of land whereon to build monasteries. His vows, as may be thought, found better success than his proffered gifts; for hereupon with his son Alfrid, gathering a small power, he encountered and discomfited the Mercians, thirty times exceeding his in number, and led on by expert captains §, at a place called Laydes, now Leeds in Yorkshire. Besides this Ethelwald, the son of Oswald, who ruled in Deira, took part with the Mercians; but in the fight withdrew his forces, and in a safe place expected the event: with which unseasonable retreat the Mercians, perhaps terrified and misdoubting more danger, fled; their commanders, with Penda himself, most being slain, among whom Edilhere the brother of Anna, who ruled after

† Post Christ. 654 Sax. ann.

§ Camden.

|| Post Christ. 655.

* Bed. i. 3. c. 16.

† Camd.

him the East-Angles, and was the author of this war; many more flying were drowned in the river, which Beda calls Winwed, then swoln above its banks ¶. The death of Penda, who had been the death of so many good kings, made general rejoicing, as the song witnessed. At the river Winwed, Anna was avenged. To Edelhere succeeded Ethelwald his brother, in the East-Angles; to Sigebert in the East-Saxons, Suidhelm the son of Sexbald, saith Bede ¶, the brother of Sigebert, saith Malmfbury; he was baptized by Kedda, then residing in the East-Angles, and by Ethelwald the king received out of the font. But Oswi in the strength of his late victory, within * three years after subdued all Mercia, and of the Pictish nation greatest part, at which time he gave to Peada his son-in-law the kingdom of South-Mercia, divided from the Northern by Trent. But Peada the spring following, as was said, by the treason of his wife the daughter of Oswi, married by him for a special christian, on the feast of Easter †, not protected by the holy time, was slain. The Mercian nobles, Immin, Eaba, and Eadbert, throwing off the government of Oswi, set up Wulfer the other son of Penda to be their king, whom till then they had kept hid, and with him adhered to the christian faith. Kenwalk the West-Saxon, now settled at home, and desirous to enlarge his dominion, prepares against the Britains, joins battle with them at Pen in Somersetshire, and overcoming, pursues them to Pedridan. Another fight he had with them before, at a place called Witgeornesburg, barely mentioned by the monk of Malmfbury. Nor was it long ere he fell at variance with Wulfer the son of Penda, his old enemy, scarce yet warm in his throne, fought with him at Possentesburg, on the Easter holy-days ‡, and as Ethelwerd saith, took him prisoner; but the Saxon annals, quite otherwise, that Wulfer winning the field, wasted the West-Saxon country as far as Eskesdun; nor staying there, took and wasted the isle of Wight, but causing the inhabitants to be baptized, till then unbelievers, gave the island to Ethelwald king of South-Saxons, whom he had received out of the font. The year § six hundred and sixty-four a synod of Scottish and English bishops, in the presence of Oswi and Alfred his son, was held at a monastery in those parts, to debate on what day Easter should be kept; a controversy which long before had disturbed the Greek and Latin churches: wherein the Scots not agreeing with the way of Rome; nor yielding to the disputants on that side, to whom the king most inclined, such as were bishops here, resigned, and returned home with their disciples. Another clerical question was there also much controverted, not so superstitious in my opinion as ridiculous, about the right shaving of crowns. The same year was seen an eclipse of the sun in May, followed by a fore pestilence beginning in the South **, but spreading to the North, and over all Ireland with great mortality. In which time the East-Saxons, after Swithelm's decease, being governed by Siger the son of Sigebert the small, and Sebbi of Seward, though both subject to the Mercians; Siger and his people unsteady of faith, supposing that this plague was come upon them for renouncing their old religion, fell off the second time to infidelity. Which the Mercian king Wulfer understanding, sent Jarumannus a faithful bishop, who with other his fellow-labourers, by sound doctrine and gentle dealing, soon re-cured them of their second relapse. In Kent, Ercombert expiring, was succeeded by his son Ecbert. In whose fourth year ††, by means of Theodore, a learned Greekish monk of Tarsus, whom pope Vitalian had ordained archbishop of Canterbury, the Greek and Latin tongue, with other liberal arts, arithmetick, musick, astronomy, and the like, began first to flourish among the Saxons; as did also the whole land, under potent and religious kings, more than ever before, as Bede affirms, till his own days. Two years §§ after in Northumberland died Oswi, much addicted to Romish rites, and resolved, had his dis-

¶ Mat West.
659. Sax. ann.

¶ Bed. l. 3. c. 22.

† Post Christ. 661. Sax. ann.

* Post Christ. 658. Sax. ann.

§ Post Christ. 664. Bed.

† Post Christ.
** Malmf.

†† Post Christ. 668. Sax. ann.

§§ Post Christ. 670. Sax. an.

case released him, to have ended his days at Rome. Ecfred the eldest of his sons begot in wedlock, succeeded him. After other * three years, Ecbert in Kent deceasing, left nothing memorable behind him; but the general suspicion to have slain or connived at the slaughter of his uncle's two sons, Elbert and Egelbright. In recompence whereof he gave to the † mother of them, part of Tanet, wherein to build an abbey; the kingdom fell to his brother Lothair. And much about this time, by best account it should be, however placed in Beda ‡, that Ecfred of Northumberland having war with the Mercian Wulfer, won from him Lindsey, and the country thereabout: Sebbi having reigned over the East-Saxons thirty years, not long before his death, though long before desiring, took on him the habit of a monk; and drew his wife at length, though unwilling, to the same devotion. Kenwalk also dying, left the government to Sexburga his wife, who out-lived him in it but one year, driven out, saith Mat. Westm. by the nobles disdaining female government. § After whom several petty kings, as Beda calls them, for ten years space divided the West-Saxons; others name two, Efcwin the nephew of Kinegils, and Kentwin the son, not petty by their deeds ||: for Efcwin fought a battle with Wulfer ¶, at Bedanhafde, and about a year after both deceased; but Wulfer not without a stain left behind him, of selling the bishoprick of London to Wini; the first Simonist we read of in this story: Kenwalk had before expelled him from his chair at Winchester. Ethelred the brother of Wulfer obtaining next the kingdom of Mercia, not only recovered Lindsey, and what besides in those parts Wulfer had lost to Ecfred some years before, but found himself strong enough to extend his arms another way, as far as Kent, wasting that country without respect to church or monastery **, much also endamaging the city of Rochester, notwithstanding what resistance Lothair could make against him. †† In August six hundred and seventy eight was seen a morning comet for three months following, in manner of a fiery pillar. And the South-Saxons about this time were converted to the christian faith, upon this occasion. Wilfrid bishop of the Northumbrians entering into contention with Ecfred the king, was by him deprived of his bishoprick, and long wandering up and down as far as Rome §§, returned at length into England; but not daring to approach the north, whence he was banished, bethought him where he might to best purpose elsewhere exercise his ministry. The south of all other Saxons remained yet heathen; but Ediwalk their king not long before had been baptized in Mercia, persuaded by Wulfer, and by him, as hath been said, received out of the font. ||| For which relation's sake he had the Isle of Wight, and a province of the Meannari adjoining given him on the continent about Meanesborow in Hantshire, which Wulfer had a little before gotten from Kenwalk. Thither Wilfrid takes his journey, and with the help of other spiritual labourers about him, in short time planted there the gospel. It had not rained, as is said, of three years before in that country, whence many of the people daily perished by famine; till on the first day of their public baptism, soft and plentiful showers descending, restored all abundance to the summer following. ¶¶ Two years after this, Kentwin the other West-Saxon king above-named, chased the Welch Britains, as is chronicled without circumstance, to the very sea-shore. But in the year, by Beda's reckoning, six hundred and eighty three *, Kedwalla a West-Saxon of the royal line, (whom the Welch will have to be Cadwallader, last king of the Britains) thrown out by faction, returned from banishment, and invaded both Kentwin, if then living, or whoever else had divided the succession of Kenwalk, slaying in fight Edelwalk the South-Saxon, who opposed him in their aid †; but soon after was repulsed by two of his captains, Bertune and Andune, who for a while held the province in their power. § But Kedwalla

* Post Christ. 673. Sax. an. † Malmf. ‡ Bed. l. 4. c. 12. § Post Christ. 674. Bed. l. 4. c. 12. || Sax. an. ¶ Malmf. Post Christ. 676. ** Bed. l. 4. c. 12. †† Post Christ. 678. §§ Post Christ. 679. ||| Bed. l. 4. c. 13. Camden. ¶¶ Post Christ. 681. Sax. an. * Post Christ. 683. Sax. an. † Bed. l. 4. c. 15. § Malmf. Post Christ. 684.

gathering new force, with the slaughter of Bertune, and also of Edric the successor of Edlewalk, won the kingdom; but reduced the people to heavy thralldom. * Then addressing to conquer the Isle of Wight, till that time pagan, saith Beda, (others otherwise, as above hath been related) made a vow, though himself yet unbaptized, to devote the south part of that island, and the spoils thereof to holy uses. Conquest obtained, paying his vow as then was the belief, he gave his fourth to bishop Wilfrid, by chance there present; and he to Bertwin a priest, his sister's son, with commission to baptize all the vanquished, who meant to save their lives. But the two young sons of Arwald, king of that island, met with much more hostility; for they, at the enemy's approach flying out of the isle, and betrayed where they were hid not far from thence, were led to Kedwalla, who lay then under cure of some wounds received, and by his appointment, after instruction and baptism first given them, harshly put to death, which the youths are said above their age to have christianly suffered. In Kent Lothair died this year of his wounds received in the fight against the South-Saxons, led on by Edric, who descending from Ermenred, it seems challenged the crown, and wore it, though not commendably, one year and a half: but coming to a violent death †, left the land exposed a prey either to home-bred usurpers, or neighbouring invaders. Among whom Kedwalla, taking advantage from their civil distempers, and marching easily through the South-Saxons, whom he had subdued, sorely harassed the country, untouched of a long time by any hostile incursion. But the Kentish men, all parties uniting against a common enemy, with joint power so opposed him, that he was constrained to retire back; his brother Mollo in the flight with twelve men in his company, seeking shelter in a house, was beset, and therein burnt by the pursuers §: Kedwalla much troubled at so great a loss, recalling and soon rallying his disordered forces, returned fiercely upon the chasing enemy ||; nor could he be got out of the province, till both by fire and sword he had avenged the death of his brother. ¶ At length Victred, the son of Ecbert, attaining the kingdom, both settled at home all things in peace, and secured his borders from all outward hostility. ‡ While thus Kedwalla disquieted both West and East, after his winning the crown, Ecfred the Northumbrian, and Ethelred the Mercian, fought a fore battle by the river Trent; wherein Elfwin brother to Ecfred, a youth of eighteen years, much beloved, was slain; and the accident likely to occasion much more shedding of blood, peace was happily made up by the grave exhortation of archbishop Theodore, a pecuniary fine only paid to Ecfred, as some satisfaction for the loss of his brother's life. Another adversity befel Ecfred in his family, by means of Etheldrith his wife, king Anna's daughter, who having taken him for her husband, and professing to love him above all other men, persisted twelve years in the obstinate refusal of his bed, thereby thinking to live the purer life. So perversely then was chastity instructed against the apostle's rule. At length obtaining of him with much importunity her departure, she veiled herself a nun, then made abbess of Ely, died seven years after the pestilence; and might with better warrant have kept faithfully her undertaken wedlock, though now canonized St. Audrey of Ely. In the mean while Ecfred had sent Bertus with a power to subdue Ireland, a harmless nation, saith Beda, and ever friendly to the English; in both which they seem to have left a posterity much unlike them at this day; miserably wasted, without regard had to places hallowed or profane; they betook themselves partly to their weapons, partly to implore divine aid; and, as was thought, obtained it in their full avengement upon Ecfred. For he the next year, against the mind and persuasion of his sagest friends, and especially of Cudbert a famous bishop of that age, marching unadvisedly against the Picts, who long before had been subject to Northumberland, was by them feigning

* Bed. l. 4. c. 15. † Post Christ. 685. Malmf.
‡ Bed. † Post Christ. 687.

§ Sax. an. Malmf.

|| Post Christ.

flight, drawn unawares into narrow streights, overtopt with hills, and cut off with most of his army. From which time, saith Bede, military valour began among the Saxons to decay, not only the Picts, till then peaceable, but some part of the Britains also recovered by arms their liberty for many years after. Yet Alfrid elder, but base brother to Ecfrid, a man said to be learned in the scriptures, recalled from Ireland, to which place in his brother's reign he had retired, and now succeeding, upheld with much honour, though in narrower bounds, the residue of his kingdom. Kedwalla having now with great disturbance of his neighbours reigned over the West-Saxons two years, besides what time he spent in gaining it, wearied perhaps with his own turbulence, went to Rome, desirous there to receive baptism, which till then his worldly affairs had deferred; and accordingly, on Easter-day, six hundred and eighty nine *, he was baptized by Sergius the pope, and his name changed to Peter. All which notwithstanding, surprized with a disease, he outlived not the ceremony so far sought, much above the space of five weeks, in the thirtieth year of his age, and in the church of St. Peter was there buried, with a large epitaph upon his tomb. Him succeeded Ina of the royal family, and from the time of his coming in, for many years oppressed the land with like grievances, as Kedwalla had done before him, insomuch that in those times there was no bishop among them. His first expedition was into Kent, to demand satisfaction for the burning of Mollo: Victred loth to hazard all for the rash act of a few, delivered up thirty of those that could be found accessory, or as others say, pacified Ina with a great sum of money. † Mean while, at the incitement of Ecbert, a devout monk, Wilbrod a priest eminent for learning, passed over sea, having twelve others in company, with intent to preach the gospel in Germany. § And coming to Pepin chief regent of the Franks, who a little before had conquered the hither Frisia, by his countenance and protection, promise also of many benefits to them who should believe, they found the work of conversion much the easier, and Wilbrod the first bishoprick in that nation. But two priests, each of them Hewald by name, and for distinction surnamed from the colour of their hair, the black and the white, by his example, piously affected to the souls of their countrymen the Old Saxons, at their coming thither to convert them met with much worse entertainment. For in the house of a farmer who had promised to convey them, as they desired, to the governour of that country, discovered by their daily ceremonies to be christian priests, and the cause of their coming suspected, they were by him and his heathen neighbours cruelly butchered; yet not unavenged, for the governour enraged at such violence offered to his strangers, sending armed men slew all those inhabitants, and burnt their village. || After three years in Mercia, Ostrid the queen, wife to Ethelred, was killed by her own nobles, as Bede's epitome records; Florence calls them Southimbrians, negligently omitting the cause of so strange a fact. ¶ And the year following, Bethred a Northumbrian general was slain by the Picts. ** Ethelred seven years after the violent death of his queen, put on the monk, and resigned his kingdom to Kenred the son of Wulfer his brother. †† The next year, Alfrid in Northumberland died, leaving Osred a child of eight years to succeed him. §§ Four years after which, Kenred having a while with praise governed the Mercian kingdom, went to Rome in the time of pope Constantine, and shorn a monk spent there the residue of his days. Kelred succeeded him, the son of Ethelred, who had reigned the next before. With Kenred went Offa the son of Siger, king of the East-Saxons, and betook him to the same habit, leaving his wife and native country; a comely person in the prime of his youth, much desired of the people; and such his virtue by report, as might have otherwise been worthy to

* Post Christ. 689.

† Malm. Sax. an Ethelwerd.

§ Post Christ. 694.

|| Post

Christ. 697.

¶ Post Christ 698.

** Post Christ. 704.

†† Post Christ. 705.

• §§ Post Christ. 709.

have reigned. * Ina the West-Saxon one year after fought a battle, at first doubtful, at last successful, against Gerent king of Wales. † The next year Bertfrid, another Northumbrian captain, fought with the Picts, and slaughtered them, saith Huntingdon, to the full avengement of Ecfrid's death. § The fourth year after, Ina had another doubtful and cruel battle at Woodnesburgh in Wiltshire, with Kelred the Mercian, who died the year following a lamentable death || : for as he sat one day feasting with his nobles, suddenly possessed with an evil spirit, he expired in despair, as Boniface archbishop of Ments, an English-man, who taxes him for a defiler of nuns, writes by way of caution to Ethelbald his next of kin, who succeeded him. Ofred also a young Northumbrian king, slain by his kindred in the eleventh of his reign for his vicious life and incest committed with nuns, was by Kenred succeeded and avenged ; he reigning two years, left Ofric in his room. ¶ In whose seventh year, if Beda calculate right, Victred king of Kent deceased, having reigned thirty four years, and some part of them with Suebbard, as Beda ** testifies. He left behind him three sons, Ethelbert, Eadbert, and Alric his heirs. §§ Three years after which, appeared two comets about the sun, terrible to behold, the one before him in the morning, the other after him in the evening, for the space of two weeks in January, bending their blaze toward the north ; at which time the Saracens furiously invaded France, but were expelled soon after with great overthrow. The same year in Northumberland, Ofric dying or slain, adopted Kelwulf the brother of Kenred his successor, to whom Beda dedicates his story ||| ; but writes this only of him, that the beginning, and the process of his reign met with many adverse commotions, whereof the event was then doubtfully expected. Mean while Ina seven years before, having slain Kenwulf, to whom Florent gives the addition of Clito, given usually to none but of the blood royal, and the fourth year after overthrown and slain Albright another Clito, driven from Taunton to the South-Saxons for aid, vanquished also the East-Angles in more than one battle, as Malmesbury writes, but not the year ; whether to expiate so much blood, or infected with the contagious humour of those times, Malmesbury saith, at the persuasion of Ethelburga his wife, went to Rome, and there ended his days ; yet this praise left behind him, to have made good laws, the first of Saxon that remain extant to this day, and to his kinsman Edelard bequeathed the crown, no less than the whole monarchy of England and Wales. For Ina, if we believe a digression in the laws of Edward confessor, was the first king crowned of English and British, since the Saxons entrance ; of the British by means of his second wife, some way related to Cadwallader last king of Wales, which I had not noted, being unlikely, but for the place where I found it. †† After Ina, by a surer author, Ethelbald king of Mercia commanded all the Provinces on this side Humber, with their kings : the Picts were in league with the English, the Scots peaceable within their bounds, and of the Britains part were in their own government, part subject to the English. In which peaceful state of the land, many in Northumberland, both nobles and commons, laying aside the exercise of arms, betook them to the cloister : and not content so to do at home, many in the days of Ina, clerks and laics, men and women, hasting to Rome in herds, thought themselves no where sure of eternal life, till they were cloistered there. Thus representing the state of things in this island, Beda surceased to write. Out of whom chiefly has been gathered since the Saxons arrival, such as hath been delivered, a scattered story pickt out here and there, with some trouble and tedious work, from among his many legends of visions and miracles ; toward the latter end so bare of civil matters, as what can be thence collected may seem a calendar rather than a history, taken up for the most part with succession of kings, and

* Post Christ. 710 Sax. annal.

† Huntingd. Post Christ 711.

§ Bed. Epit. Post Christ.

715. || Sax. an. Huntingd. Post Christ. 715.

¶ Post Christ. 718.

** L. 5. c. 9.

Post Christ. 725.

§§ Post Christ. 728.

||| Bed. l. 5. c. 24.

†† Bede: Post

Christ. 731.

computation of years, yet those hard to be reconciled with the Saxon annals. Their actions we read of, were most commonly wars, but for what cause waged, or by what councils carried on, no care was had to let us know; whereby their strength and violence we understand, of their wisdom, reason, or justice, little or nothing, the rest superstition and monastical affectation; kings one after another, leaving their kingly charge, to run their heads fondly into a monk's cowl: which leaves us uncertain whether Beda was wanting to his matter, or his matter to him. Yet from hence to the Danish invasion it will be worse with us, destitute of Beda. Left only to obscure and blockish chronicles; whom Malmesbury, and Huntingdon (for neither they nor we had better authors of those times) ambitious to adorn the history, make no scruple oftentimes, I doubt, to interline with conjectures and surmises of their own; them rather than imitate, I shall choose to represent the truth naked, though as lean as a plain journal. Yet William of Malmesbury must be acknowledged, both for stile and judgment, to be by far the best writer of them all: but what labour is to be endured turning over volumes of rubbish in the rest, Florence of Worcester, Huntingdon, Simeon of Durham, Hoveden, Matthew of Westminster, and many others of obscurer note, with all their monachisms, is a penance to think. Yet these are our only registers, transcribers one after another for the most part, and sometimes worthy enough for the things they register. This travail, rather than not know at once what may be known of our ancient story, sifted from fables and impertinences, I voluntarily undergo; and to save others, if they please, the like unpleasing labour; except those who take pleasure to be all their life-time raking the foundations of old abbeys and cathedrals. But to my task now as it befalls. * In the year seven hundred and thirty three, on the eighteenth kalends of September, was an eclipse of the sun about the third hour of day, obscuring almost his whole orb as with a black shield. † Ethelbald of Mercia besieged and took the castle or town of Somerton: § and two years after Beda our historian died, some say the year before. || Kelwulf in Northumberland three years after became monk in Lindisfarne, yet none of the severest, for he brought those monks from milk and water, to wine and ale; in which doctrine no doubt but they were soon docile, and well might, for Kelwulf brought with him good provision, great treasure and revenues of land, recited by Simeon, yet all under pretence of following (I use the author's words) poor Christ, by voluntary poverty; no marvel then if such applause were given by monkish writers to king's turning monks, and much cunning perhaps used to allure them. To Eadbert his uncle's son, he left the kingdom, whose brother Ecbert, archbishop of York, built a library there. ¶ But two years after, while Eadbert was busied in war against the Picts, Ethelbald the Mercian, by foul fraud, assaulted part of Northumberland in his absence, as the supplement to Beda's epitome records. In the West-Saxons, Edeldard who succeeded Ina, having been much molested in the beginning of his reign, with the rebellion of Oswald his kinsman, who contended with him for the right of succession, overcoming at last those troubles, died in peace seven hundred and forty one **, leaving Cuthred one of the same lineage to succeed him; who at first had much war with Ethelbald the Mercian, and various success, but joining with him in league two years after ††, made war on the Welch; Huntingdon doubts not to give them a great victory. §§ And Simeon reports another battle fought between Britains and Picts the year ensuing. Now was the kingdom of East-Saxons drawing to a period, for Sigeward and Senfred the sons of Sebba having reigned a while, and after them, young Offa, who soon quitted his kingdom to go to Rome with Kenred, as hath been said, the government was conferred on Selred son of Sigebert the Good, who having ruled thirty eight

* Post Christ. 733. Sax. an. † Ethelwerd. § Post Christ. 735. || Post Christ. 738. Malmf. ¶ Post Christ. 740. ** Post Christ. 741. Malmf. Sax. an. †† Post Christ. 743. Sim. Dur. §§ Post Christ. 744. Hoved. Malmf. Sax. an. years.

years *, came to a violent death ; how or wherefore, is not set down. After whom Swithred was the last king, driven out by Ecbert the West-Saxon : but London, with countries adjacent, obeyed the Mercians till they also were dissolved. † Cuthred had now reigned about nine years, when Kinric his son, a valiant young prince, was in a military tumult slain by his own soldiers. The same year Eadbert dying in Kent, his brother Edilbert reigned in his stead. § But after two years, the other Eadbert in Northumberland, whose war with the Picts hath been above mentioned, made now such progress there, as to subdue Kyle, so saith the auctarie of Bede, and other countries thereabout, to his dominion ; while Cuthred the West-Saxon had a fight with Ethelhun, one of his nobles, a stout warrior, envied by him in some matter of the commonwealth ||, as far as by the Latin of Ethelwerd can be understood (others interpret it sedition) and with much ado overcoming, took Ethelhun for his valour into favour, by whom faithfully served in the twelfth or thirteenth of his reign, he encountered in a set battle with Ethelbald the Mercian at Beorford, now Burtord in Oxfordshire ; ¶ one year after against the Welch, which was the last but one of his Life. Huntingdon, as his manner is to comment upon the annal text, makes a terrible description of that fight between Cuthred and Ethelbald, and the prowess of Ethelhun, at Beorford, but so affectedly, and therefore suspiciously, that I hold it not worth rehearsal ; and both in that and the latter conflict, gives victory to Cuthred ; after whom Sigebert **, uncertain by what right, his kinsman saith Florent, stepped into the throne, whom hated for his cruelty and other evil doings, Kinwulf joining with most of the nobility, dispossessed of all but Hampshire, that province he lost also within a year ††, together with the love of all those who till then remained his adherents, by slaying Cumbran, one of his chief captains, who for a long time had faithfully served, and now dissuaded him from incensing the people by such tyrannical practices. §§ Thence flying for safety into Andrew's wood, forsaken of all, he was at length slain by the swineherd of Cumbran in revenge of his master, and Kinwulf who had undoubted right to the crown, joyfully saluted king. ||| The next year Eadbert the Northumbrian joining forces with Unust king of the Picts, as Simeon writes, besieged and took by surrender the city of Alcluith, now Dunbritton in Lennox, from the Britains of Cumberland ; and ten days after ¶¶, the whole army perished about Niwanbirig, but to tell us how, he forgets. In Mercia, Ethelbald was slain at a place called Secandune, now Seckington in Warwickshire, the year following *, in a bloody fight against Cuthred, as Huntingdon surmises, but Cuthred was dead two or three years before ; others write him murdered in the night by his own guard, and the treason, as some say, of Beornred, who succeeded him ; but ere many months, was defeated and slain by Offa. Yet Ethelbald seems not without cause, after a long and prosperous reign, to have fallen by a violent death ; not shaming, on the vain confidence of his many alms, to commit uncleanness with consecrated nuns, besides laic adulteries, as the arch-bishop of Ments in a letter taxes him and his predecessor, and that by his example most of his peers did the like ; which adulterous doings he foretold him were likely to produce a slothful Offspring, good for nothing but to be the ruin of that kingdom, as it fell out not long after. † The next year Olmund, according to Florence, ruling the South-Saxons, and Swithred the East, Eadbert in Northumberland, following the steps of his predecessor, got him into a monk's hood ; the more to be wondered, that having reigned worthily twenty one years§, with the love and high estimation of all, both at home and abroad, still able to govern, and much entreated by the kings his neighbours, not to lay down his charge ; with offer on that condition to yield up to him

* Post Christ. 746.

† Post Christ. 748. Sax. an. Huntingd.

§ Post Christ. 750.

¶ Huntingd. Post Christ. 752. Camd.

¶ Post Christ. 753.

** Sax. an. Post Christ. 754.

Malmf. †† Post Christ. 755.

§§ Huntingdon

||| Post Christ. 756. Camd.

¶¶ Camd.

* Post Christ. 757. Sax. an. Epir. Bed. Sim. Dun.

† Post Christ. 758.

§ Sim. Dun. Eccles. 1 2.

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part of their own dominion, he could not be moved from his resolution, but relinquished his regal office to Oswulf his son; who at the year's end *, though without just cause, was slain by his own servants. And the year after died Ethelbert, son of Victred, the second of that name in Kent. After Oswulf, Ethelwald, otherwise called Mollo, was set up king; who in his third year † had a great battle at Eldune, by Melros, slew Oswin a great lord, rebelling, and gained the victory. But the third year after §, fell by the treachery of Alcred, who assumed his place. ¶ The fourth year after which, Cataracta an ancient and fair city in Yorkshire, was burnt by Arnred a certain tyrant, who the same year came to like end. ¶ And after five years more, Alcred the king, deposed and forsaken by all his people, flew with a few, first to Bebbra, a strong city of those parts, thence to Kinot, king of the Picts. Ethelred the son of Mollo, was crowned in his stead. Mean while Offa the Mercian, growing powerful, had subdued a neighbouring people by Simeon, called Hastings; and fought successfully this year with Alric king of Kent, at a place called Occanford: the annals also speak of wondrous serpents then seen in Suffex. Nor had Kinwulf the West-Saxon given small proof of his valour in several battles against the Welch heretofore; but this year seven hundred and seventy five ‡, meeting with Offa, at a place called Besington, was put to the worse, and Offa won the town for which they contended. ** In Northumberland, Ethelred having caused three of his nobles, Aldulf, Kinwulf and Ecça, treacherously to be slain by two other peers, was himself the next year driven into banishment, Elfwald the son of Oswulf succeeding in his place, yet not without civil broils; for in his second year †† Osbald and Athelheard, two noblemen, raising forces against him, routed Bearne his general, and pursuing, burnt him at a place called Seletune. I am sensible how wearisome it may likely be to read of so many bare and reasonless actions, so many names of kings one after another, acting little more than mute persons in a scene: what would it be to have inserted the long bead-roll of archbishops, bishops, abbots, abbeßes, and their doings, neither to religion profitable, nor to morality, swelling my authors each to a voluminous body, by me studiously omitted; and left as their propriety, who have a mind to write the ecclesiastical matters of those ages? Neither do I care to wrinkle the smoothness of history with rugged names of places unknown, better harped at in Camden, and other chorographers. §§ Six years therefore passed over in silence, as wholly of such argument, bring us to relate next the unfortunate end of Kinwulf the West-Saxon; who having laudably reigned about thirty one years, yet suspecting that Kineard brother of Sigebert the former king, intended to usurp the crown after his decease, or revenge his brother's expulsion, had commanded him into banishment |||: but he lurking here and there on the borders with a small company, having had intelligence that Kinwulf was in the country thereabout, at Merantun, or Merton in Surrey, at the house of a woman whom he loved, went by night and beset the place. Kinwulf over-confident either of his royal presence, or personal valour, issuing forth with a few about him, runs fiercely at Kineard, and wounds him sore; but by his followers hemmed in, is killed among them. The report of so great an accident soon running to a place not far off, where many more attendants awaited the king's return, Ofric and Wivert, two earls, hastened with a great number to the house, where Kineard and his fellows yet remained. He seeing himself surrounded, with fair words and promises of great gifts, attempted to appease them; but those rejected with disdain, fights it out to the last, and is slain with all but one or two of his retinue, which were nigh a hundred. Kinwulf was succeeded by Birthric, being both descended of Kerdic the founder of that kingdom. ¶¶ Not better was the end of

* Post Christ. 759. † Post Christ. 762. Sim. Dun. Mat. West. § Post Christ. 765. Sim. Dun. ¶ Post Christ. 774. Sim. Dun. † Post Christ. 775. Sax. an. ** Post Christ. 778. Sim. Dun. †† Post Christ. 780. Sim. Dun. §§ Post Christ. 786. Ethelwerd. Malmf. ||| Sax. an. Camd. ¶¶ Post Christ. 788. Sim. Dun. Malmf.

Elfwald; in Northumberland, two years after slain miserably by the conspiracy of Siggan, one of his nobles, others say of the whole people at Scilcester by the Roman wall; yet undeservedly, as his sepulchre at Hagustald, now Hexam upon Tine, and some miracles there said to be done *, are alledged to witness, and Siggan five years after laid violent hands on himself. † Osred son of Alcred advanced into the room of Elfwald, and within one year driven out, left his seat vacant to Ethelred son of Mollo, who after ten years of banishment § (imprisonment, saith Alcuin) had the scepter put again into his hand. The third year of Birthric king of West-Saxons, gave beginning from abroad to a new and fatal revolution of calamity on this land. For three Danish ships, the first that had been seen here of that nation, arriving in the west; to visit these, as was supposed, foreign merchants, the king's gatherer of customs taking horse from Dorchester, found them spies and enemies. For being commanded to come and give account of their lading at the king's custom-house, they slew him and all that came with him; as an earnest of the many slaughters, rapines and hostilities, which they returned not long after to commit over all the island. || Of this Danish first arrival, and on a sudden worse than hostile aggression, the Danish history far otherwise relates, as if their landing had been at the mouth of Humber, and their spoilful march far into the country; though soon repelled by the inhabitants, they hasted back as fast to their ships: but from what cause, what reason of state, what authority or public council the invasion proceeded, makes not mention, and our wonder yet the more, by telling us that Sigefrid then king in Denmark, and long after, was a man studious more of peace and quiet than of warlike matters. ¶ These therefore seem rather to have been some wanderers at sea, who with public commission, or without, through love of spoil, or hatred of christianity, seeking booties on any land of christians, came by chance or weather on this shore. ** The next year Osred in Northumberland, who driven out by his nobles had given place to Ethelred, was taken, and forcibly shaven a monk at York. †† And the year after, Oelf, and Oelfwin, sons of Elfwald, formerly king, were drawn by fair promises from the principal church of York, and after by command of Ethelred, cruelly put to death at Wonwaldremere §§, a village by the great pool in Lancashire, now called Winandermere. ||| Nor was the third year less bloody; for Osred, who not liking a shaven crown, had desired banishment and obtained it, returning from the Isle of Man with small forces, at the secret but deceitful call of certain nobles, who by oath had promised to assist him, were also taken, and by Ethelred dealt with in the same manner: who the better to avouch his cruelties, thereupon married Elfled the daughter of Offa; for in Offa was found as little faith or mercy. He the same year having drawn to his palace Ethelbrite king of East-Angles, with fair invitations to marry his daughter, caused him to be there inhospitably beheaded, and his kingdom wrongfully seized, by the wicked counsel of his wife, saith Mat. Westm. annexing thereto a long unlikely tale. For which violence and bloodshed to make attonement, with friers at least, he bestows the reliques of St. Alban in a shrine of pearl and gold. ¶¶ Far worse it fared the next year with the reliques in Lindisfarne; where the Danes landing, pillaged that monastery; and of friers killed some, carried away others captive, sparing neither priest nor lay: which many strange thunders and fiery dragons, with other impressions in the air seen frequently before, were judged to fore signify. This year Alric third son of Victred ended in Kent his long reign of thirty four years; with him ended the race of Hengist: thenceforth whomsoever wealth or faction advanced, took on him the name and state of a king. The Saxon annals of seven hundred and eighty four, name Ealmund then reigning in

* Camd.

† Malmf

§ Sim. Dun. Post Christ 789.

|| Pontan. l. 3.

¶ Ibid. l. 4.

** Sim. Dun. Post Christ. 790.

†† Post Christ 791. Sim. Dun.

§§ Camd.

||| Post

Christ. 792. Sim. Dun. Eccles. l. 2.

¶¶ Post Christ. 793. Sim. Dun.

-Kent;

Kent; but that consists not with the time of Alric, and I find him no where else mentioned. The year following * was remarkable for the death of Offa the Mercian, a strenuous and subtle king; he had much intercourse with Charles the Great, at first enmity, to the interdicting of commerce on either side, at length much amity and firm league, as appears by the letter of Charles himself yet extant, procured by Alcuin a learned and prudent man, though a monk, whom the kings of England in those days had sent orator into France, to maintain good correspondence between them and Charles the Great. He granted, saith Huntingdon, a perpetual tribute to the pope out of every house in his kingdom †, for yielding perhaps to translate the primacy of Canterbury to Litchfield in his own dominion. He drew a trench of wondrous length between Mercia and the British confines from sea to sea. Ecferth the son of Offa, a prince of great hope, who also had been crowned nine years before his father's decease, restoring to the church what his father had seized on, yet within four months by a sickness ended his reign; and to Kenulf next in the right of the same progeny, bequeathed his kingdom. Mean while the Danish pirates who still wasted Northumberland, venturing on shore to spoil another monastery at the mouth of the river Don, were assailed by the English, their chief captain slain on the place; then returning to sea, were most of them shipwrecked; others driven again on shore, were put all to the sword. Simeon attributes this their punishment to the power of St. Cudbert, offended with them for the rifling his convent. ‡ Two years after this, died Ethelred twice king, but not exempted at last from the fate of many of his predecessors, miserably slain by his people, some say deservedly, as not unconscious with them who trained Osred to his ruin. Osbald a nobleman exalted to the throne, and, in less than a month, deserted and expelled, was forced to fly from Lindisfarne by sea to the Pictish king, and died an abbot. Eardulf, whom Ethelred six years before had commanded to be put to death at Rippon, before the abbey-gate, dead as was supposed, and with solemn dirge carried into the church, after midnight found there alive, I read not how, then banished, now recalled, was in York created king. In Kent, Ethelbert or Pren, whom the annals call Eadbright (so different they often are one from another, both in timing and in naming) by some means having usurped regal power, after two years reign contending with Kenulf the Mercian, was by him taken prisoner, and soon after out of pious commiseration let go: but not received of his own, what became of him, Malmesbury leaves in doubt. Simeon writes, that Kenulf commanded to put out his eyes, and lop off his hands; but whether the sentence were executed or not, is left as much in doubt by his want of expression. The second year after this, they in Northumberland who had conspired against Ethelred §, now also raising war against Eardulf, under Wada their chief captain, after much havock on either side at Langho, by Whaley in Lancashire, the conspirators at last flying, Eardulf returned with victory. The same year London, with a great multitude of her inhabitants, by a sudden fire was consumed. The year eight hundred || made way for great alteration in England, uniting her seven kingdoms into one, by Ecbert the famous West-Saxon; him Birthric dying childless left next to reign, the only survivor of that lineage, descended from Inegild the brother of king Ina. ¶ And according to his birth liberally bred, he began early from his youth to give signal hopes of more than ordinary worth growing up in him; which Birthric fearing, and withal his juster title to the crown, secretly sought his life, and Ecbert perceiving, fled to Offa, the Mercian: but he having married Eadburgh his daughter to Birthric, easily gave ear to his ambassadors coming to require Ecbert: ** he again put to his shifts, escaped thence into France; but after three years banishment there, which perhaps contributed much to his education, Charles the Great then reigning, he was called over by the public voice

* Post Christ. 794. Malmf.
§ Post Christ. 798. Sim. Dun.

† After Men Sim. Dun
|| Post Christ. 800.

‡ Post Christ. 796 Sim. Dun.
¶ Malmf. ** Sax an.

(for Birthric was newly dead) and with general applause created king of West-Saxons. The same day Ethelmund at Kinnersford passing over with the Worcestershire men, was met by Weolstan another nobleman with those of Wiltshire, between whom happened a great fray, wherein the Wiltshire men overcame, but both dukes were slain, no reason of their quarrel written; such bickerings to recount met often in these our writers, what more worth is it than to chronicle the wars of kites or crows, flocking and fighting in the air? * The year following, Eardulf the Northumbrian leading forth an army against Kenwulf the Mercian for harbouring certain of his enemies, by the diligent mediation of other princes and prelates, arms were laid aside, and amity soon sworn between them. † But Eadburga the wife of Birthric, a woman every way wicked, in malice especially cruel, could not or cared not to appease the general hatred justly conceived against her; accustomed in her husband's day, to accuse any whom she spighted §; and not prevailing to his ruin, her practice was by poison secretly to contrive his death. It fortune'd, that the king her husband lighting on a cup which she had tempered, not for him, but for one of his great favourites, whom she could not harm by accusing, sipped thereof only, and in a while after still pining away, ended his days; the favourite drinking deeper, found speedier the operation. She fearing to be questioned for these facts, with what treasure she had, passed over sea to Charles the Great, whom with rich gifts coming to his presence, the emperor courtly received with this pleasant proposal: "Choose, Eadburga, which of us two thou wilt, me or my son," (for his son stood by him) "to be thy husband." She no dissembler of what she liked best, made easy answer: "Were it in my choice, I should choose of the two your son rather, as the younger man." To whom the emperor, between jest and earnest, "Hast thou chosen me, I had bestowed on thee my son; but since thou hast chosen him, thou shalt have neither him nor me." Nevertheless he assigned her a rich monastery to dwell in as abbess; for that life it may seem she chose next to profess: but being a while after detected of unchastity with one of her followers, she was commanded to depart thence: from that time wandering poorly up and down with one servant, in Pavia a city of Italy, she finished at last in beggary her shameful life. In the year eight hundred and five || Cuthred, whom Kenulf the Mercian had, instead of Pren, made king in Kent, having obscurely reigned eight years, deceased. In Northumberland, Eardulf the year following was driven out of his realm by Alfwold ¶, who reigned two years in his room; after whom Eandred son of Eardulf thirty three years; but I see not how this can stand with the sequel of story out of better authors: much less that which Buchanan relates, the year following ** of Achaius king of Scots, who having reigned thirty two years, and dying in eight hundred and nine ††, had formerly aided (but in what year of his reign tells not) Hungus king of Picts with ten thousand Scots, against Athelstan a Saxon or Englishman, then wasting the Pictish borders; that Hungus by the aid of those Scots, and the help of St. Andrew their patron, in a vision by night, and the appearance of his cross by day, routed the astonished English, and slew Athelstan in fight. Who this Athelstan was, I believe no man knows; Buchanan supposes him to have been some Danish commander, on whom king Alured or Alfred had bestowed Northumberland; but of this I find no footstep in our ancient writers; and if any such thing were done in the time of Alfred, it must be little less than a hundred years after: this Athelstan therefore, and this great overthrow, seems rather to have been the fancy of some legend than any warrantable record. §§ Mean while Ecbert having with much prudence, justice and clemency, a work of more than one year, established his kingdom and himself in the affections of his people, turns his first enterprize against the Britains, both them of Cornwall and those beyond Severn, subduing both.

* Post Christ. 801. Sim. Dun.

† Malmf. l. 2. After.

§ Post Christ. 802. Sim. Dun.

¶ Post Christ. 805. Malmf. Sax. an.

|| Post Christ. 806. Huntingd. Sim. Dun.

** Post Christ.

808. Mat. West.

†† Post Christ. 809.

§§ Sim. Dun. Post Christ. 813. Sax. an.

In Mercia, Kenulf the sixth year after * having reigned with great praise of his religious mind and virtues both in peace and war, deceased. His son Kenelm, a child of seven years, was committed to the care of his elder sister Quendrid : who with a female ambition aspiring to the crown, hired one who had the charge of his nurture to murder him, led into a woody place upon pretence of hunting. † The murder, as is reported, was miraculously revealed ; but to tell how, by a dove dropping a written note on the altar at Rome, is a long story, told, though out of order, by Malmſbury, and under the year eight hundred and twenty one by Mat. West. where I leave it to be sought by such as are more credulous than I wish my readers. Only the note was to this purpose :

Low in a mead of kine under a thorn,
Of head bereft, lieth poor Kenelm king-born.

Keolwulf the brother of Kenulf, after one year's reign was driven out by one Bernulf an usurper § ; who in his third year ||, uncertain whether invading or invaded, was by Ecbert, though with great loss on both sides, overthrown and put to flight at Ellandune or Wilton : yet Malmſbury accounts this battle fought in eight hundred and six ; a wide difference, but frequently found in their computations. Bernulf thence retiring to the East-Angles, as part of his dominion by the late seizure of Offa, was by them met in the field and slain : but they doubting what the Mercians might do in revenge hereof, forthwith yielded themselves both king and people to the sovereignty of Ecbert. As for the kings of East-Angles, our annals mention them not since Ethelwald ; him succeeded his brother's sons ¶, as we find in Malmſbury, Aldulf (a good king, well acquainted with Bede) and Elwold who left the kingdom to Beorn, he to Ethelred the father of Ethelbrite, whom Offa perfidiously put to death. Simeon and Hoveden, in the year seven hundred and forty nine, write that Elfwald king of East-Angles dying, Humbeanna and Albert shared the kingdom between them ; but where to insert this among the former successions is not easy, nor much material : after Ethelbrite, none is named of that kingdom till their submitting now to Ecbert : he from this victory against Bernulf sent part of his army under Ethelwulf his son, with Alstan bishop of Shirburn, and Wulferd a chief commander, into Kent. Who finding Baldred there reigning in his eighteenth year, overcame and drove him over the Thames ; whereupon all Kent, Surrey, Suffex, and lastly Effex, with her king Swithred, became subject to the dominion of Ecbert. Neither were these all his exploits of this year ; the first in order set down in Saxon annals, being his fight against the Devonshire Welch, at a place called Gafulford, now Camelford in Cornwall. ** Ludiken the Mercian, after two years preparing to avenge Bernulf his kinsman on the East-Angles, was by them with his five consuls, as the annals call them, surprized and put to the sword : and Withlaf his successor first vanquished, then upon submission with all Mercia, made tributary to Ecbert. Mean while the Northumbrian kingdom of itself was fallen to shivers ; their kings one after another so often slain by the people, no man daring, though never so ambitious, to take up the scepter which many had found so hot : (the only effectual cure of ambition that I have read) for the space of thirty three years after the death of Ethelred son of Mollo, as Malmſbury writes, there was no king : many noblemen and prelates were fled the country. Which mis-rule among them the Danes having understood, oft-times from their ships entering far into the land, infested those parts with wide depopulation, wasting towns, churches, and monasteries, for they were yet heathen : the Lent before whose coming, on the north side of St. Peter's church in York, was seen from the roof to rain blood. The causes of these

* Post Christ. 819. Sax. an. † Malmf. § Post Christ. 820. Ingulf. || Post Christ. 823. Sax. an. ¶ Florent. Genealog. Ecd. 1. 2. c. 15. ** Camd. Post Christ. 825. Ingulf.

calamities, and the ruin of that kingdom, Alcuin, a learned monk living in those days, attributes in several epistles, and well may, to the general ignorance and decay of learning, which crept in among them after the death of Beda, and of Ecbert the archbishop; their neglect of breeding up youth in the scriptures, the spruce and gay apparel of their priests and nuns, discovering their vain and wanton minds. Examples are also read, even in Beda's days, of their wanton deeds: thence altars defiled with perjuries, cloisters violated with adulteries, the land polluted with the blood of their princes, civil dissensions among the people; and finally, all the same vices which Gildas alledged of old to have ruined the Britains. In this estate Ecbert, who had now conquered all the south, finding them in the year eight hundred and twenty seven *, (for he was marched thither with an army to compleat his conquest of the whole island) no wonder if they submitted themselves to the yoke without resistance, Eandred their king becoming tributary. † Thence turning his forces the year following he subdued more thoroughly what remained of North-Wales.

* Post Christ. 827.

† Post Christ. 828. Mat. West.

The End of the Fourth B O O K.

T H E

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

THE sum of things in this island, or the best part thereof, reduced now under the power of one man, and him one of the worthiest, which as far as can be found in good authors, was by none attain'd at any time here before, unless in fables; men might with some reason have expected from such union, peace and plenty, greatness, and the flourishing of all estates and degrees: but far the contrary fell out soon after, invasion, spoil, desolation, slaughter of many, slavery of the rest, by the forcible landing of a fierce nation; Danes commonly called, and sometimes Dacians by others, the same with Normans; as barbarous as the Saxons themselves were at first reputed, and much more: for the Saxons first invited came hither to dwell; these unsent for, unprovoked, came only to destroy*. But if the Saxons, as is above related, came most of them from Jutland and Anglen, a part of Denmark, as Danish writers affirm, and that Danes and Normans are the same; then in this invasion, Danes drove out Danes, their own posterity. And Normans afterwards, none but ancients Normans†. Which invasion perhaps, had the heptarchy stood divided as it was, had either not been attempted, or not uneasily resisted; while each prince and people, excited by their nearest concerns, had more industriously defended their own bounds, than depending on the neglect of a deputed governor, sent oft-times from the remote residence of a secure monarch. Though as it fell out in those troubles, the lesser kingdoms revolting from the West-Saxon yoke, and not aiding each other, too much concerned for their own safety, it came to no better pass: while severally they sought to repel the danger nigh at hand, rather than jointly to prevent it far off. But when God hath decreed servitude on a sinful nation, fitted by their own vices for no condition but servile, all estates of government are alike unable to avoid it. God had purposed to punish our instrumental punishers, though now christians, by other heathen, according to his divine retaliation; invasion for invasion, spoil for spoil, destruction for destruction. The Saxons were now full as wicked as the Britains were at their arrival, broken with luxury and sloth, either secular or superstitious; for laying aside the exercise of arms, and the study of all virtuous knowledge,

* Calvisius.

† Pontan Hist. Dan.

some betook them to over-worldly or vicious practice, others to religious idleness and solitude, which brought forth nothing but vain and delusive visions; easily perceiv'd such by their commanding of things, either not belonging to the gospel, or utterly forbidden, ceremonies, reliques, monasteries, masses, idols; add to these ostentation of alms, got oft-times by rapine and oppression, or intermixed with violent and lustful deeds, sometimes prodigally bestow'd as the expiation of cruelty and bloodshed. What longer suffering could there be, when religion itself grew so void of sincerity, and the greatest shews of purity were impur'd?

E C B E R T.

ECBERT in full height of glory, having now enjoy'd his conquest seven peaceful years, his victorious army long since disbanded, and the exercise of arms perhaps laid aside; the more was found unprovided against a sudden storm of Danes from the sea, who landing in the * thirty-second of his reign, wasted Shepey in Kent. Ecbert the next year †, gathering an army, for he had heard of their arrival in thirty-five ships, gave them battel by the river Carr in Dorsetshire; the event whereof was, that the Danes kept their ground, and encamped where the field was fought; two Saxon leaders, Dudda and Osmund, and two bishops, as some say, were there slain. This was the only check of fortune we read of, that Ecbert in all his time received. For the Danes returning two years ‡ after with a great navy, and joining forces with the Cornish, who had entered league with them, were overthrown and put to flight. Of these invasions against Ecbert, the Danish history is not silent; whether out of their own records or ours, may be justly doubted: for of these times at home, I find them in much uncertainty, and beholden rather to out-landish chronicles, than any records of their own. The victor Ecbert, as one who had done enough, seasonably now, after prosperous success, the next § year with glory ended his days, and was buried at Winchester.

E T H E L W O L F.

ETHELWOLF the son of Ecbert succeeded, by Malmfbury describ'd a man of mild nature, not inclined to war, or delighted with much dominion; that therefore contented with the ancient West-Saxon bounds, he gave to Ethelstan his brother, or son, as some write, the kingdom of Kent and Essex. ¶ But the Saxon annalist, whose authority is elder, saith plainly, that both these countries and Suffex, were bequeathed to Ethelstan by Ecbert his father. The unwarlike disposition of Ethelwolf gave encouragement no doubt, and easier entrance to the Danes, who came again the next year with thirty-three ships ¶; but Wulfheard, one of the king's chief captains, drove them back at Southampton with great slaughter; himself dying the same year, of age, as I suppose, for he seems to have been one of Ecbert's old commanders, who was sent with Ethelwolf to subdue Kent. Ethelhelm another of the king's captains, with the Dorsetshire men, had at first like success against the Danes at Portsmouth; but they reinforcing stood their ground, and put the English to rout. Worse was the success of earl Herebert at a place called Merefwar, slain with the most part of his army. ** The year following in Lindsey also, East-Angles, and Kent, much mischief was done by their landing; †† where the next year, emboldened by success, they came on as far as Canterbury, Rochester, and London itself, with no less cruel hostility: and giving no respite to the peaceable mind of Ethelwolf, they yet return'd

* Post Christ 832. Sax. annal. † Post Christ 833. Sax. an. ‡ Post Christ 835. Sax. an.
 Fontan. Hist. Dan. l. 4. § Post Christ 836. Sax. an. ¶ Mat. West. ¶ Post Christ
 837. Sax. an. ** Post Christ 838. Sax. an. †† Post Christ 839. Sax. an.

with the next year * in thirty-five ships, fought with him, as before with his father at the river Carr, and made good their ground. In Northumberland, Eandred the tributary king deceasing, left the same tenure to his son Ethelred driven out in his fourth year †, and succeeded by Readwulf, who soon after his coronation hasting forth to battel against the Danes at Alveheli, fell with the most part of his army; and Ethelred like in fortune to the former Ethelred, was re-exalted to his seat. And to be yet further like him in fate, was slain the fourth year after. Osbert succeeded in his room. But more southerly, the Danes next year § after met with some stop in the full course of their outrageous insolencies. For Earnulf with the men of Somerset, Alstan the bishop, and Ofric with those of Dorsetshire, setting upon them at the river's mouth of Pedridan, slaughter'd them in great numbers, and obtained a just victory. This repulse quell'd them, for aught we hear, the space of six years ||; then also renewing their invasion with little better success. For Keorle an earl, aided with the forces of Devonshire, assaulted and overthrew them at Wigganbeorch with great destruction; as prosperously were they fought with the same year at Sandwich, by king Ethelstan, and Ealker his general, their great army defeated, and nine of their ships taken, the rest driven off; however to ride out the winter on that shore, Affer saith, they then first winter'd in Shepey isle. Hard it is, through the bad expression of these writers, to define this fight, whether by sea or land; Hoveden terms it a sea-fight. Nevertheless with fifty ships (Affer and others add three hundred) they entred the mouth of the Thames ¶, and made excursions as far as Canterbury and London, and as Ethelwerd writes, destroyed both; of London, Affer signifies only that they pillag'd it. Bertulf also the Mercian, successor of Withlaf, with all his army they forced to fly, and him beyond the sea. Then passing over Thames with their powers into Surrey, and the West-Saxons, and meeting there with king Ethelwolf and Ethelbald his son, at a place called Ak-Lea, or Oke-Lea, they received a total defeat with memorable slaughter. This was counted a lucky year ** to England, and brought to Ethelwolf great reputation. Burhed therefore, who after Bertulf held of him the Mercian kingdom, two years after this, imploring his aid against the North-Welch, as then troublesome to his confines, obtained it of him in person, and thereby reduced them to obedience. This done, Ethelwolf sent his son Alfrid a child of five years, well accompanied to Rome, whom Leo the pope both consecrated to be king afterwards, and adopted to be his son; at home Ealker with the forces of Kent, and Huda with those of Surrey, fell on the Danes at their landing in Tanet, and at first put them back; but the slain and drowned were at length so many on either side, as left the loss equal on both: which yet hinder'd not the solemnity of a marriage at the feast of Easter, between Burhed the Mercian, and Ethelswida king Ethelwolf's daughter. Howbeit the Danes next year †† winter'd again in Shepey. Whom Ethelwolf, not finding human health sufficient to resist, growing daily upon him, in hope of divine aid, register'd in a book and dedicated to God the tenth part of his own lands, and of his whole kingdom, eased of all impositions, but converted to the maintenance of masses and psalms weekly to be sung for the prospering of Ethelwolf and his captains, as appears at large by the patent itself, in William of Malmesbury. Affer saith, he did it for the redemption of his soul, and the souls of his ancestors. After which, as having done some great matter to shew himself at Rome, and be applauded of the pope; he takes a long and cumbersome journey thither with young Alfrid again §§, and there stays a year, when his place requir'd him rather here in the field against Pagan enemies left wintring in his land. Yet so much manhood he had, as to return thence no monk; and in his way home took to wife Judith daughter to Charles the Bald,

* Post Christ. 840. Sax. an. Sim. Dun Mat. West.

† Post Christ. 844.

§ Post Christ. 845.

Sax. an. || Post Christ. 851. Sax. an. Affer.

¶ Huntingd. Mat. West.

** Post

Christ 853. Sax. an. Affer. †† Malm. Post Christ. 854. Sax. an.

§§ Post Christ. 855. Affer.

king of France *. But ere his return, Ethelbald his eldest son, Alstan his trusty bishop, and Enulf earl of Somerset conspired against him: their complaints were, that he had taken with him Alfrid his youngest son to be there inaugurated king, and brought home with him an outlandish wife; for which they endeavoured to deprive him of his kingdom. The disturbance was expected to bring forth nothing less than war: but the king abhorring civil discord, after many conferences tending to peace, condescended to divide the kingdom with his son: division was made, but the matter so carried, that the eastern and worst part was malignly afforded to the father; the western and best given to the son: at which many of the nobles had great indignation, offering to the king their utmost assistance for the recovery of all; whom he peacefully dissuading, sat down contented with his portion assigned. In the East-Angles, Edmund lineal from the ancient stock of those kings, a youth of fourteen years only, but of great hopes, was with consent of all but his own crowned at Bury. About this time, as Buchanan relates †, the Picts, who not long before had by the Scots been driven out of their country, part of them coming to Osbert and Ella, then kings of Northumberland, obtained aid against Donaldus the Scottish king, to recover their ancient possession. Osbert, who in person undertook the expedition, marching into Scotland, was at first put to a retreat; but returning soon after on the Scots, over-secure of their supposed victory, put them to flight with great slaughter, took prisoner their king, and pursued his victory beyond Stirling-bridge. The Scots unable to resist longer, and by ambassadors entreating peace, had it granted them on these conditions: The Scots were to quit all they had possessed within the wall of Severus: the limits of Scotland were beneath Stirling-bridge to be the river Forth, and on the other side, Dunbritton Frith; from that time so called of the British then seated in Cumberland, who had joined with Osbert in this action, and so far extended on that side the British limits. If this be true, as the Scots writers themselves witness (and who would think them fabulous to the disparagement of their own country?) how much wanting have been our historians to their country's honour, in letting pass unmention'd an exploit so memorable, by them remembred and attested, who are wont oftner to extenuate than to amplify aught done in Scotland by the English? Donaldus on these conditions releas'd, soon after dies, according to Buchanan, in 858. Ethelwolf chief king in England, had the year before ended his life, and was buried as his father at Winchester §. He was from his youth much addicted to devotion; so that in his father's time he was ordained bishop of Winchester; and unwillingly, for want of other legitimate issue, succeeded him in the throne; managing therefore his greatest affairs by the activity of two bishops, Alstan of Sherburne, and Swithine of Winchester. But Alstan is noted of covetousness and oppression, by William of Malmſbury ||; the more vehemently no doubt for doing some notable damage to that monastery. The same author writes ¶, that Ethelwolf at Rome, paid a tribute to the pope, continued to his days. However he were facil to his son, and seditious nobles, in yielding up part of his kingdom, yet his queen he treated not the less honourably, for whomsoever it displeased. ** The West-Saxons had decreed ever since the time of Eadburga, the infamous wife of Birthric, that no queen should sit in state with the king, or be dignified with the title of queen. But Ethelwolf permitted not that Judith his queen should lose any point of regal state by that law. At his death, he divided the kingdom between his two sons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert; to the younger Kent, Essex, Surrey, Suffex, to the elder all the rest; to Peter and Paul certain revenues yearly, for what uses let others relate, who write also his pedigree, from son to father, up to Adam.

* Affr.
de regn. Ital. l. 5.

† Post Christ. 857.
** Affr.

§ Mat. West.

|| Malmſ. Swithine.

¶ Sigon.

ETHELBALD, and ETHELBERT.

ETHELBALD, unnatural and disloyal to his father *, fell justly into another, though contrary sin, of too much love to his father's wife; and whom at first he opposed coming into the land, her now unlawfully marrying, he takes into his bed; but not long enjoying, died at three years end †, without doing aught more worthy to be remember'd; having reigned two years with his father, impiously usurping, and three after him, as unworthily inheriting. And his hap was all that while to be unmolested with the Danes; not of divine favour doubtless, but to his greater condemnation, living the more securely his incestuous life. Huntingdon on the other side much praises Ethelbald, and writes him buried at Sherburn, with great sorrow of the people, who missed him long after. Mat. Westm. saith, that he repented of his incest with Judith, and dismissed her: but Asser an eye-witness of those times, mentions no such thing.

ETHELBERT alone.

ETHELBALD by death removed, the whole kingdom came rightfully to Ethelbert his next brother. Who, though a prince of great virtue and no blame, had as short a reign allotted him as his faulty brother, nor that so peaceful; once or twice invaded by the Danes. But they having landed in the west with a great army, and sacked Winchester, were met by Osric earl of Southampton, and Ethelwolf of Berkshire, beaten to their ships, and forced to leave their booty. Five years after §, about the time of his death, they set foot again in Tanet; the Kentish-men wearied out with so frequent alarms, came to agreement with them for a certain sum of money; but ere the peace could be ratified, and the money gather'd, the Danes impatient of delay, by a sudden eruption in the night, soon wasted all the East of Kent. Mean while or something before, Ethelbert deceasing, was buried as his brother at Sherburn.

ETHELRED.

ETHELRED the third, son of Ethelwolf, at his first coming to the crown was entertained with a fresh invasion of Danes ||, led by Hinguar and Hubba, two brothers, who now had got footing among the East-Angles; there they winter'd, and coming to terms of peace with the inhabitants, furnished themselves of horses, forming by that means many troops with riders of their own: these pagans, Asser saith, came from the river Danubius. Fitted thus for a long expedition, they ventured the next year ¶ to make their way over land and over Humber, as far as York: then they found to their hands embroil'd in civil dissensions; their king Osbert they had thrown out, and Ella leader of another faction chosen in his room; who both, though late, admonish'd by their common danger, towards the year's end with united powers made head against the Danes, and prevailed; but pursuing them over-eagerly into York, then but slenderly walled **, the Northumbrians were every where slaughtered, both within and without; their kings also both slain, their city burnt, saith Malmesbury, the rest as they could, made their peace, over-run and vanquished as far as the river Tine; and Egbert of English race appointed king over them. Bromton, no ancient author (for he wrote since Mat. West.) nor of much credit, writes a particular cause of the Danes coming to York: that Bruern a nobleman, whose wife king Osbert had ravished, called in Hinguar and Hubba to revenge him. The example is remarkable,

* Asser. Malmf. Sim. Dun.
 || Post Christ. 866. Sax. an. Huntingd.

† Post Christ. 860. Sax. an.
 ¶ Post Christ. 867. Sax. an.

§ Post Christ. 855. Sax. an.
 ** Asser.

if the truth were as evident. Thence victorious, the Danes next year * entered into Mercia towards Nottingham, where they spent the winter. Burhed then king of that country, unable to resist, implores the aid of Ethelred and young Alfred his brother; they assembling their forces and joining with the Mercians about Nottingham, offer battel †: the Danes not daring to come forth, kept themselves within that town and castle, so that no great fight was hazarded there; at length the Mercians weary of long suspense, enter'd into conditions of peace with their enemies. After which the Danes returning back to York, made their abode there the space of one year §, committing, some say, many cruelties. Thence embarking to Lindsey, and all the summer destroying that country, about September || they came with like fury into Kesteven, another part of Lincolnshire; where Algar the Earl of Howland, now Holland, with his forces, and two hundred stout soldiers belonging to the abbey of Croiland, three hundred from about Boston, Morcard Lord of Brunne, with his numerous family, well trained and armed, Osgot governor of Lincoln with five hundred of that city, all joining together, gave battel to the Danes, slew of them a great multitude, with three of their kings, and pursued the rest to their tents; but the night following, Gothrun, Basg, Ofketil, Halfden, and Hamond, five kings, and as many earls, Frena, Hinguar, Hubba, Sidroc the elder and younger, coming in from several parts with great forces and spoils, great part of the English began to sink home. Nevertheless Algar with such as forsook him not, all next day in order of battel facing the Danes, and sustaining unmoved the brunt of their assaults, could not withhold his men at last from pursuing their counterfeited flight; whereby open'd and disorder'd, they fell into the snare of their enemies, rushing back upon them. Algar and those captains fore-named with him, all resolute men, retreating to a hill side, and slaying of such as followed them, manifold their own number, died at length upon heaps of dead which they had made round about them. The Danes thence passing on into the country of East-Angles, rifled and burnt the monastery of Ely, overthrew earl Wulketul with his whole army, and lodged out the winter at Thetford; where king Edmond assailing them, was with his whole army put to flight, himself taken, bound to a stake, and shot to death with arrows, his whole country subdued. The next year ¶ with great supplies, saith Huntingdon, bending their march toward the West-Saxons, the only people now left in whom might seem yet to remain strength or courage likely to oppose them, they came to Reading, fortified there between the two rivers of Thames and Kenet, and about three days after sent out wings of horse under two earls to forage the country; ** but Ethelwolf earl of Berkshire, at Englefield, a village nigh, encounter'd them, slew one of their earls, and obtained a great victory. Four days after came the king himself and his brother Alfred with the main battel; and the Danes issuing forth, a bloody fight began, on either side great slaughter, in which earl Ethelwolf lost his life; but the Danes losing no ground, kept their place of standing to the end. Neither did the English for this make less haste to another conflict at Escesdune or Asludown, four days after, where both armies with their whole force on either side met. The Danes were embattled in two great bodies, the one led by Bascai and Halfden, their two kings, the other by such earls as were appointed; in like manner the English divided their powers, Ethelred the king stood against their kings; and though on the lower ground; and coming later into the battel from his orisons, gave a fierce onset, wherein Bascai (the Danish history names him Ivarus the son of Regnerus) was slain. Alfred was placed against the earls, and beginning the battel ere his brother came into the field, with such resolution charged them, that in the shock most of them were slain; they are named Sidroc elder and younger, Osbern,

* Post Christ. 868.
Ingulf.

† After.

¶ Post Christ. 871. Sax. an.

§ Post-Christ. 869. Sim. Dun.

** After.

|| Post-Christ. 870.

Frean, Harald: at length in both divisions, the Danes turn their backs; many thousands of them cut off, the rest pursued till night. So much the more it may be wondered to hear next in the annals, that the Danes fourteen days after such an overthrow fighting again with Ethelred and his brother Alfred at Basing, (under conduct, saith the Danish history, of Agnerus and Hubbo, brothers of the slain Ivarus,) should obtain the victory; especially since the new supply of Danes mentioned by Asser *, arrived after this action. But after two months, the king and his brother fought with them again at Mertun, in two squadrons as before, in which fight hard it is to understand who had the better; so darkly do the Saxon annals deliver their meaning with more than wonted infancy. Yet these I take (for Asser is here silent) to be the chief fountain of our story, the ground and basis upon which the monks later in time gloss and comment at their pleasure. Nevertheless it appears that, on the Saxon part, not Heamund the bishop only, but many valiant men lost their lives. † This fight was followed by a heavy summer plague; whereof, as is thought, king Ethelred died in the fifth of his reign, and was buried at Winburne, where his epitaph inscribes that he had his death's wound by the Danes, according to the Danish history 872. Of all these terrible landings and devastations by the Danes, from the days of Ethelwolf till their two last battels with Ethelred, or of their leaders, whether kings, dukes, or earls, the Danish history of best credit saith nothing; so little wit or conscience it seems they had to leave any memory of their brutish rather than manly actions; unless we shall suppose them to have come, as above was cited out of Asser, from Danubius, rather than from Denmark, more probably some barbarous nation of Prussia, or Livonia, not long before seated more northward on the Baltic sea.

A L F R E D.

ALFRED the fourth son of Ethelwolf, had scarce performed his brother's obsequies, and the solemnity of his own crowning, when at the month's end in haste with a small power he encounter'd the whole army of Danes at Wilton, and most part of the day foil'd them; but unwarily following the chase, gave others of them the advantage to rally; who returning upon him now weary, remained masters of the field. This year, as is affirmed in the annals, nine battels had been fought against the Danes on the south-side of Thames, besides innumerable excursions made by Alfred and other leaders; one king, nine earls were fallen in fight, so that weary on both sides at the year's end, league or truce was concluded. Yet next year § the Danes took their march to London, now exposed to their prey; there they winter'd, and thither came the Mercians to renew peace with them. The year following they roved back to the parts beyond Humber, but winter'd at Torksey in Lincolnshire, where the Mercians now the third time made peace with them. Notwithstanding which, removing their camp to Rependune in Mercia ||, now Repton upon Trent in Derbyshire, and there wintering, they constrained Burhed the king to fly into foreign parts, making seizure of his kingdom; he running the direct way to Rome ¶ (with better reason than his ancestors,) died there, and was buried in a church by the English school. His kingdom the Danes farmed out to Kelvulf, one of his household servants or officers, with condition to be resigned them when they commanded. ** From Rependune they dislodg'd, Hafden their king leading part of his army northward, wintered by the river Tine, and subjecting all those quarters, wasted also the Picts and Britons beyond; but Guthrun, Oskitell, and Anwynd, other three of their kings, moving from Rependune, came with a great army to Grantbrig, and remained there a whole year.

* Pontan, Hist Dan. l. 4.
873. Sax. an. Camd.

† Camden.
¶ Post Christ. 874. Sax. an.

§ Post Christ. 872. Sax. an.

|| Post Christ.
** Post Christ. 375. Sax. an.

But Alfred that summer purposing to try his fortune with a fleet at sea (for he had found that the want of shipping and neglect of navigation had exposed the land to these piracies) met with seven Danish rovers, took one, the rest escaping; an acceptable success from so small a beginning: for the English at that time were but little experienc'd in sea-affairs. The next * year's first motion of the Danes was towards Warham castle, where Alfred meeting them, either by policy, or their doubt of his power, Ethelwerd saith, by money brought them to such terms of peace, as that they swore to him upon a hallowed bracelet, others say upon certain † reliques (a solemn oath it seems, which they never vouchsafed before to any other nation) forthwith to depart the land: but falsifying that oath, by night with all the horse they had (Affer saith §, slaying all the horsemen he had) stole to Exeter, and there winter'd. In Northumberland, Hafden their king began to settle, to divide the land, to till, and to inhabit. Mean while they in the west who were marched to Exeter, enter'd the city, courting now and then to Warham; but their fleet the next || year sailing or rowing about the west, met with such a tempest near to Swanwich or Gnavewic, as wreck'd one hundred and twenty of their ships, and left the rest easy to be mastered by those galleys which Alfred had set there to guard the seas, and straiten Exeter of provision. He the while beleaguering ¶ them in the city, now humbled with the loss of their navy, (two navies, saith Affer, the one at Gnavewic, the other at Swanwine) distressed them so, as that they gave him as many hostages as he requir'd, and as many oaths, to keep their covenanted peace, and kept it. For the summer coming on, they departed into Mercia, whereof part they divided among themselves, part left to Kelwulf their substituted king. The twelfth following **, all oaths forgotten, they came to Chippenham in Wiltshire, dispeopling the countries round, dispossessing some, driving others beyond the sea; Alfred himself with a small company was forced to keep within woods and fenny places, and for some time all alone, as Florent saith, sojourn'd with Dunwulf a swine-herd, made afterwards for his devotion and aptness to learning bishop of Winchester. Hafden and the brother of Hinguar †† coming with twenty-three ships from North-Wales, where they had made great spoil, landed in Devonshire, nigh to a strong castle named Kinwith; where, by the garrison issuing forth unexpectedly, they were slain with twelve hundred of their men. §§ Mean while the king about Easter, not despairing of his affairs, built a fortress at a place called Athelney in Somersetshire, therein valiantly defending himself and his followers, frequently falsifying forth. The seventh week after he rode out to a place called Ecbryt-stone in the east part of Selwood: thither resorted to him with much gratulation the Somerset and Wiltshire men, with many out of Hampshire, some of whom a little before had fled their country; with these marching to Ethandune, now Edindon in Wiltshire, he gave battel to the whole Danish power, and put them to flight |||. Then besieging their castle, within fourteen days took it. Malmſbury writes, that in this time of his recess, to go a spy into the Danish camp, he took upon him with one servant the habit of a fidler; by this means gaining access to the king's table, and sometimes to his bed-chamber, got knowledge of their secrets, their careless encamping, and thereby this opportunity of assailing them on a sudden. The Danes by this misfortune broken, gave him more hostages, and renewed their oaths to depart out of his kingdom. Their king Gytro or Gothrun offer'd willingly to receive baptism ¶¶, and accordingly came with thirty of his friends to a place called Aldra or Aulre, near to Athelney, and were baptized at Wedmore; where Alfred receiv'd him out of the font, and named him Athelstan. After which they abode with him twelve days, and were dismissed with rich presents. Whereupon the Danes removed next †* year to Cirencester, thence

* Post Christ. 876. Sax. an. † Florent. § Florent. || Post Christ. 877. Sax. an.
 ¶ Affer. ** Post Christ. 878. Sax. an. †† Sim. Dun. §§ Affer. ||| Camden.
 ¶¶ Camden. *† Post Christ. 879 Sax. an.

peaceably to the East-Angles; which Alfred, as some write, had bestowed on Gothrun to hold of him; the bounds whereof may be read among the laws of Alfred. Others of them went to Fulham on the Thames, and joining there with a great fleet newly come into the river, thence passed over into France and Flanders, both which they entered so far conquering or wasting, as witnessed sufficiently, that the French and Flemish were no more able than the English, by policy or prowess, to keep off that Danish inundation from their land. * Alfred thus rid of them, and intending for the future to prevent their landing; three years after (quiet the mean while) with more ships and better provided, puts to sea, and at first met with four of theirs, whereof two he took, throwing the men over-board, then with two others, wherein two were of their princes, and took them also, but not without some loss of his own. † After three years another fleet of them appeared on these seas, so huge that one part of them thought themselves sufficient to enter upon East-France, the other came to Rochester, and beleagured it; they within stoutly defending themselves till Alfred with great forces, coming down upon the Danes, drove them to their ships, leaving for haste all their horses behind them. § The same year Alfred sent a fleet toward the East-Angles, then inhabited by the Danes, which at the mouth of Stour, meeting with sixteen Danish ships, after some fight took them all, and slew all the soldiers on board; but in their way home lying careless, were overtaken by another part of that fleet, and came off with loss: whereupon perhaps those Danes who were settled among the East-Angles, erected with new hopes, violated the peace which they had sworn to Alfred ||, who spent the next year in repairing London, (besieging, saith Huntingdon) much ruined and unpeopled by the Danes; the Londoners, all but those who had been led away captive ¶, soon returned to their dwellings, and Ethred duke of Mercia, was by the king appointed their governour. ** But after thirteen years respite of peace, another Danish fleet of two hundred and fifty sail, from the east part of France arrived at the mouth of a river in East-Kent, called Limen, nigh to the great wood Andred, famous for length and breadth; into that wood they drew up their ships four miles from the river's mouth, and built a fortress. After whom Hæsten, with another Danish fleet of eighty ships, entering the mouth of Thames, built a fort at Middleton, the former army remaining at a place called Apeltre. Alfred perceiving this, took of those Danes who dwelt in Northumberland, a new oath of fidelity, and of those in Essex hostages, lest they should join, as they were wont, with their countrymen newly arrived. †† And by the next year having got together his forces, between either army of the Danes encamped so as to be ready for either of them, who first should happen to stir forth; troops of horse also he sent continually abroad, assisted by such as could be spared from strong places; wherever the countries wanted them, to encounter foraging parties of the enemy. The king also divided sometimes his whole army, marching out with one part by turns, the other keeping intrenched. In conclusion rowling up and down, both sides met at Farnham in Surrey; where the Danes by Alfred's horse troops were put to flight, and crossing the Thames to a certain island near Coln in Essex, or as Camden thinks, by Colebrook, were besieged there by Alfred till provision failed the besiegers; another part staid behind with their king wounded. Mean while Alfred preparing to reinforce the siege of Colney, the Danes of Northumberland breaking faith, came by sea to the East-Angles, and with a hundred ships coasting southward, landed in Devonshire, and besieged Exeter; thither Alfred hastened with his powers, except a squadron of Welch that came to London: with whom the citizens marching forth to Beamslet, where Hæsten the Dane had built a strong fort, and left a garison, while he himself with the main of his army

* Post Christ 882. Sax. an.
886.. Sax. an.

¶ Sim. Dun.

† Post Christ. 885. Sax. an.
** Post Christ. 893. Sax. an.

§ Sim. Dun.

|| Post Christ.

†† Post Christ. 894. Sax. an.

was entered far into the country, luckily surprize the fort, master the garison, make prey of all they find there; their ships also they burnt or brought away with good booty, and many prisoners, among whom the wife and two sons of Hæsten were sent to the king, who forthwith set them at liberty. Whereupon Hæsten gave oath of amity and hostages to the king; he in requital, whether freely or by agreement, a sum of money. Nevertheless, without regard of faith given, while Alfred was busied about Exeter, joining with the other Danish army, he built another castle in Essex at Shoberie, thence marching westward by the Thames, aided with the Northumbrian and East-English Danes, they came at length to Severn, pillaging all in their way. But Ethred, Erhelm, and Ethelnoth, the king's captains, with united forces pitched nigh to them at Buttington, on the Severn bank in Montgomery-shire *, the river running between, and there many weeks attended; the king mean while blocking up the Danes who besieged Exeter, having eaten part of their horses, the rest urged with hunger broke forth to their fellows, who lay encamped on the east side of the river, and were all there discomfited with some loss of valiant men on the king's party; the rest fled back to Essex, and their fortrefs there. Then Laf, one of their leaders, gathered before winter a great army of Northumbrian and East-English Danes, who leaving their money, ships, and wives with the East-Angles, and marching day and night, sat down before a city in the west called Wirheal near to Chester, and took it ere they could be overtaken. The English after two days siege, hopeless to dislodge them, wasted the country round to cut off from them all provision, and departed. † Soon after which, next year, the Danes no longer able to hold Wirheal, destitute of victuals, entered North-Wales; thence laden with spoils, part returned into Northumberland, others to the East-Angles as far as Essex, where they seized on a small island called Merefig. And here again the annals record them to besiege Exeter, but without coherence of sense or story. § Others relate to this purpose, that returning by sea from the siege of Exeter, and in their way landing on the coast of Suffex, they of Chichester sallied out and slew of them many hundreds, taking also some of their ships. The same year they who possessed Merefig, intending to winter thereabout, drew up their ships, some into the Thames, others into the river Lee, and on the bank thereof built a castle twenty miles from London; to assault which, the Londoners aided with other forces marched out the summer following, but were soon put to flight, losing four of the king's captains. || Huntingdon writes quite the contrary, that these four were Danish captains, and the overthrow theirs: but little credit is to be placed in Huntingdon single. For the king thereupon with his forces, lay encamped nearer the city, that the Danes might not infest them in time of harvest; in the mean time, subtilely devising to turn Lee-stream several ways, whereby the Danish bottoms were left on dry ground: which they soon perceiving, marched over land to Quatbrig on the Severn, built a fortrefs, and wintered there; while their ships left in Lee, were either broken or brought away by the Londoners; but their wives and children they had left in safety with the East-Angles. ¶ The next year was pestilent, and besides the common sort, took away many great earls, Kelmond in Kent, Brithulf in Essex, Wulfred in Hampshire, with many others; and to this evil the Danes in Northumberland and East-Angles ceased not to endamage the West-Saxons, especially by stealth, robbing on the south shore in certain long galleys. But the king causing to be built others twice as long as usually were built, and some of sixty or seventy oars higher, swifter and steddier than such as were in use before either with Danes or Frisons, his own invention, some of these he sent out against six Danish pirates, who had done much harm in the Isle of Wight, and parts adjoining. The bickering was doubtful and intricate, part

* Camden.
896. Sax. an

† Post Christ. 895. Sax. an.
¶ Post Christ. 897. Sax. an.

§ Sim Dun. Florent.

|| Post Christ.

on the water, part on the sands ; not without loss of some eminent men on the English side. The pirates at length were either slain or taken, two of them stranded ; the men brought to Winchester, where the king then was, were executed by his command ; one of them escaped to the East-Angles, her men much wounded : the same year not fewer than twenty of their ships perished on the south coast with all their men. And Rollo the Dane or Norman landing here, as Mat. West. writes, though not in what part of the island, after an unsuccessful fight against those forces which first opposed him, sailed into France and conquered the country, since that time called Normandy. This is the sum of what passed in three years against the Danes, returning out of France, set down so perplexly by the Saxon annalist, ill-gifted with utterance, as with much ado can be understood sometimes what is spoken, whether meant of the Danes, or of the Saxons. After which troublesome time, Alfred enjoying three years of peace, by him spent, as his manner was, not idly or voluptuously, but in all virtuous employments both of mind and body, becoming a prince of his renown, ended his days in the year nine hundred *, the fifty first of his age, the thirtieth of his reign, and was buried regally at Winchester : he was born at a place called Wanading in Berkshire, his mother Osburga the daughter of Oslac the king's cup-bearer, a Goth by nation, and of noble descent. He was of person comelier than all his brethren, of pleasing tongue and graceful behaviour, ready wit and memory ; yet through the fondness of his parents towards him, had not been taught to read till the twelfth year of his age ; but the great desire of learning which was in him, soon appeared by his conning of Saxon poems day and night, which with great attention he heard by others repeated. He was besides excellent at hunting, and the new art then of hawking, but more exemplary in devotion, having collected into a book certain prayers and psalms, which he carried ever with him in his bosom to use on all occasions. He thirsted after all liberal knowledge, and oft complained that in his youth he had no teachers, in his middle age so little vacancy from wars and the cares of his kingdom ; yet leisure he found sometimes, not only to learn much himself, but to communicate thereof what he could to his people, by translating books out of Latin into English, Orosius, Boethius, Beda's history and others ; permitted none unlearned to bear office, either in court or commonwealth. At twenty years of age not yet reigning, he took to wife Egelfwitha the daughter of Ethelred a Mercian earl. The extremities which befel him in the sixth of his reign, Neothan abbot told him, were justly come upon him for neglecting in his younger days the complaint of such as injured and oppressed repaired to him, as then second person in the kingdom, for redress ; which neglect were it such indeed, were yet excusable in a youth, through jollity of mind unwilling perhaps to be detained long with sad and sorrowful narrations ; but from the time of his undertaking regal charge, no man more patient in hearing causes, more inquisitive in examining, more exact in doing justice, and providing good laws, which are yet extant ; more severe in punishing unjust judges or obstinate offenders. Thieves especially and robbers, to the terror of whom in cross ways were hung upon a high post certain chains of gold, as it were daring any one to take them thence ; so that justice seemed in his days not to flourish only, but to triumph : no man than he more frugal of two precious things in man's life, his time and his revenue ; no man wiser in the disposal of both. His time, the day, and night, he distributed by the burning of certain tapers into three equal portions ; the one was for devotion, the other for public or private affairs, the third for bodily refreshment ; how each hour past, he was put in mind by one who had that office. His whole annual revenue, which his first care was should be justly his own, he divided into two equal parts ; the first he employed to secular uses, and subdivided those into three, the first to pay his soldiers, household-servants and guard, of which divided into three bands, one attended monthly by turn ; the second was to pay his architects and workmen, whom

* Post Christ. 900. After.

he had got together of several nations ; for he was also an elegant builder, above the custom and conceit of Englishmen in those days : the third he had in readiness to relieve or honour strangers according to their worth, who came from all parts to see him, and to live under him. The other equal part of his yearly wealth he dedicated to religious uses, those of four sorts ; the first to relieve the poor, the second to the building and maintenance of two monasteries, the third of a school, where he had persuaded the sons of many noblemen to study sacred knowledge and liberal arts, some say at Oxford †; the fourth was for the relief of foreign churches, as far as India to the shrine of St. Thomas, sending thither Sigelm bishop of Sherburn, who both returned safe, and brought with him many rich gems and spices ; gifts also and a letter he received from the patriarch at Jerusalem ; sent many to Rome, and from them received reliques. Thus far, and much more might be said of his noble mind, which rendered him the mirror of princes ; his body was diseased in his youth with a great soreness in the seige, and that ceasing of itself, with another inward pain of unknown cause, which held him by frequent fits to his dying day : yet not disabled to sustain those many glorious labours of his life both in peace and war.

EDWARD the Elder.

EDWARD the son of Alfred succeeded *, in learning not equal, in power and extent of dominion surpassing his father. The beginning of his reign had much disturbance by Ethelwald an ambitious young man †, son of the king's uncle, or cousin german, or brother, for his genealogy is variously delivered. He vainly avouching to have equal right with Edward of succession to the crown, possessed himself of Winburn in Dorset §, and another town diversly named, giving out that there he would live or die ; but encompassed with the king's forces at Badbury a place nigh, his heart failing him, he stole out by night, and fled to the Danish army beyond Humber. The king sent after him, but not overtaking, found his wife in the town, whom he had married out of a nunnery, and commanded her to be sent back thither. || About this time the Kentish men, against a multitude of Danish pirates, fought prosperously at a place called Holme, as Hoveden records. Ethelwald aided by the Northumbrians with shipping, three years after ¶, sailing to the East-Angles, persuaded the Danes there to fall into the king's territory, who marching with him as far as Crecklad, and passing the Thames there, wasted as far beyond as they durst venture, and laden with spoils returned home. The king with his powers making speed after them, between the Dike and Ouse, supposed to be Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, as far as the fens northward, laid waste all before him. Thence intending to return, he commanded that all his army should follow him close without delay ; but the Kentish men, though often called upon, lagging behind, the Danish army prevented them, and joined battle with the king : where duke Sigulf and earl Sigelm, with many other of the nobles were slain ; on the Danes part, Eoric their king, and Ethelwald the author of this war, with others of high note, and of them greater number, but with great ruin on both sides ; yet the Danes kept in their power the burying of their slain. Whatever followed upon this conflict, which we read not, the king two years after with the Danes **, both of East-Angles and Northumberland, concluded peace, which continued three years, by whomsoever broken : for at the end thereof †† king Edward raising great forces out of West-Sex and Mercia, sent them against the Danes beyond Humber ; where staying five weeks, they made great spoil and slaughter. The king offered them terms of peace, but they rejecting all, entered with the next year into Mercia §§, rendering no less hostility than they had suffered ;

† Malmf. * Ibid. † Hunting. § Post Christ. 901. Sax an. || Post Christ. 902. ¶ Post Christ. 905. Sax an. ** Post Christ. 907. Sax. an. †† Post Christ. 910. Sax. an. §§ Post Christ. 911. Sax. an.

but at Tetnal in Staffordshire, faith Florent, were by the English in a set battle overthrown. King Edward then in Kent, had got together of ships about an hundred sail, others gone southward came back and met him. The Danes now supposing that his main forces were upon the sea, took liberty to rove and plunder up and down, as hope of prey led them, beyond Severn. * The king guessing what might embolden them, sent before him the lightest of his army to entertain them; then following with the rest, set upon them in their return over Cantbrig in Gloucestershire, and slew many thousands, among whom Ecwils, Hafden, and Hinguar their kings, and many other harsh names in Huntingdon; the place also of this fight is variously written by Ethelwerd and Florent, called Wodensfield. † The year following, Ethred the duke of Mercia, to whom Alfred had given London, with his daughter in marriage, now dying, king Edward resumed that city, and Oxford, with the countries adjoining, into his own hands; and the year after §, built, or much repaired by his soldiers, the town of Hertford on either side Lee; and having a sufficient number at the work, marched about middle summer, with the other part of his forces into Essex, and encamped at Maldon, while his soldiers built Witham; where a good part of the country, subject formerly to the Danes, yielded themselves to his protection. || Four years after (Florent allows but one year) the Danes from Leicester and Northampton, falling into Oxfordshire, committed much rapine, and in some towns thereof great slaughter; while another party wasting Hertfordshire, met with other fortune: for the country-people injured now to such kind of incursions, joining stoutly together, fell upon the spoilers, and recovered their own goods, with some booty from their enemies. About the same time Elfled the king's sister sent her army of Mercians into Wales, who routed the Welch ¶, took the castle of Bricnan-mere by Brecknock, and brought away the king's wife of that country with other prisoners. Not long after she took Derby from the Danes, and the castle by a sharp assault. ** But the year ensuing brought a new fleet of Danes to Lidwic in Devonshire, under two leaders, Otter and Roald; who sailing thence westward about the land's end, came up to the mouth of Severn; there landing wasted the Welch coast, and Irchenfield part of Herefordshire; where they took Kuneleac a British bishop, for whose ransom king Edward gave forty pound: but the men of Hereford and Gloucestershire assembling, put them to flight; slaying Roald and the brother of Otter, with many more, pursued them to a wood, and there beset compelled them to give hostages of present departure. The king with his army sat not far off, securing from the south of Severn to Avon; so that openly they durst not, by night they twice ventured to land; but found such welcome, that few of them came back; the rest anchored by a small island, where many of them famished; then sailing to a place called Deomed, they crossed into Ireland. The king with his army went to Buckingham, staid there a month, and built two castles or forts on either bank of Ouse ere his departing; and Turkitel a Danish leader, with those of Bedford and Northampton, yielded him subjection. †† Whereupon the next year he came with his army to the town of Bedford, took possession thereof, staid there a month, and gave order to build another part of the town, on the south side of Ouse. §§ Thence the year following went again to Maldon, repaired and fortified the town. Turkitel the Dane having small hope to thrive here, where things with such prudence were managed against his interest, got leave of the king, with as many voluntaries as would follow him, to pass into France. ||| Early the next year king Edward re-edified Tovechester, now Torchester; and another city in the annals called Wigingmere. Mean while the Danes in Leicester and Northamptonshire, not liking perhaps to be neighboured with strong towns, laid siege to Torchester; but they within repelling the assault one whole

* Ethelwerd. † Post Christ. 912. Sax. an. § Post Christ. 913. Sax. an. || Post Christ. 917. Sax. an. ¶ Huntingd. Camd. ** Post Christ. 918. Sax. an. †† Post Christ. 919. Sax. an. §§ Post Christ. 920. Sax. an. ||| Post Christ. 921. Sax. an.

day till supplies came, quitted the siege by night; and pursued close by the besieged, between Birnwood and Ailisbury were surprized, many of them made prisoners, and much of their baggage lost. Other of the Danes at Huntingdon, aided from the East-Angles, finding that castle not commodious, left it, and built another at Tempsford, judging that place more opportune from whence to make their excursions; and soon after went forth with design to assail Bedford: but the garison issuing out, slew a great part of them, the rest fled. After this a greater army of them gathered out of Mercia and the East-Angles, came and besieged the city called Wigingmere a whole day; but finding it defended stoutly by them within, thence also departed, driving away much of their cattle: whereupon the English from towns and cities round about joining forces, laid siege to the town and castle of Tempsford, and by assault took both; slew their king with Toglea a duke, and Mannan his son an earl, with all the rest there found; who chose to die rather than yield. Encouraged by this, the men of Kent, Surry, and part of Essex, enterprize the siege of Colchester, nor gave over till they won it, sacking the town and putting to sword all the Danes therein, except some who escaped over the wall. To the succour of these, a great number of Danes inhabiting ports and other towns in the East-Angles, united their force; but coming too late, as in revenge beleagured Maldon: but that town also timely relieved, they departed, not only frustrate of their design, but so hotly pursued, that many thousands of them lost their lives in the flight. Forthwith king Edward with his West-Saxons went to Passham upon Ouse, there to guard the passage, while others were building a stone wall about Torchester; to him there earl Thurfert, and other lord Danes, with their army thereabout as far as Weolud, came and submitted. Whereat the king's soldiers joyfully cried out to be dismissed home: therefore with another part of them he entered Huntingdon, and repaired it, where breaches had been made; all the people thereabout returning to obedience. The like was done at Colchester by the next remove of his army; after which both East and West-Angles, and the Danish forces among them, yielded to the king, swearing allegiance to him both by sea and land: the army also of Danes at Grantbrig, surrendering themselves, took the same oath. The summer following * he came with his army to Stamford, built a castle there on the south side of the river, where all the people of these quarters acknowledged him supreme. During his abode there, Elfled his sister, a martial woman, who after her husband's death would no more marry, but gave herself to public affairs, repairing and fortifying many towns, warring sometimes, died at Tamworth the chief seat of Mercia, whereof by gift of Alfred her father, she was lady or queen; whereby that whole nation became obedient to king Edward, as did also North-Wales, with Howel, Cledaucus, and Jeothwell, their kings. Thence passing to Nottingham, he entered and repaired the town, placed there part English, part Danes, and received fealty from all in Mercia of either nation. † The next autumn, coming with his army into Cheshire, he built and fortified Thelwel; and while he staid there, called another army out of Mercia, which he sent to repair and fortify Manchester. § About midsummer following he marched again to Nottingham, built a town over-against it on the south side of that river, and with a bridge joined them both; thence journeyed to a place called Bedecanwillan in Picthland; there also built and fenced a city on the borders, where the king of Scots did him honour as to his sovereign, together with the whole Scottish nation; the like did Reginald and the son of Eadulf, Danish princes, with all the Northumbrians, both English and Danes. The king also of a people thereabout called Streatgledwalli, (the North-Welch, as Camden thinks, of Strat-Cluid in Denbighshire, perhaps rather the British of Cumberland) did him homage, and not undeserved. || For Buchanan himself confesses, that this king Edward, with a small number of men compared to his

* Post Christ. 922 Sax. an.

† Post Christ. 923. Sax an.

§ Post Christ. 924.

|| Ezech. l. 6.

enemies, overthrew in a great battel the whole united power both of Scots and Danes, slew most of the Scottish nobility, and forced Malcolm, whom Constantine the Scotch king had made general, and designed heir of his crown, to save himself by flight forewounded. Of the English he makes Athelstan the son of Edward chief leader; and so far seems to confound times and actions, as to make this battel the same with that fought by Athelstan about twenty-four years after at Bruneford, against Anlaf and Constantine, whereof hereafter. But here Buchanan * takes occasion to inveigh against the English writers, upbraiding them with ignorance, who affirm Athelstan to have been supreme king of Britain, Constantine the Scottish king with others to have held of him: and denies that in the annals of Marianus Scotus, any mention is to be found thereof; which I shall not stand much to contradict, for in Marianus, whether by surname or by nation Scotus, will be found as little mention of any other Scottish affairs, till the time of king Dunchad slain by Machetad, or Mackbeth, in the year 1040: which gives cause of suspicion, that the affairs of Scotland before that time were so obscure as to be unknown to their own countryman, who lived and wrote his chronicle not long after. But king Edward thus nobly doing, and thus honoured, the year † following died at Farendon; a builder and restorer even in war, not a destroyer of his land. He had by several wives many children; his eldest daughter Edgith he gave in marriage to Charles king of France, grandchild of Charles the Bald above-mention'd; of the rest in place convenient. His laws are yet to be seen. He was buried at Winchester, in the monastery by Alfred his father. And a few days after him died Ethelwerd his eldest son, the heir of his crown. He had the whole island in subjection, yet so as petty kings reigned under him §. In Northumberland, after Ecbert whom the Danes had set up, and the Northumbrians yet unruly under their yoke, at the end of six years had expelled, one Ricfig was set up king, and bore the name three years; then another Ecbert; and Guthred; the latter, if we believe legends, of a servant made king by command of St. Cudbert, in a vision; and enjoined by another vision of the same saint, to pay well for his royalty many lands and privileges to his church and monastery. But now to the story.

A T H E L S T A N.

A THELSTAN, next in age to Ethelward his brother, who deceased untimely a few days before, though born of a concubine, yet for the great appearance of many virtues in him, and his brethren being yet under age, was exalted to the throne at Kingston upon Thames, † and by his father's last will, saith Malmfbury, yet not without some opposition of one Alfred and his accomplices; who not liking he should reign, had conspired to seize on him after his father's death, and to put out his eyes. But the conspirators discover'd, and Alfred denying the plot, ¶ was sent to Rome, to assert his innocence before the pope; where taking his oath on the altar, he fell down immediately, and carried out by his servants, three days after died. Mean while beyond Humber the Danes, though much awed, were not idle. Inguald, one of their kings, took possession of York; Sitric, who some years ** before had slain Niel his brother, by force took Davenport in Cheshire; and however he defended these doings, grew so inconsiderable, †† that Athelstan with great solemnity gave him his sister Edgith to wife: but he enjoyed her not long, dying ere the year's end; nor his sons Anlaf and Guthfert the kingdom; driven out the next §§ year by Athelstan: not unjustly saith Huntingdon, as being first raisers of the war. Simeon calls him Gudfrid a British king, whom Athelstan this year drove out of his kingdom; and perhaps they were both one,

* Buch. l. 6. † Post Christ. 925. Sax. an. Huntingd. Mat West. § Sim. Dun. †† Post Christ. 926. ¶ Malmf. ** Sim. Dun. †† Malmf. Mat. West. §§ Post Christ. 927. Sax. an. the

the name and time not much differing, the place only mistaken. Malmſbury differs in the name alſo, calling him Adulf a certain rebel. Them alſo I wiſh as much miſtaken, who write that Athelſtan, jealous of his younger brother Edwin's towardly virtues, left added to the right of birth, they might ſome time or other call in queſtion his illegitimate precedence, cauſed him to be drowned in the ſea *; expoſed, ſome ſay, with one ſervant in a rotten bark, without ſail or oar; where the youth far off land, and in rough weather deſpairing, threw himſelf over-board; the ſervant more patient, got to land and reported the ſucceſs. But this Malmſbury confeſſes to be ſung in old ſongs, not read in warrantable authors: and Huntingdon ſpeaks as of a ſad accident to Athelſtan, that he loſt his brother Edwin by ſea; far the more credible, in that Athelſtan, as it is written by all, tenderly loved and bred up the reſt of his brethren, of whom he had no leſs cauſe to be jealous. And the year † following he proſper'd better than from ſo foul a fact, paſſing into Scotland with great power, both by ſea and land, and chasing his enemies before him, by land as far as Dunfeoder and Wermore, by ſea as far as Cathneſ. The cauſe of this expedition, ſaith Malmſbury, was to demand Guthfert the ſon of Sitric, thither fled, though not deny'd at length by Conſtantine, who with Eugenius king of Cumberland, at a place called Dacor or Dacre in that ſhire, ſurrender'd himſelf and each his kingdom to Athelſtan, who brought back with him for hoſtage the ſon of Conſtantine §. But Guthfert eſcaping in the mean while out of Scotland, and Conſtantine exaſperated by this invaſion, perſuaded Anlaf the other ſon of Sitric then fled into Ireland, ¶ others write Anlaf king of Ireland and the Iſles, his ſon-in-law, with ſix hundred and fifteen ſhips, and the king of Cumberland with other forces, to his aid. This within four years ¶ effected, they enter'd England by Humber, and fought with Athelſtan at a place called Wendune, others term it Brunanburg, others Bruneford, which Ingulf places beyond Humber, Camden in Glendale of Northumberland on the Scotch borders; the bloodieſt fight, ſay authors, that ever this iſland ſaw: to deſcribe which the Saxon annaliſt went to be ſober and ſuccinct, whether the ſame or another writer, now labouring under the weight of his argument, and overcharged, runs on a ſudden into ſuch extravagant fancies and metaphors, as bear him quite beſide the ſcope of being underſtood. Huntingdon, though himſelf peccant enough in this kind, tranſcribes him word for word as a paſtime to his readers. I ſhall only ſum up what of him I can attain, in uſual language. The battel was fought eagerly from morning till night; ſome fell of king Edward's old army, try'd in many a battel before; but on the other ſide great multitudes, the reſt fled to their ſhips. Five kings, and ſeven of Anlaf's chief captains, were ſlain on the place, with Froda a Norman leader; Conſtantine eſcaped home, but loſt his ſon in the fight, if I underſtand my author; Anlaf by ſea to Dublin, with a ſmall remainder of his great hoſt. Malmſbury relates this war, adding many circumſtances after this manner: that Anlaf joining with Conſtantine and the whole power of Scotland, beſides thoſe which he brought with him out of Ireland, came on far ſouthwards, till Athelſtan who had retired on ſet purpoſe to be the ſurer of his enemies, enſealed from all ſuccour and retreat, met him at Bruneford. Anlaf perceiving the valour and reſolution of Athelſtan, and miſtruſting his own forces, though numerous, reſolved firſt to ſpy in what poſture his enemies lay: and imitating perhaps what he heard attempted by king Alfred the age before, in the habit of a muſician, got acceſs by his lute and voice to the king's tent, there playing both the minſtrel and the ſpy: then towards evening diſmiſs'd, he was obſerved by one who had been his ſoldier, and well knew him, viewing earneſtly the king's tent, and what approaches lay about it, then in the twilight to depart. The ſoldier forthwith acquaints the king,

* Poſt Chriſt. 933. Sim. Dun.
 ¶ Florent. Sim. Dun.

† Poſt Chriſt. 934. Sax. an. Sim. Dun.
 ¶ Poſt Chriſt. 938. Sax. an. Malmſ.

§ Florent.

and by him blamed for letting go his enemy, answered, that he had given first his military oath to Anlaf, whom if he had betrayed, the king might suspect him of like treasonous mind towards himself; which to disprove, he advised him to remove his tent a good distance off: and so done, it happened that a bishop with his retinue coming that night to the army, pitched his tent in the same place from whence the king had removed. Anlaf coming by night as he had designed, to assault the camp, and especially the king's tent, finding there the bishop in stead, slew him with all his followers. Athelstan took the alarm, and as it seems, was not found so unprovided, but that the day now appearing, he put his men in order, and maintained the fight till evening; wherein Constantine himself was slain with five other kings, and twelve earls; the annals were content with seven, in the rest not disagreeing. Ingulf abbot of Croyland, from the authority of Turketul a principal leader in this battel, relates it more at large to this effect: That Athelstan above a mile distant from the place where execution was done upon the bishop and his supplies, alarmed at the noise, came down by break of day upon Anlaf and his army, overwatch'd and wearied now with the slaughter they had made, and something out of order, yet in two main battels. The king therefore in like manner dividing, led the one part consisting most of West-Saxons, against Anlaf with his Danes and Irish, committing the other to his chancellor Turketul, with the Mercians and Londoners, against Constantine and his Scots. The shower of arrows and darts over-pass'd, both battels attacked each other with a close and terrible ingagement, for a long space neither side giving ground. Till the chancellor Turketul, a man of great stature and strength, taking with him a few Londoners of select valour, and Singin who led the Worcestershire men, a captain of undaunted courage, broke into the thickest, making his way first through the Picts and Orkeners, then through the Cumbrians and Scots, and came at length where Constantine himself fought, unhors'd him, and used all means to take him alive; but the Scots valiantly defending their king, and laying load upon Turketul, which the goodness of his armour well endur'd, he had yet been beaten down, had not Singin his faithful second at the same time slain Constantine: which once known, Anlaf and the whole army betook them to flight, whereof a huge multitude fell by the sword. This Turketul not long after leaving worldly affairs, became abbot of Croyland, which at his own cost he had repaired from Danish ruins, and left there this memorial of his former actions. Athelstan with his brother Edmund victorious, thence turning into Wales, with much more ease vanquished Ludwal the King, and possessed his land. But Malmesbury writes, that commiserating human chance, as he displaced, so he restored both him and Constantine to their regal state; for the surrender of king Constantine hath been above spoken of. However the Welch did him homage at the city of Hereford, and covenanted yearly payment of gold twenty pound, of silver three hundred, of oxen twenty-five thousand, besides hunting dogs and hawks. He also took Exeter from the Cornish Britains, who till that time had equal right there with the English, and bounded them with the river Tamar, as the other British with Wey. Thus dreaded of his enemies, and renowned far and near, three years * after he died at Glocester, and was buried with many trophies at Malmesbury, where he had caused to be laid his two cousin-germans, Elwin and Ethelstan, both slain in the battel against Anlaf. He was thirty years old at his coming to the crown, mature in wisdom from his childhood, comely of person and behaviour; so that Alfred his grandfather in blessing him was wont to pray he might live to have the kingdom, and put him yet a child into soldiers habit. He had his breeding in the court of Elfred his aunt, of whose virtues more than female we have related, sufficient to evince that his mother, though said to be no wedded wife, was yet such of parentage and worth, as the royal

* Post Christ. 941. Sax. an. Malmf. Ingulf.

line disdained not, though the song went in Malmſbury's days (for it ſeems he reſuſed not the authority of ballads for want of better) that his mother was a farmer's daughter, but of excellent feature; who dreamt one night ſhe brought forth a moon that ſhould enlighten the whole land: which the king's nurſe hearing of, took her home and bred up courtly; that the king coming one day to viſit his nurſe, ſaw there this damſel, lik'd her, and by earneſt ſuit prevailing, had by her this famous Athelſtan, a bounteous, juſt and affable king, as Malmſbury ſets him forth; nor leſs honoured abroad by foreign kings who ſought his friendship by great gifts or affinity; that Harold king of Noricum ſent him a ſhip whoſe prow was of gold, ſails purple, and other golden things, the more to be wonder'd at, ſent from Noricum, whether meant Norway or Bavaria, the one place ſo far from ſuch ſuperfluity of wealth, the other from all ſea: the embaſſadors were Helgrim and Offrid, who found the king at York. His ſiſters he gave in marriage to greateſt princes, Elgif to Otho ſon of Henry the emperor, Egdith to a certain duke about the Alps, Edgiv to Ludwic king of Aquitain, ſprung of Charles the Great, Ethilda to Hugo king of France, who ſent Aldulf ſon of Baldwin earl of Flanders to obtain her. From all theſe great ſuitors, eſpecially from the emperor and king of France, came rich preſents, horſes of excellent breed, gorgeous trappings and armour, reliques, jewels, odors, veſſels of Onyx, and other precious things, which I leave poetically deſcribed in Malmſbury, taken, as he confeſſes, out of an old verſifier, ſome of whoſe verſes he recites. The only blemiſh left upon him, was the expoſing his brother Edwin, who diſavowed by oath the treaſon whereof he was accus'd, and implored an equal hearing. But theſe were ſongs, as before hath been ſaid, which add alſo that Athelſtan, his anger over, ſoon repented of the fact, and put to death his cup-bearer, who had induced him to ſuſpect and expoſe his brother, put in mind by a word falling from the cup-bearer's own mouth, who ſlipping one day as he bore the king's cup, and recovering himſelf on the other leg, ſaid aloud fatally, as to him it prov'd, one brother helps the other. Which words the king laying to heart, and pondering how ill he had done to make away his brother, avenged himſelf firſt on the adviſer of that fact, took on him ſeven years penance, and as Mat. Weſt. ſaith, built two monaſteries for the ſoul of his brother. His laws are extant among the laws of other Saxon kings to this day.

EDMUND.

EDMUND not above eighteen years * old ſucceeded his brother Athelſtan, in courage not inferior. For in the ſecond of his reign he freed Mercia of the Danes that remained there, and took from them the cities of Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, Derby, and Leiſceſter, where they were placed by king Edward, but it ſeems gave not good proof of their fidelity. Simeon writes that Anlaf ſetting forth from York, and having waſted ſouthward as far as Northampton, was met by Edmund at Leiſceſter; but that ere the battels joined, peace was made between them by Odo and Wulſtan the two archbiſhops, with conversion of Anlaf; for the ſame year Edmund received at the font-ſtone this or another Anlaf, as ſaith Huntingdon, not him ſpoken of before, who died this year (ſo uncertain they are in the ſtory of theſe times alſo) and held Reginald another king of the Northumbers, while the biſhop confirmed him: their limits were divided north and ſouth by Watlingſtreet. But ſpiritual kindred little availed to keep peace between them, whoever gave the cauſe; for we read him two years † after driving Anlaf (whom the annals now firſt call the ſon of Sitric) and Suthfrid ſon of Reginald out of Northumberland, taking the whole country into ſubjection. Edmund the next § year haraſſed Cumberland, then gave it to Malcolm king

* Poſt Chriſt. 942. Sax an.

† Poſt Chriſt. 944. Sax. an.

§ Poſt Chriſt 945. Sax. an.

of Scots, thereby bound to assist him in his wars, both by sea and land. Mat. West. adds, that in this action Edmund had the aid of Leolin prince of North-Wales, against Dummail the Cumbrian king, him depriving of his kingdom, and his two sons of their sight. But the year * after, he himself by strange accident came to an untimely death: feasting with his nobles on St. Austin's day at Pucklekerke in Gloucestershire, to celebrate the memory of his first converting the Saxons; he spied Leof a noted thief, whom he had banished, sitting among his guests: whereat transported with too much vehemence of spirit, though in a just cause, rising from the table he run upon the thief, and catching his hair, pulled him to the ground. The thief who doubted from such handling no less than his death intended, thought to die not unrevenged; and with a short dagger struck the king, who still laid at him, and little expected such assassination, mortally into the breast. The matter was done in a moment, ere men sat at table could turn them, or imagine at first what the stir meant, till perceiving the king deadly wounded, they flew upon the murderer and hewed him to pieces; who like a wild beast at a bay, seeing himself surrounded, desperately laid about him, wounding some in his fall. The king was buried at Glaston, whereof Dunstan was then abbot; his laws yet remain to be seen among the laws of other Saxon kings.

E D R E D.

EDRED the third brother of Athelstan, the sons of Edmund being yet but children, next reigned, not degenerating from his worthy predecessors, and crowned at Kingston. Northumberland he thoroughly subdued, the Scots without refusal swore him allegiance; yet the Northumbrians, ever of doubtful faith, soon after chose to themselves one Eric a Dane. Huntingdon still haunts us with this Anlaf (of whom we gladly would have been rid) and will have him before Eric recalled once more and reign four years †, then again put to his shifts. But Edred entering into Northumberland, and with spoils returning, Eric the king fell upon his rear. Edred turning about, both shook off the enemy, and prepared to make a second inroad: which the Northumbrians dreading rejected Eric, slew Amancus the son of Anlaf, and with many presents appeasing Edred, submitted again to his government §; nor from that time had kings, but were governed by earls, of whom Osulf was the first. || About this time Wulfstan archbishop of York, accused to have slain certain men of Thetford in revenge of their abbot whom the townsmen had slain, was committed by the king to close custody; but soon after enlarged, was restored to his place. Malmfbury writes, that his crime was to have connived at the revolt of his countrymen: but king Edred two years after ¶ sickning in the flower of his youth, died much lamented, and was buried at Winchester.

E D W I.

EDWI the son of Edmund now come to age **, after his uncle Edred's death took on him the government, and was crowned at Kingston. His lovely person furnished him the fair, his actions are diversly reported, by Huntingdon not thought illaudable. But Malmfbury and such as follow him write far otherwise, that he married, or kept as concubine, his near kinswoman ††, some say both her and her daughter; so inordinately given to his pleasure, that on the very day of his coronation, he abruptly withdrew himself from the company of his peers, whether in banquet or consultation, to sit wantoning in the chamber with his Algiva, so was her name, who had such

* Post Christ. 946. Sax. an.
953 Sim Dun.

† Post Christ. 950. Sim. Dun.

¶ Post Christ 955. Sim. Dun.

§ Hoved.

** Ethelwerd.

|| Post Christ.

†† Mat. West

power over him. Whereat his barons offended, sent bishop Dunstan, the boldest among them, to request his return: he going to the chamber, not only interrupted his dalliance, and rebuked the lady, but taking him by the hand, between force and persuasion brought him back to his nobles. The king highly displeased *, and instigated perhaps by her who was so prevalent with him, not long after sent Dunstan into banishment, caused his monastery to be rifled, and became an enemy to all monks and fryers. Whereupon Odo archbishop of Canterbury pronounced a separation or divorce of the king from Algiva. But that which most incited William of Malmſbury against him, he gave that monastery to be dwelt in by secular priests, or, to use his own phrase, made it a stable of clerks; at length these affronts done to the church were so resented by the people, that the Mercians and Northumbrians revolted from him, and set up Edgar his brother †, leaving to Edwi the West-Saxons only, bounded by the river Thames; with grief whereof, as is thought, he soon after ended his days §, and was buried at Winchester. Mean || while Elfin bishop of that place after the death of Odo, ascending by Simony to the chair of Canterbury, and going to Rome the same year for his pall, was frozen to death in the Alps.

E D G A R.

EDGAR by his brother's death, now ¶ king of all England at sixteen years of age, called home Dunstan out of Flanders, where he lived in exile. This king had no war all his reign; yet always well prepared for war, governed the kingdom in great peace, honour, and prosperity, gaining thence the surname of peaceable, much extolled for justice, clemency, and all kingly virtues **, the more ye may be sure, by monks, for his building so many monasteries; as some write, every year one: for he much favoured the monks against secular priests, who in the time of Edwi had got possession in most of their convents. His care and wisdom was great in guarding the coast round with stout ships to the number of three thousand six hundred. Mat. West. reckons them four thousand eight hundred, divided into four squadrons, to sail to and fro about the four quarters of the land, meeting each other; the first of twelve hundred sail from east to west, the second of as many from west to east, the third and fourth between north and south; himself in the summer time with his fleet. Thus he kept out wisely the force of strangers, and prevented foreign war; but by their too frequent resort hither in time of peace, and his too much favouring them, he let in their vices unaware. Thence the people, saith Malmſbury, learnt of the outlandish Saxons rudeness, of the Flemish daintiness and softness; of the Danes drunkenness; though I doubt these vices are as naturally homebred here as in any of those countries. Yet in the winter and spring time he usually rode the circuit as a judge itinerant through all his provinces, to see justice well administered, and the poor not oppressed. Thieves and robbers he rooted almost out of the land, and wild beasts of prey altogether; enjoining Ludwal king of Wales to pay the yearly tribute of three hundred wolves, which he did for two years together, till the third year no more were to be found, nor ever after; but his laws may be read yet extant. Whatever was the cause, he was not crowned till the thirtieth of his age, but then with great splendor and magnificence at the city of Bath, in the feast of Pentecost. This year †† died Swarling a monk of Croyland, in the hundred and forty-second year of his age, and another soon after him in the hundred and fifteenth; in that fenny and watrish air the more remarkable. King Edgar the next §§ year went to Chester, and summoning to his court there all the kings that held of him, took homage of them: their names are Kened king of

* Post Christ 956. † Moved. § Post Christ. 955. Sax an. || Post Christ. 958. Mat. West. ¶ Post Christ. 959. Malmf. ** Mat. West. †† Post Christ. 973. Sax. an. Ingulf. §§ Post Christ. 974. Sax. an.

Scots, Malcolm of Cumberland, Maccuse of the Isles, five of Wales, Dufwal, Huwal, Grifith, Jacob, Judethil; these he had in such awe, that going one day into a galley, he caused them to take each man his oar, and row him down the river Dee, while he himself sat at the stern; which might be done in merriment, and easily obeyed; if with a serious brow, discovered rather vain-glory, and insulting haughtiness, than moderation of mind. And that he did it seriously triumphing, appears by his words then utter'd, that his successors might then glory to be kings of England, when they had such honour done them. And perhaps the divine power was displeased with him for taking too much honour to himself; since we read that the year * following he was taken out of this life by sickness in the height of his glory and the prime of his age, buried at Glaston abbey. The same year, as Mat. West. relates, he gave to Kened the Scottish king, many rich presents, and the whole country of Laudian, or Lothien, to hold of him on condition that he and his successors should repair to the English court at high festivals when the king sat crowned; gave him also many lodging places by the way, which till the days of Henry the second, were still held by the kings of Scotland. He was of stature not tall, of body slender, yet so well made, that in strength he chose to contend with such as were thought strongest, and disliked nothing more than that they should spare him for respect or fear to hurt him. Kened king of Scots then in the court of Edgar, sitting one day at table, was heard to say jestingly among his servants, he wondered how so many provinces could be held in subjection by such a little dapper man: his words were brought to the king's ear; he sends for Kened as about some private business, and in talk drawing him forth to a secret place, takes from under his garment two swords which he had brought with him, gave one of them to Kened; and now saith he, it shall be try'd which ought to be the subject; for it is shameful for a king to boast at table, and shrink in fight. Kened much abashed fell presently at his feet, and besought him to pardon what he had simply spoken, no way intended to his dishonour or disparagement; wherewith the king was satisfied. Camden in his description of Ireland, cites a charter of king Edgar, wherein it appears he had in subjection all the kingdoms of the isles as far as Norway, and had subdued the greatest part of Ireland with the city of Dublin: but of this, other writers make no mention. In his youth having heard of Elfrida, daughter to Ordgar duke of Devonshire, much commended for her beauty, he sent earl Athelwold, whose loyalty he trusted most, to see her; intending, if she were found such as answered report, to demand her in marriage. He at the first view taken with her presence, disloyally, as it oft happens in such employments, began to sue for himself; and with consent of her parents obtained her. Returning therefore with scarce an ordinary commendation of her feature, he easily took off the king's mind, soon diverted another way. But the matter coming to light how Athelwold had forestalled the king, and Elfrida's beauty more and more spoken of, the king now heated not only with a relapse of love, but with a deep sense of the abuse, yet dissembling his disturbance, pleasantly told the earl, what day he meant to come and visit him and his fair wife. The earl seemingly assured his welcome, but in the mean while acquainting his wife, earnestly advised her to deform herself what she might, either in dress or otherwise, lest the king whose amorous inclination was not unknown, should chance to be attracted. She who by this time was not ignorant, how Athelwold had stepped between her and the king, against his coming arrays herself richly, using whatever art she could devise might render her the more amiable; and it took effect. For the king inflamed with her love the more for that he had been so long defrauded and robbed of her, resolved not only to recover his intercepted right, but to punish the interloper of his destin'd spouse; and appointing with him as was usual, a day of hunting, drawn aside in a forest, now called Hare-

* Post Christ. 975.

wood, smote him through with a dart. Some censure this act as cruel and tyrannical, but considered well, it may be judged more favourably, and that no man of sensible spirit but in his place, without extraordinary perfection, would have done the like: for next to life what worse treason could have been committed against him? it chanced that the earl's base son coming by upon the fact, the king sternly asked him how he liked this game; he submissly answering, that whatsoever pleased the king, must not displease him; the king returned to his wonted temper, took an affection to the youth, and ever after highly favoured him, making amends in the son for what he had done to the father. Elfrida forthwith he took to wife, who to expiate her former husband's death, tho' therein she had no hand, covered the place of his bloodshed with a monastery of nuns to sing over him. Another fault is laid to his charge, no way excusable, that he took a virgin Wilfrida by force out of the nunnery, where she was placed by her friends to avoid his pursuit, and kept her as his concubine; but lived not obstinately in the offence; for sharply reprov'd by Dunstan, he submitted to seven years penance, and for that time to want his coronation: but why he had it not before, is left unwritten. Another story there goes of Edgar, fitter for a novel than a history; but as I find it in Malmesbury, so I relate it. While he was yet unmarried, in his youth he abstained not from women, and coming on a day to Andover, caused a duke's daughter there dwelling, reported rare of beauty, to be brought to him. The mother not daring flatly to deny, yet abhorring that her daughter should be so deflowered, at fit time of night sent in her attire, one of her waiting maids: a maid it seems not unhandsome nor unwitty; who supplied the place of her young lady. Night passed, the maid going to rise, but day-light scarce yet appearing, was by the king asked why she made such haste; she answered, to do the work which her lady had set her; at which the king wondring, and with much ado staying her to unfold the riddle, for he took her to be the duke's daughter, she falling at his feet besought him, that since at the command of her lady she came to his bed, and was enjoyed by him, he would be pleased in recompence to set her free from the hard service of her mistress. The king a while standing in a study whether he had best be angry or not, at length turning all to a jest, took the maid away with him, advanced her above her lady, loved her, and accompanied with her only, till he married Elfrida. These only are his faults upon record, rather to be wondered how they were so few, and so soon left, he coming at sixteen to the licence of a scepter; and that his virtues were so many and mature, he dying before the age wherein wisdom can in others attain to any ripeness: however, with him died all the Saxon glory. From henceforth nothing is to be heard of but their decline and ruin under a double conquest, and the causes foregoing; which not to blur or taint the praises of their former actions and liberty well defended, shall stand severally related, and will be more than long enough for another book.

The -End of the Fifth BOOK.

T H E

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

THE SIXTH BOOK.

EDWARD the Younger.

EDWARD the eldest son of Edgar by Egelfleda his first wife, the daughter of duke Ordmer, was according to right and his father's will placed in the throne; Elfrida his second wife, and her faction only repining, who laboured to have had her son Ethelred a child of seven years, preferred before him; that she under that pretence might have ruled all. Mean while comets were seen in heaven, portending not famine only, which followed the next year, but the troubled state of the whole realm not long after to ensue. The troubles begun in Edwin's days, between monks and secular priests, now revived and drew on either side many of the nobles into parties. For Elfer duke of the Mercians, with many other peers, corrupted as is said with gifts *, drove the monks out of those monasteries where Edgar had placed them, and in their stead put secular priests with their wives. But Ethelwin duke of East-Angles, with his brother Elfwold, and earl Britnorth opposed them, and gathering an army defended the abbeyes of East-Angles from such intruders. To appease these tumults, a synod was called at Winchester; and nothing there concluded; a general council both of nobles and prelates was held at Caln in Wiltshire, where while the dispute was hot, but chiefly against Dunstan, the room wherein they sat fell upon their heads, killing some, maiming others. Dunstan only escaping upon a beam that fell not, and the king absent by reason of his tender age. This accident quieted the controversy, and brought both parts to hold with Dunstan and the monks. Mean while the king addicted to a religious life, and of a mild spirit, simply permitted all things to the ambitious will of his step-mother and her son Ethelred: to whom she, displeased that the name only of king was wanting, practised thenceforth to remove king Edward out of the way; which in this manner she brought about. Edward on a day wearied with hunting, thirsty and alone, while his attendants followed the dogs, hearing that Ethelred and his mother lodged at Corvesgate, (Corfe castle, saith Camden, in the isle of Purbeck) innocently went thither. She with all shew of kindness welcoming him, commanded drink to be brought forth, for it seems he lighted not from his

* Florent. Sim. Dun.

horse; and while he was drinking, caused one of her servants, privately before instructed, to stab him with a poniard. The poor youth, who little expected such unkindness there, turning speedily the reins, fled bleeding; till through loss of blood falling from his horse, and expiring, yet held with one foot in the stirrup, he was dragged along the way, traced by his blood, and buried without honour at Werham, having reigned about three years: but the place of his burial not long after grew famous for miracles. After which by duke Elfre, (who, as Malmſbury ſaith *, had a hand in his death) he was royally interred at Skepton or Shaftsbury. The murderers Elfrida at length repenting, ſpent the reſidue of her days in ſorrow and great penance.

ETHELRED.

ETHELRED ſecond ſon of Edgar by Elfrida (for Edmund died a child) his brother Edward wickedly removed, was now next in right to ſucceed †, and accordingly crowned at Kingſton: reported by ſome, fair of viſage, comely of perſon, elegant of behaviour §; but the event will ſhew that with many ſluggiſh and ignoble vices he quickly ſhamed his out-ſide; born and prolonged a fatal miſchief of the people, and the ruin of his country; whereof he gave early ſigns from his firſt infancy, bewraying the font and water while the biſhop was baptizing him. Whereat Dunſtan much troubled, for he ſtood by and ſaw it, to them next him broke into theſe words, “By God and God’s mother, this boy will prove a ſluggard.” Another thing is written of him in his childhood; which argued no bad nature, that hearing of his brother Edward’s cruel death, he made loud lamentation; but his furious mother offended therewith, and having no rod at hand, beat him ſo with great wax-candles, that he hated the ſight of them ever after. Dunſtan though unwilling ſet the crown upon his head; but at the ſame time foretold openly, as is reported, the great evils that were to come upon him and the land, in avengement of his brother’s innocent blood ||. And about the ſame time, one midnight, a cloud ſometimes bloody, ſometimes fiery, was ſeen over all England; and within three years ¶ the Daniſh tempeſt, which had long ſurceaſed, revolved again upon this iſland. To the more ample relating whereof, the Daniſh hiſtory, at leaſt their lateſt and diligentest hiſtorian, as neither from the firſt landing of Danes, in the reign of Weſt-Saxon Brithric, ſo now again from firſt to laſt, contributes nothing; buſied more than enough to make out the bare names and ſucceſſions of their uncertain kings, and their ſmall actions at home: unleſs out of him I ſhould tranſcribe what he takes, and I better may, from our own annals; the ſurer and the ſadder witneſſes of their doings here, not glorious, as they vainly boaſt, but moſt inhumanly barbarous. ** For the Danes well underſtanding, that England had now a ſlothful king to their wiſh, firſt landing at Southampton from ſeven great ſhips, took the town, ſpoiled the country, and carried away with them great pillage; nor was Devonſhire and Cornwal uninfesteſt on the ſhore ††, pyrates of Norway alſo harried the coaſt of Weſt-cheſter: §§ and to add a worſe calamity, the city of London was burnt, caſually or not, is not written. ||| It chanced four years after, that Ethelred beſieged Rocheſter, ſome way or other offended by the biſhop thereof. Dunſtan not approving the cauſe, ſent to warn him that he provoke not St. Andrew the patron of that city, nor waſte his lands; an old craft of the clergy to ſecure their church-lands, by entailing them on ſome Saint: the king not hearkening, Dunſtan on this condition that the ſiege might be raiſed, ſent him a hundred pounds, the money was accepted and the ſiege diſſolved. Dunſtan reprehending his avarice, ſent him again this

* Poſt Chriſt. 978. Malmf.

† Poſt Chriſt. 979. Malmf.

§ Florent. Sim. Dun.

|| Sim. Dun.

¶ Poſt Chriſt. 982. Malmf.

** Eadmer. Florent.

†† Hoved.

§§ Sim. Dun. Hoved.

||| Poſt Chriſt. 986. Malmf. Ingulf.

word, " Because thou hast respected money more than religion, the evils which I foretold shall the sooner come upon thee ; but not in my days, for so God hath spoken." The next year was calamitous *, bringing strange fluxes upon men, and murrain upon cattle. † Dunstan the year following died, a strenuous bishop, zealous without dread of person, and for aught appears, the best of many ages, if he busied not himself too much in secular affairs. He was chaplain at first to king Athelstan, and Edmund who succeeded, much employed in court-affairs, till envied by some who laid many things to his charge, he was by Edmund forbidden the court ; but by the earnest mediation, saith Ingulf, of Turketul the chancellor, received at length to favour, and made abbot of Glaston ; lastly by Edgar and the general vote, archbishop of Canterbury. Not long after his death, the Danes arriving in Devonshire were met by Goda lieutenant of that country, and Strenwold a valiant leader, who put back the Danes, but with loss of their own lives. § The third year following, under the conduct of Justin and Guthmund the son of Steytan, they landed and spoiled Ipswich, fought with Britnoth duke of the East-Angles about Maldon, where they slew him ; the slaughter else had been equal on both sides. These and the like depredations on every side the English not able to resist, by counsel of Siric then arch-bishop of Canterbury, and two dukes Ethelward and Alfric, it was thought best for the present to buy that with silver which they could not gain with their iron ; and ten thousand pounds was paid to the Danes for peace. Which for a while contented ; but taught them the ready way how easiest to come by more. || The next year but one, they took by storm and rifled Bebbanburg, an ancient city near Durham : sailing thence to the mouth of Humber, they wasted both sides thereof, Yorkshire and Lindsey, burning and destroying all before them. Against these went out three noblemen, Frana, Frithegift, and Godwin ; but being all Danes by the father's side, willingly began flight, and forsook their own forces betrayed to the enemy. ¶ No less treachery was at sea ; for Alfric the son of Elser duke of Mercia, whom the king for some offence had banished, but now recalled, sent from London with a fleet to surprize the Danes, in some place of disadvantage, gave them over night intelligence thereof, then fled to them himself ; which his fleet, saith Florent, perceiving, pursued, took the ship, but missed of his person ; the Londoners by chance grappling with the East-Angles made them fewer, saith my author, by many thousands. Others say **, that by this notice of Alfric, the Danes not only escaped, but with a greater fleet set upon the English, took many of their ships, and in triumph brought them up the Thames, intending to besiege London : for Anlaf king of Norway, and Swane of Denmark, at the head of these, came with ninety four galleys. The king for this treason of Alfric, put out his son's eyes ; but the Londoners both by land and water, so valiantly resisted their besiegers, that they were forced in one day, with great loss to give over. But what they could not on the city, they wrecked themselves on the countries round about, wasting with sword and fire all Essex, Kent, and Suffex. Thence horning their foot, diffused far wider their outrageous incursions, without mercy either to sex or age. The slothful king, instead of warlike opposition in the field, sends ambassadors to treat about another payment †† ; the sum promised was now sixteen thousand pounds ; till which paid, the Danes wintered at Southampton ; Ethelred inviting Anlaf to come and visit him at Andover §§, where he was royally entertained, some say, baptized, or confirmed, adopted son by the king, and dismissed with great presents, promising by oath to depart and molest the kingdom no more ||| ; which he performed, but the calamity ended not so, for after some intermission of their rage for three years ¶¶, the other navy of Danes sailing about to the west, entered

* Post Christ 987. Malmf.
 || Post Christ 993. Sim. Dun.
 †† Malmf. §§ Ibid.

† Post Christ. 988. Malmf.
 ¶ Florent Huntingd.
 ||| Huntingd.

§ Post Christ. 991. Sim. Dun.
 ** Post Christ. 994. Sim. Dun.
 ¶¶ Post Christ. 997. Sim. Dun.

Severn, and wasted one while South-Wales, then Cornwall and Devonshire, till at length they wintered about Tavistoc. For it were an endless work to relate how they wallowed up and down to every particular place, and to repeat as oft what devastations they wrought, what desolations left behind them, easy to be imagined. * In sum, the next year they afflicted Dorsetshire, Hampshire, and the Isle of Wight; by the English many resolutions were taken, many armies raised, but either betrayed by the falshood, or discouraged by the weakness of their leaders, they were put to the rout or disbanded themselves. For soldiers most commonly are as their commanders, without much odds of valour in one nation or other, only as they are more or less wisely disciplin'd and conducted. † The following year brought them back upon Kent, where they entered Medway, and besieged Rochester; but the Kentish men assembling, gave them a sharp encounter, yet that sufficed not to hinder them from doing as they had done in other places. Against these depopulations, the king levied an army; but the unskilful leaders not knowing what to do with it when they had it, did but drive out time, burdening and impoverishing the people, consuming the public treasure, and more emboldening the enemy, than if they had sat quiet at home. What cause moved the Danes next § year to pass into Normandy, is not recorded; but that they returned thence more outrageous than before. Mean while the king, to make some diversion, undertakes an expedition both by land and sea into Cumberland, where the Danes were most planted; there and in the Isle of Man, or as Camden saith, Anglesey, imitating his enemies in spoiling and unpeopling. The Danes from Normandy, arriving in the river Ex, laid siege to Exeter ||; but the citizens, as those of London, valorously defending themselves, they wrecked their anger, as before, on the villages round about. The country people of Somerset and Devonshire assembling themselves at Penho, shewed their readiness, but wanted a head; and besides being then but few in number, were easily put to flight; the enemy plundering all at will, with loaded spoils passed into the Isle of Wight; from whence all Dorsetshire and Hampshire felt again their fury. The Saxon annals write, that before their coming to Exeter, the Hampshire men had a bickering with them **, wherein Ethelward the king's general was slain, adding other things hardly to be understood, and in one ancient copy; so end. Ethelred, whom no adversity could awake from his soft and sluggish life, still coming by the worse at fighting, by the advice of his peers not unlike himself, sends one of his gay courtiers, though looking loftily, to stoop basely and propose a third tribute to the Danes: they willingly hearken, but the sum is enhanced now to twenty four thousand pounds, and paid; the Danes thereupon abstaining from hostility. But the king to strengthen his house by some potent affinity, marries Emma ††, whom the Saxons call Elgiva, daughter of Richard duke of Normandy. With him Ethelred formerly had war or no good correspondence, as appears by a letter of pope John the fifteenth §§, who made peace between them about eleven years before; puffed up now with his supposed access of strength by this affinity, he caused the Danes all over England, though now living peaceably ||||, in one day perfidiously to be massacred, both men, women and children; sending private letters to every town and city, whereby they might be ready all at the same hour; which till the appointed time (being the ninth of July) was concealed with great silence ¶¶, and performed with much unanimity; so generally hated were the Danes. Mat. West. writes, that this execution upon the Danes was ten years after; that Huna, one of Ethelred's chief captains, complaining of the Danish insolences in time of peace, their pride, their ravishing of matrons and virgins, incited the king to this massacre, which in the madness of rage made no difference of innocent

* Post Christ 998. Sim. Dun.

† Post Christ. 999. Sim. Dun.

§ Post Christ. 1000.

Sim. Dun. || Post Christ. 1001. Sim. Dun.

** Post Christ. 1002. Sim. Dun.

†† Malin.

§§ Calvin.

||| Florent. Huntingd.

¶¶ Calvin.

or nocent. Among these, Gunhildis the sister of Swane was not spared, though much deserving not pity only, but all protection: she with her husband earl Palingus, coming to live in England, and receiving christianity, had her husband and young son slain before her face, herself then beheaded, foretelling and denouncing that her blood would cost England dear. * Some say this was done by the traitor Edric, to whose custody she was committed; but the massacre was some years before Edric's advancement; and if it were done by him afterwards, it seems to contradict the private correspondence which he was thought to hold with the Danes. For Swane breathing revenge, hasted the next year into England †, and by the treason or negligence of count Hugh, whom Emma had recommended to the government of Devonshire, sacked the city of Exeter, her wall from east to west-gate broken down: after this wasting Wiltshire, the people of that county, and of Hampshire, came together in great numbers with resolution stoutly to oppose him; but Alfric their general, whose son's eyes the king had lately put out, madly thinking to revenge himself on the king, by ruining his own country, when he should have ordered his battle, the enemy being at hand, feigned himself taken with a vomiting; whereby his army in great discontent, destitute of a commander, turned from the enemy: who strait took Wilton and Salisbury, carrying the pillage thereof to the ships. § Thence the next year landing on the coast of Norfolk, he wasted the country, and set Norwich on fire; Ulfbketel duke of the East-Angles, a man of great valour, not having space to gather his forces, after consultation had, thought it best to make peace with the Dane, which he breaking within three weeks, issued silently out of his ships, came to Thetford, staid there a night, and in the morning left it flaming. Ulfbketel hearing this, commanded some to go and break or burn his ships; but they not daring or neglecting, he in the mean while with what secrecy and speed was possible, drawing together his forces, went out against the enemy, and gave them a fierce onset retreating to their ships; but much inferior in number, many of the chief East-Angles there lost their lives. Nor did the Danes come off without great slaughter of their own; confessing that they never met in England with so rough a charge. The next year ||, whom war could not, a great famine drove Swane out of the land. But the summer following ¶, another great fleet of Danes entered the port of Sandwich, thence poured out over all Kent and Suffex, made prey of what they found. The king levying an army out of Mercia, and the West-Saxons, took on him for once the manhood to go out and face them; but they who held it safer to live by rapine, than to hazard a battle, shifting lightly from place to place, frustrated the slow motions of a heavy camp, following their wonted course of robbery, then running to their ships. Thus all autumn they wearied out the king's army, which gone home to winter, they carried all their pillage to the Isle of Wight, and there stayed till Christmas; at which time the king being in Shropshire, and but ill employed (for by the procurement of Edric, he caused, as is thought, Alfhelm a noble duke, treacherously to be slain **, and the eyes of his two sons to be put out) they came forth again, over-running Hampshire, and Berkshire, as far as Reading and Wallingford: thence to Ashdune, and other places thereabout, neither known nor of tolerable pronunciation; and returning by another way, found many of the people in arms by the river Kenet; but making their way through, they got safe with vast booty to their ships. †† The king and his courtiers wearied out with their last summer's jaunt after the nimble Danes to no purpose, which by proof they found too toilsome for their soft bones, more used to beds and couches, had recourse to their last and only remedy, their coffers; and send now the fourth time to buy a dishonourable peace, every time still dearer, not to be had now under thirty six thousand pound (for the Danes knew how to milk such easy kine)

* Mat. West.
Christ. 1005. Sim. Dun.

† Post Christ. 1003. Sim. Dun.

¶ Post Christ. 1006. Sim. Dun.

§ Post Christ. 1004. Sim. Dun.

** Florent.

|| Post
Christ. 1007.

in name of tribute and expences : which out of the people over all England, already half beggared, was extorted and paid. About the same time Ethelred advanced Edric, surnamed Streon, from obscure condition to be duke of Mercia, and marry Edgitha the king's daughter. The cause of his advancement, Florent of Worcester, and Mat. West. attribute to his great wealth, gotten by fine policies and a plausible tongue : he proved a main accessory to the ruin of England, as his actions will soon declare. Ethelred the next year * somewhat rousing himself, ordained that every three hundred and ten hides (a hide is so much land as one plow can sufficiently till) should set out a ship or galley, and every nine hides find a corslet and head-piece : new ships in every port were built, victualed, fraught with stout mariners and soldiers, and appointed to meet all at Sandwich. A man might now think that all would go well ; when suddenly a new mischief sprung up, dissension among the great ones ; which brought all this diligence to as little success as at other times before. Birthric the brother of Edric, falsely accused Wulnoth a great officer set over the South-Saxons, who fearing the potency of his enemies, with twenty ships got to sea, and practised piracy on the coast. Against whom, reported to be in a place where he might be easily surprized, Birthric sets forth with eighty ships ; all which driven back by a tempest and wrecked upon the shore, were burnt soon after by Wulnoth. Disheartened with this misfortune, the king returns to London, the rest of his navy after him ; and all this great preparation to nothing. Whereupon Turkill, a Danish earl, came with a navy to the isle of Tanet†, and in August a far greater, led by Heming and Ilaf, joined with him. Thence coasting to Sandwich, and landed, they went onward and began to assault Canterbury ; but the citizens and East-Kentish men, coming to composition with them for three thousand pounds, they departed thence to the Isle of Wight, robbing and burning by the way. Against these the king levies an army through all the land, and in several quarters places them nigh the sea, but so unskilfully or unsuccessfully, that the Danes were not thereby hindered from exercising their wonted robberies. It happened that the Danes were one day gone up into the country far from their ships ; the king having notice thereof, thought to intercept them in their return ; his men were resolute to overcome or die, time and place advantageous ; but where courage and fortune was not wanting, there wanted loyalty among them. Edric with subtle arguments that had a shew of deep policy, disputed and persuaded the simplicity of his fellow counsellors, that it would be best consulted at that time to let the Danes pass without ambush or interception. The Danes where they expected danger, finding none, passed on with great joy and booty to their ships. After this, sailing about Kent, they lay that winter in the Thames, forcing Kent and Essex to contribution, oft-times attempting the city of London, but repelled as oft to their great loss. Spring begun, leaving their ships, they passed through Chiltern wood into Oxfordshire¶, burnt the city, and thence returning with divided forces wasted on both sides the Thames ; but hearing that an army from London was marched out against them, they on the north side passing the river at Stanes, joined with them on the south into one body, and enriched with great spoils, came back through Surrey to their ships ; which all the Lent-time they repaired. After Easter sailing to the East-Angles they arrived at Ipswich, and came to a place called Ringmere, where they heard that Ulfketel with his forces lay, who with a sharp encounter soon entertained them ; but his men at length giving back, through the subtlety of a Danish servant among them who began the flight, lost the field ; though the men of Cambridgeshire stood to it valiantly. In this battle Ethelstan the king's son-in-law, with many other noblemen, were slain ; whereby the Danes without more resistance, three months together had the spoiling of those countries and all the fens,

* Post Christ. 1008. Sim. Dun.
Dun. Florent.

† Post Christ. 1009. Sim. Dun.

¶ Post Christ. 1010. Sim.

burnt Thetford and Grantbrig, or Cambridge ; thence to a hilly place not far off, called by Huntingdon, Balesham, by Camden, Gogmagog hills, and the villages thereabout they turned their fury, slaying all they met save one man, who getting up into a steeple, is said to have defended himself against the whole Danish army. They therefore so leaving him, their foot by sea, their horse by land through Essex, returned back laden to their ships left in the Thames. But many days passed not between, when falling again out of their ships as out of savage dens, they plundered over again all Oxfordshire, and added to their prey Buckingham, Bedford, and Hertfordshire*; then like wild beasts glutted, returning to their caves. A third excursion they made into Northamptonshire, burnt Northampton, ransacking the country round ; then as to fresh pasture betook them to the West-Saxons, and in like sort harrassing all Wiltshire, returned, as I said before, like wild beasts or rather sea-monsters to their water-stables, accomplishing by Christmas the circuit of their whole year's good deeds ; an unjust and inhuman nation, who receiving or not receiving tribute where none was owing them, made such destruction of mankind, and rapine of their livelihood, as is a misery to read. Yet here they ceased not ; for the next year † repeating the same cruelties on both sides the Thames, one way as far as Huntingdon, the other as far as Wiltshire and Southampton, solicited again by the king for peace, and receiving their demands both of tribute and contribution, they slighted their faith ; and in the beginning of September laid siege to Canterbury. On the twentieth day, by the treachery of Almere the archdeacon, they took part of it and burnt it, committing all sorts of massacre as a sport ; some they threw over the wall, others into the fire, hung some by the privy members ; infants pulled from their mothers breasts, were either tost on spears, or carts drawn over them ; matrons and virgins by the hair dragged and ravished. § Alfage the grave archbishop above others hated of the Danes, as in all counsels and actions to his might their known opposer, taken, wounded, imprisoned in a noisome ship ; the multitude are tythed, and every tenth only spared. || Early the next year before Easter, while Ethelred and his peers were assembled at London, to raise now the fifth tribute amounting to forty eight thousand pound, the Danes at Canterbury propose to the archbishop ¶, who had been now seven months their prisoner, life and liberty, if he pay them three thousand pound ; which he refusing as not able of himself, and not willing to extort it from his tenants, is permitted till the next Sunday to consider ; then halled before the counsel, of whom Turkill was chief, and still refusing, they rise, most of them being drunk, and beat him with the blunt side of their axes, then thrust forth deliver him to be pelted with stones ; till one Thrun a converted Dane, pitying him half dead, to put him out of pain, with a pious impiety, at one stroke of his ax on the head dispatched him. His body was carried to London, and there buried, thence afterward removed to Canterbury. By this time the tribute paid, and peace so often violated sworn again by the Danes, they dispersed their fleet ; forty five of them, and Turkill their chief staid at London with the king, swore him allegiance to defend his land against all strangers, on condition only to be fed and cloathed by him. But this voluntary friendship of Turkill was thought to be deceitful, that staying under this pretence he gave intelligence to Swane, when most it would be seasonable to come. ** In July therefore of the next year, king Swane arriving at Sandwich, made no stay there, but sailing first to Humber, thence into Trent, landed and encamped at Gainsburrow : whither without delay repaired to him the Northumbrians, with Uthred their earl ; those of Lindsey also, then those of Fisburg, and lastly all on the north of Watlingstreet (which is a highway from east to west-sea) gave oath and hostages to obey him. From whom he commanded horses and provision for his army, taking with him besides

* Huntingd.
1012. Sim. Dun.

† Post Christ. 1011. Sim. Dun.
¶ Eadmer.

§ Eadmer. Malm.

** Post Christ. 1013. Sim. Dun.

|| Post Christ.

bands and companies of their choicest men ; and committing to his son Canute the care of his fleet and hostages, he marches towards the South-Mercians, commanding his soldiers to exercise all acts of hostility ; with the terror whereof fully executed, he took in few days the city of Oxford, then Winchester ; thence tending to London, in his hasty passage over the Thames, without seeking bridge or ford, lost many of his men. Nor was his expedition against London prosperous ; for assaying all means by force or wile to take the city, wherein the king then was, and Turkill with his Danes, he was stoutly beaten off as at other times. Thence back to Wallingford and Bath, directing his course, after usual havock made, he sat a while and refreshed his army. There Ethelm an earl of Devonshire, and other great officers in the west, yielded him subjection. These things flowing to his wish, he betook him to his navy, from that time stiled and accounted king of England ; if a tyrant, saith Simeon, may be called a king. The Londoners also sent him hostages, and made their peace, for they feared his fury. Ethelred thus reduced to narrow compass, sent Emma his queen, with his two sons had by her, and all his treasure to Richard II. her brother, duke of Normandy ; himself with his Danish fleet abode some while at Greenwich, then sailing to the Isle of Wight, passed after Christmas into Normandy ; where he was honourably received at Roan by the duke, though known to have borne himself churlishly and proudly towards Emma his sister, besides his dissolute company with other women. Mean while Swane * ceased not to exact almost insupportable tribute of the people, spoiling them when he listed ; besides, the like did Turkill at Greenwich. The next year beginning †, Swane sickens and dies ; some say terrified and smitten by an appearing shape of St. Edmund armed, whose church at Bury he had threatened to demolish ; but the authority hereof relies only upon the legend of St. Edmund. After his death the Danish army and fleet made his son Canute their king ; but the nobility and states of England sent messengers to Ethelred, declaring that they preferred none before their native sovereign, if he would promise to govern them better than he had done, and with more clemency. Whereat the king rejoicing, sends over his son Edward with ambassadors to court both high and low, and win their love, promising largely to be their mild and devoted lord, to consent in all things to their will, follow their counsel, and whatever had been done or spoken by any man against him, freely to pardon, if they would loyally restore him to be their king. To this the people cheerfully answered, and amity was both promised and confirmed on both sides. An embassy of lords is sent to bring back the king honourably ; he returns in Lent, and is joyfully received of the people, marches with a strong army against Canute ; who having got horses and joined with the men of Lindsey, was preparing to make spoil in the countries adjoining ; but by Ethelred unexpectedly coming upon him, was soon driven to his ships, and his confederates of Lindsey left to the anger of their country-men, executed without mercy both by fire and sword. Canute in all haste sailing back to Sandwich, took the hostages given to his father from all parts of England, and with slit noses, ears crompt, and hands chop'd off, setting them ashore, departed into Denmark. Yet the people were not disburdened, for the king raised out of them thirty thousand pound to pay his fleet of Danes at Greenwich. To these evils the sea in October passed his bounds, overwhelming many towns in England, and of their inhabitants many thousands. § The year following, an assembly being at Oxford, Edric of Streon having invited two noblemen, Sigferth and Morcar, the sons of Earngrun of Seavenburg, to his lodging, secretly murdered them ; the king, for what cause is unknown, seized their estates, and caused Alghith the wife of Sigferth, to be kept at Maidulfsburg, now Malmesbury ; whom Edmund the prince there married against his father's mind, then went and possessed their lands, making the people there subject to him. Mat.

* Malmf.

† Post Christ. 1014. Sim. Dun. Mat. West.

§ Post Christ. 1015. Sim. Dun.

Westm.

Westm. saith, that these two were of the Danes who had seated themselves in Northumberland, slain by Edric under colour of treason laid to their charge. They who attended them without, tumulting at the death of their masters *, were beaten back; and driven into a church, defending themselves were burnt there in the steeple. Meanwhile Canute returning from Denmark with a great navy †, two hundred ships richly gilded and adorned, well fraught with arms and all provision; and, which Encomium Emmæ mentions not, two other kings, Lachman of Sweden, Olav of Norway, arrived at Sandwich; and, as the same author then living writes, sent out spies to discover what resistance on land was to be expected; who returned with certain report, that a great army of English was in readiness to oppose them. Turkill, who upon the arrival of these Danish powers kept faith no longer with the English, but joining now with Canute §, as it were to reingratiate himself after his revolt, whether real or plotted, counselled him (being yet young) not to land, but to leave to him the management of this first battel: the king assented, and he with the forces which he had brought, and part of those which arrived with Canute, landing to their wish, encountered the English, though double in number, at a place called Scoraftan, and was at first beaten back with much loss. But at length animating his men with rage only and despair, obtained a clear victory, which won him great reward and possessions from Canute. But of this action no other writer makes mention. From Sandwich therefore sailing about to the river Frome, and there landing, over all Dorset, Somerset, and Wiltshire, he spread wasteful hostility ||. The king lay then sick at Cosham in this county; though it may seem strange how he could lie sick there in the midst of his enemies. Howbeit Edmund in one part, and Edric of Streon in another, raised forces by themselves; but so soon as both armies were united, the traitor Edric being found to practise against the life of Edmund, he removed with his army from him; whereof the enemy took great advantage. Edric easily enticing the forty ships of Danes to side with him, revolted to Canute; the West-Saxons also gave pledges, and furnished him with horses. By which means the ¶ year ensuing, he with Edric the traitor passing the Thames at Creclad, about twelfth tide, entered into Mercia, and especially Warwickshire, depopulating all places in their way. Against these prince Edmund, for his hardness called Ironside, gathered an army; but the Mercians refused to fight unless Ethelred with the Londoners came to aid them; and so every man returned home. After the festival Edmund gathering another army, besought his father to come with the Londoners, and what force besides he was able; they came with great strength gotten together, but being come, and in a hopeful way of good success, it was told the king, that unless he took the better heed, some of his own forces would fall off and betray him. The king daunted with this perhaps cunning whisper of the enemy, disbanding his army, returns to London. Edmund betook him into Northumberland, as some thought to raise fresh forces; but he with earl Uthred on the one side, and Canute with Edric on the other, did little else but waste the provinces; Canute to conquer them, Edmund to punish them who stood neuter: for which cause Stafford, Shropshire, and Leicestershire, felt heavily his hand; while Canute, who was ruining the more southern shires, at length marched into Northumberland; which Edmund hearing, dismissed his forces and came to London. Uthred the earl hastened back to Northumberland, and finding no other remedy, submitted himself with all the Northumbrians, giving hostages to Canute. Nevertheless by his command or connivance, and the hand of oae Turebrand a Danish lord, Uthred was slain, and Iric another Dane made earl in his stead. This Uthred son of Walteof, as Simeon writes, in his treatise of the siege of Durham, in his youth obtained a great victory

* Malmf. † Leges Edw. Conf. Tit. deduct. Norm.
¶ Post Christ. 1016. Sim. Dun.

§ Encom. Em.

|| Cand.

against Malcolm son of Kened king of Scots, who with the whole power of his kingdom was fallen into Northumberland, and laid siege to Durham. Walteof the old earl unable to resist, had secured himself in Bebbanburg, a strong town; but Uthred gathering an army raised the siege, slew most of the Scots, their king narrowly escaping, and with the heads of their slain fixed upon poles beset round the walls of Durham. The year of this exploit Simeon clears not, for in 969, and in the reign of Ethelred, as he affirms, it could not be. Canute by another way returning southward, joyful of his success, before Easter came back with all the army to his fleet. About the end of April ensuing, Ethelred after a long, troublesome and ill-governed reign, ended his days at London, and was buried in the church of St. Paul.

EDMUND IRONSIDE.

AFTER the decease of Ethelred, they of the nobility who were then at London, together with the citizens, chose * Edmund his son (not by Emma, but a former wife the daughter of earl Thored) in his father's room; but the archbishops, abbots, and many of the nobles assembling together, elected Canute; and coming to Southampton where he then remained, renounced before him all the race of Ethelred, and swore him fidelity: he also swore to them, in matters both religious and secular, to be their faithful lord. † But Edmund with all speed going to the West-Saxons, was joyfully received of them as their king, and of many other provinces by their example. Mean while Canute about mid May came with his whole fleet up the river to London; then causing a great dike to be made on Surrey-side, turned the stream, and drew his ships thither west of the bridge; then begirting the city with a broad and deep trench, assailed it on every side; but repulsed as before by the valorous defendants, and in despair of success at that time, leaving part of his army for the defence of his ships, with the rest sped him to the West-Saxons, ere Edmund could have time to assemble all his powers: who yet with such as were at hand, invoking divine aid, encountered the Danes at Pen by Gillingham in Dorsetshire, and put him to flight. After midsummer, increased with new forces, he met with him again at a place called Sheraftan, now Sharftan; but Edric, Almar, and Algar, with the Hampshire and Wiltshire men, then siding with the Danes, he only maintained the fight, obstinately fought on both sides, till night and weariness parted them. Day-light returning renewed the conflict, wherein the Danes appearing inferior, Edric to dishearten the English cuts off the head of one Osmer, in countenance and hair somewhat resembling the king, and holding it up, cries aloud to the English, that Edmund being slain, and this his head, it was time for them to fly; which fallacy Edmund perceiving, and openly shewing himself to his soldiers, by a spear thrown at Edric, that missing him yet slew one next him ‖, and through him another behind, they recovered heart, and lay fore upon the Danes till night parted them as before: for ere the third morn, Canute sensible of his loss, marched away by stealth to his ships at London, renewing there his league. Some would have this battel at Sheraftan the same with that at Scoraftan before mentioned, but the circumstance of time permits not that, having been before the landing of Canute, this a good while after, as by the process of things appears. From Sheraftan or Sharftan Edmund returned to the West-Saxons, whose valour Edric fearing, lest it might prevail against the Danes, sought pardon of his revolt, and obtaining it, swore loyalty to the king, who now the third time coming with an army from the West-Saxons to London, raised the siege, chasing Canute and his Danes to their ships. Then after two days passing the Thames at Brentford, and so coming on their backs, kept them so turned, and obtained the victory; then

* Florent. Aelred in the life of Edw. Conf.

† Florent. Sim. Dun.

‖ Malmf.

returns again to his West-Saxons, and Canute to his siege, but still in vain; rising therefore thence, he entered with his ships a river then called Arenne; and from the banks thereof wasted Mercia; thence their horse by land, their foot by ship came to Medway. Edmund in the mean while with multiplied forces out of many shires crossing again at Brentford, came into Kent, seeking Canute; encounter'd him at Otford, and so defeated, that of his horse, they who escaped fled to the isle of Sheppey; and a full victory he had gained, had not Edric still the traitor by some wile or other detained his pursuit: and Edmund who never wanted courage, here wanted prudence to be so misled, ever after forsaken of his wonted fortune. Canute crossing with his army into Essex, thence wasted Mercia worse than before, and with heavy prey returned to his ships: then Edmund with a collected army pursuing, overtook at a place called Assandune or Asseshill, * now Ashdown in Essex; the battel on either side was fought with great vehemence; but perfidious Edric perceiving the victory to incline towards Edmund, with that part of the army which was under him, fled, as he had promised Canute, and left the king over-matched with numbers: by which desertion the English were overthrown, duke Alfric, duke Godwin and Ulfketel the valiant duke of East-Angles, with a great part of the nobility slain, so as the English of a long time had not received a greater blow. Yet after a while Edmund, not absurdly called Ironside, preparing again to try his fortune in another field, was hindered by Edric and others of his faction, advising him to make peace and divide the kingdom with Canute. To which Edmund over-ruled, a treaty appointed, and pledges mutually given, both kings met together at a place called Deorhirst in Gloucestershire; † Edmund on the west-side of Severn, Canute on the east with their armies, then both in person wasted into an island, at that time called Olanegge §, now Alney, in the midst of the river; swearing amity and brotherhood, they parted the kingdom between them. Then interchanging arms and the habit they wore, assessing also what pay should be allotted to the navy, they departed each his way. Concerning this interview and the cause thereof, others write otherwise; Malmesbury, that Edmund grieving at the loss of so much blood spilt for the ambition only of two men striving who should reign, of his own accord sent to Canute, offering him single combat, to prevent in their own cause the effusion of more blood than their own; that Canute, though of courage enough, yet not unwisely doubting to adventure his body of small timber, against a man of iron sides, refused the combat, offering to divide the kingdom. This offer pleasing both armies, Edmund was not difficult to consent; and the decision was, that he as his hereditary kingdom should rule the West-Saxons and all the South, Canute the Mercians and the North. Huntingdon followed by Mat. Westm. relates, that the peers on every side wearied out with continual warfare, and not refraining to affirm openly, that they two who expected to reign singly, had most reason to fight singly, the kings were content; the island was their lists, the combat knightly; till Knute finding himself too weak, began to parley, which ended as is said before. After which the Londoners bought their peace of the Danes, and permitted them to winter in the city. But king Edmund about the feast of St. Andrew, unexpectedly deceased at London, and was buried near to Edgar his grandfather at Glaston. The cause of his so sudden death is uncertain; common fame, saith Malmesbury, lays the guilt thereof upon Edric, who to please Canute, allured with promise of reward two of the king's privy chamber, though at first abhorring the fact, to assassinate him at the stool, by thrusting a sharp iron into his hinder parts. Huntingdon, and Mat. Westm. relate it done at Oxford by the son of Edric, and something vary in the manner, not worth recital. Edmund dead, Canute meaning to reign sole king of England, calls to him all the dukes, barons, and bishops of the land, cunningly demanding of them who

* Camd.

† Camd.

§ Camd.

were witnesses what agreement was made between him and Edmund dividing the kingdom, whether the sons and brothers of Edmund were to govern the West-Saxons after him, Canute living? They who understood his meaning, and feared to undergo his anger, timorously answered, that Edmund they knew had left no part thereof to his sons or brethren, living or dying; but that he intended Canute should be their guardian, till they came to age of reigning. Simeon affirms, that for fear or hope of reward they attested what was not true: notwithstanding which, he put many of them to death not long after.

CANUTE, or KNUTE.

CANUTE having thus founded the nobility*, and by them understood, received their oath of fealty, they the pledge of his bare hand, and oath from the Danish nobles; whereupon the house of Edmund was renounced, and Canute crowned. Then they enacted, that Edwi brother of Edmund, a prince of great hope, should be banished the realm. But Canute not thinking himself secure while Edwi lived, consulted with Edric how to make him away; who told him of one Ethelward a decayed nobleman, likeliest to do the work. Ethelward sent for, and tempted by the king in private with largest rewards, but abhorring in his mind the deed, promised to do it when he saw his opportunity; and so still deferred it. But Edwi afterwards received into favour as a snare, was by him or some other of his false friends, Canute contriving it, the same year slain. Edric also counselled him to dispatch Edward and Edmund, the sons of Ironside; but the king doubting that the fact would seem too foul done in England, sent them to the king of Sweden, with like intent; but he disdaining the office, sent them for better safety to Solomon king of Hungary; where Edmund at length died, but Edward married Agatha daughter to Henry the German emperor. A digression in the laws of Edward Confessor under the title of, *Lex Noricorum*, saith, that this Edward for fear of Canute, fled of his own accord to Malec-clot king of the Rugians, who received him honourably, and of that country gave him a wife. Canute settled in his throne, divided the government of his kingdom into four parts; the West-Saxons to himself, the East-Angles to earl Turkill, the Mercians to Edric, the Northumbrians to Iric; then made peace with all princes round about him, and his former wife being dead, in July married Emma the widow of king Ethelred. The Christmas following was an ill feast to Edric, of whose treason the king having now made use as much as served his turn, and fearing himself to be the next betrayed, caused him to be slain at London in the palace, thrown over the city wall, and there to lie unburied; the head of Edric fixed on a pole, he commanded to be set on the highest tower of London, as in a double sense he had promised him, for the murder of king Edmund to exalt him above all the peers of England. Huntingdon, Malmfbury, and Mat. Westm. write, that suspecting the king's intention to degrade him from his Mercian dukedom, and upbraiding him with his merits, the king enraged, caused him to be strangled in the room, and out at a window thrown into the Thames. Another writes†, that Eric at the king's command struck off his head. Other great men, though without fault, as duke Norman the son of Leofwin, Ethelward son of duke Agelmar, he put to death at the same time, jealous of their power or familiarity with Edric: and notwithstanding peace, kept still his army; to maintain which, the next year § he squeezed out of the English, though now his subjects, not his enemies, seventy-two, some say, eighty-two thousand pound, besides fifteen thousand out of London. Mean while great war arose at Carr, between Uthred son of Waldef, earl of Northumberland, and Malcolm son of Kened king of

* Post Christ. 1017 Sim. Dun. Sax. an.
Sim. Dun. Huntingd. Mat. West.

† Encom. Em Ingulf.

§ Post Christ. 1018.

Scots, with whom held Eugenius king of Lothian. But here Simeon the relater seems to have committed some mistake, having slain Uthred by Canute two years before, and set Iric in his place: Iric therefore it must needs be, not Uthred, who managed this war against the Scots. About which time at a convention of Danes at Oxford, it was agreed on both parties to keep the laws of Edgar; Mat. Westm. faith of Edward the elder. The next * year Canute sailed into Denmark, and there abode all winter. Huntingdon and Mat. Westm. say, he went thither to repress the Swedes; and that the night before a battle was fought with them, Godwin stealing out of the camp with his English, assaulted the Swedes, and had got the victory ere Canute in the morning knew of any fight. For which bold enterprize, though against discipline, he had the English in more esteem ever after. In the spring, at his return into England †, he held in the time of Easter a great assembly at Chichester, and the same year was with Turkill the Dane at the dedication of a church by them built at Assendune, in the place of that great victory which won him the crown. But suspecting his greatness, the year following banished him the realm, and found occasion to do the like by Iric the Northumbrian earl upon the same jealousy. § Nor yet content with his conquest of England, though now above ten years enjoyed, he passed with fifty ships into Norway, dispossessed Olave their king, and subdued the land ||, first with great sums of money sent the year before to gain him a party, then coming with an army to compel the rest. Thence returning king of England, Denmark, and Norway, yet not secure in his mind, ¶ under colour of an embassy he sent into banishment Hacun a powerful Dane, who had married the daughter of his sister Gunildis, having conceived some suspicion of his practices against him: but such course was taken, that he never came back; either perishing at sea, or slain by contrivance the next ** year in Orkney. Canute therefore having thus established himself by bloodshed and oppression, to wash away, as he thought, the guilt thereof, sailing †† again into Denmark, went thence to Rome, and offered there to St. Peter great gifts of gold and silver, and other precious things; besides the usual tribute of Romscot, giving great alms by the way §§, both thither and back again, freeing many places of custom and toll with great expence, where strangers were wont to pay, having vowed great amendment of life at the sepulchre of Peter and Paul, and to his whole people in a large letter written from Rome yet extant. At his return therefore he built and dedicated a church to St. Edmund at Bury, whom his ancestors had slain |||, threw out the secular priests who had intruded there, and placed monks in their stead; then going into Scotland, ¶¶ subdued and received homage of Malcolm, and two other kings there, Melbeath and Jermare. Three years *† after, having made Swane his supposed son by Algiva of Northampton, duke Alfhelm's daughter (for others say the son of a priest whom Algiva barren †* had got ready at the time of her feigned labour) king of Norway, and Hardecnute his son by Emma king of Denmark, and designed Harold his son by Algiva of Northampton king of England, died †§ at Shaftsbury, and was buried at Winchester in the old monastery. This king, as appears, ended better than he began; for though he seems to have had no hand in the death of Ironside, but detested the fact, and bringing the murderers, who came to him in hope of great reward, forth among his courtiers, as it were to receive thanks, after they had openly related the manner of their killing him, delivered them to deserved punishment, yet he spared Edric whom he knew to be the prime author of that detestable fact; till willing to be rid of him, grown importune upon the confidence of his merits, and upbraided by

* Post Christ. 1019. Sim. Dun.

† Post Christ. 1020. Sim. Dun.

§ Post Christ. 1021.

Sim. Dun. Malmf.

|| Post Christ. 1028. Sim. Dun.

¶ Post Christ. 1029. Sim. Dun.

** Post Christ. 1030. Sim. Dun.

†† Post Christ. 1031. Sim. Dun.

§§ Huntingd.

||| Post

Christ. 1032. Sim. Dun.

¶¶ Huntingd.

*† Post Christ. 1035. Sim. Dun.

†* Florent.

†§ Florent

him that he had first relinquished, then extinguished Edmund for his sake; angry to be so upbraided, therefore said he with a changed countenance, "traitor to God and me, thou shalt die; thine own mouth accuses thee to have slain thy master my confederate brother, and the Lord's anointed." * Whereupon although present and private execution was in rage done upon Edric, yet he himself in cool blood scrupled not to make away the brother and children of Edmund, who had better right to be the Lord's anointed here than himself. When he had obtained in England what he desired, no wonder if he sought the love of his conquered subjects for the love of his own quiet, the maintainers of his wealth and state for his own profit. For the like reason he is thought to have married Emma, and that Richard duke of Normandy her brother might the less care what became of Elfred and Edward, her sons by king Ethelred. He commanded to be observed the ancient Saxon laws, called afterwards the laws of Edward the Confessor, not that he made them, but strictly observed them. His letter from Rome professes, if he had done aught amiss in his youth, through negligence or want of due temper, full resolution with the help of God to make amends, by governing justly and piously for the future; charges and adjures all his officers and viscounts, that neither for fear of him, or favour of any person, or to enrich the king, they suffer injustice to be done in the land; commands his treasurers to pay all his debts ere his return home, which was by Denmark, to compose matters there; and what his letter professed, he performed all his life after. But it is a fond conceit in many great ones, and pernicious in the end, to cease from no violence till they have attained the utmost of their ambitions and desires; then to think God appeased by their seeking to bribe him with a share however large of their ill-gotten spoils, and then lastly to grow zealous of doing right, when they have no longer need to do wrong. Howbeit Canute was famous through Europe, and much honoured of Conrade the emperor, then at Rome, with rich gifts and many grants of what he there demanded for the freeing of passages from toll and custom. I must not omit one remarkable action done by him, as Huntingdon reports it, with great scene of circumstance, and emphatical expression, to shew the small power of kings in respect of God; which, unless to court-parasites, needed no such laborious demonstration. He caused his royal seat to be set on the shore, while the tide was coming in; and with all the state that royalty could put into his countenance, said thus to the sea: "Thou sea belongest to me, and the land whereon I sit is mine; nor hath any one unpunished resisted my commands: I charge thee come no farther upon my land, neither presume to wet the feet of thy sovereign lord." But the sea, as before, came rowling on, and without reverence both wet and dashed him. Whereat the king quickly rising, wished all about him to behold and consider the weak and frivolous power of a king, and that none indeed deserved the name of a king, but he whose eternal laws, both heaven, earth, and sea obey. A truth so evident of itself, as I said before, that unless to shame his court-flatterers, who would not else be convinced, Canute needed not to have gone wet-shod home: The best is, from that time forth he never would wear a crown, esteeming earthly royalty contemptible and vain.

H A R O L D,

HAROLD for his swiftness surnamed Harefoot †, the son of Canute by Algiva of Northampton, (though some speak doubtfully as if she bore him not, but had him of a shoe-maker's wife, as Swane before of a priest; others of a maid-servant, to conceal her barrenness) in a great assembly at Oxford, was by duke Leofric and the Mercians, with the Londoners, according to his father's testament, elected king §; but without the regal habiliments, which Ælnot the archbishop having in his custody,

* Malmf.

† Florent. Brompton. Huntingd. Mat. West.

§ Encom. Em.

refused

refused to deliver up, but to the sons of Emma, for which Harold ever after hated the clergy; and (as the clergy are wont thence to infer) all religion. Godwin earl of Kent, and the West-Saxons with him stood for Hardecnute. Malmfbury faith, that the contest was between Dane and English; that the Danes, and Londoners grown now in a manner Danish, were all for Hardecnute: but he being then in Denmark, Harold prevailed, yet so as that the kingdom should be divided between them; the west and south part reserved by Emma for Hardecnute, till his return. But Harold once advanced into the throne, banished Emma his mother-in-law, seized on his father's treasure at Winchester, and there remained. * Emma not holding it safe to abide in Normandy while duke William the bastard was yet under age, retired to Baldwin earl of Flanders. In the mean while Elfred and Edward sons of Ethelred, accompanied with a small number of Norman soldiers in a few ships, coming to visit their mother Emma not yet departed the land, and perhaps to see how the people were inclined to restore them their right, Elfred was sent for by the king then at London; but in his way met at Guilford by earl Godwin, who with all seeming friendship entertained him, was in the night surprised and made prisoner, most of his company put to various sorts of cruel death, decimated twice over; then brought to London, was by the king sent bound to Ely, had his eyes put out by the way, and delivered to the monks there, died soon after in their custody. Malmfbury gives little credit to this story of Elfred, as not chronicled in his time, but rumoured only. Which Emma however hearing, sent away her son Edward, who by good hap accompanied not his brother, with all speed into Normandy. But the author of "Encomium Emmæ," who seems plainly (though nameless) to have been some monk, yet lived, and perhaps wrote within the same year when these things were done; by his relation differing from all others, much aggravates the cruelty of Harold, that he not content to have practised in secret (for openly he durst not) against the life of Emma, sought many treacherous ways to get her son within his power; and resolved at length to forge a letter in the name of their mother, inviting them into England, the copy of which letter he produces written to this purpose.

"**E**MMMA in name only queen, to her sons Edward and Elfred imparts motherly salutation. While we severally bewail the death of our lord the king, most dear sons! and while daily you are deprived more and more of the kingdom your inheritance; I admire what counsel ye take, knowing that your intermitted delay is a daily strengthening to the reign of your usurper, who incessantly goes about from town to city, gaining the chief nobles to his party, either by gifts, prayers, or threats. But they had much rather one of you should reign over them, than to be held under the power of him who now over-rules them. I entreat therefore that one of you come to me speedily, and privately, to receive from me wholesome counsel, and to know how the business which I intend shall be accomplished. By this messenger present, send back what you determine. Farewel, as dear both as my own heart."

These letters were sent to the princes then in Normandy, by express messengers, with presents also as from their mother; which they joyfully receiving, return word by the same messengers, that one of them will be with her shortly; naming both the time and place. Elfred therefore the younger (for so it was thought best) at the appointed time, with a few ships and small numbers about him appearing on the coast, no sooner came ashore but fell into the snare of earl Godwin, sent on purpose to betray him; as above was related. Emma greatly sorrowing for the loss of her son, thus cruelly made away, fled immediately with some of the nobles her faithfullest

* Post Christ. 1036. Sim. Dun.

adherents into Flanders, had her dwelling assigned at Bruges by the earl ; where having remained about two years *, she was visited out of Denmark by Hardecnute her son ; and he not long had remained with her there, when Harold in England, having done nothing the while worth memory, save the taxing of every port at eight marks of silver to sixteen ships, died at London, some say at Oxford, and was buried at Winchester. † After which, most of the nobility, both Danes and English now agreeing, send ambassadors to Hardecnute still at Bruges with his mother, entreating him to come and receive as his right the scepter, who before midsummer came with sixty ships, and many soldiers out of Denmark.

HARDECNUTE.

HARDECNUTE received with acclamation, and seated in the throne, first called to mind the injuries done to him or his mother Emma in the time of Harold ; sent Alfric archbishop of York, Godwin and others, with Troude his executioner to London, commanding them to dig up the body of king Harold, and throw it into a ditch ; but by a second order, into the Thames. Whence taken up by a fisherman, and conveyed to a church-yard in London belonging to the Danes, it was interred again with honour. This done, he levied a sore tax, that eight marks to every rower, and twelve to every officer in his fleet should be paid throughout England : by which time they who were so forward to call him over had enough of him ; for he, as they thought, had too much of theirs. After this he called to account Godwin earl of Kent, and Leving bishop of Worcester, about the death of Elfred his half-brother, which Alfric the archbishop laid to their charge ; the king deprived Leving of his bishoprick, and gave it to his accuser : but the year following, pacified with a round sum, restored it to Leving. ‡ Godwin made his peace by a sumptuous present, a galley with a gilded stem bravely rigged, and eighty soldiers in her, every one with bracelets of gold on each arm, weighing sixteen ounces, helmet, corslet, and hilts of his sword gilded ; a Danish curtax lifted with gold or silver, hung on his left shoulder, a shield with boss and nails gilded in his left hand, in his right a lance ; besides this, he took his oath before the king, that neither of his own counsel or will, but by the command of Harold he had done what he did, to the putting out Elfred's eyes. The like oath took most of the nobility for themselves, or in his behalf. § The next year Hardecnute sending his house-carles, so they called his officers, to gather the tribute imposed ; two of them rigorous in their office, were slain at Worcester by the people ; whereat the king enraged, sent Leofric duke of Mercia, and Seward of Northumberland, with great forces and commission to slay the citizens, rife and burn the city, and waste the whole province. Affrighted with such news, all the people fled : the countrymen whither they could, the citizens to a small island in Severn, called Beverege, which they fortified and defended stoutly till peace was granted them, and freely to return home. But their city they found sacked and burnt ; wherewith the king was appeased. This was commendable in him, however cruel to others, that towards his half-brethren, though rivals of his crown, he shewed himself always tenderly affectioned ; as now towards Edward, who without fear came to him out of Normandy, and with unfeigned kindness received, remained safely and honourably in his court. || But Hardecnute the year following, at a feast wherein Osgod a great Danish lord gave his daughter in marriage at Lambeth, to Prudon another potent Dane, in the midst of his mirth, sound and healthful to sight, while he was drinking fell down speechless, and so dying, was buried at Winchester beside his father. He was it seems a great lover of good cheer ; sitting

* Post Christ. 1039. Sim. Dun. Huntingd.

† Post Christ. 1040. Sim. Dun. Malmf.

‡ Malmf.

§ Post Christ. 1041. Sim. Dun.

|| Post Christ. 1042. Sim. Dun.

at table four times a day, with great variety of dishes and superfluity to all comers. Whereas, saith Huntingdon, in our time princes in their houses made but one meal a day. He gave his sister Gunildis, a virgin of rare beauty, in marriage to Henry the Alman emperor; and to send her forth pompously, all the nobility contributed their jewels and richest ornaments. But it may seem a wonder that our historians, if they deserve that name, should in a matter so remarkable, and so near their own time, so much differ. Huntingdon relates, against the credit of all other records, that Hardecnute thus dead, the English rejoicing at this unexpected riddance of the Danish yoke, sent over to Elfred the elder son of Emma by king Ethelred, of whom we heard but now, that he died a prisoner at Ely, sent thither by Harold six years before; that he came now out of Normandy, with a great number of men, to receive the crown; that earl Godwin aiming to have his daughter queen of England, by marrying her to Edward a simple youth, for he thought Elfred of a higher spirit than to accept her, persuaded the nobles that Elfred had brought over too many Normans, had promised them land here, that it was not safe to suffer a warlike and subtle nation to take root in the land, that these were to be so handled as none of them might dare for the future to flock hither, upon pretence of relation to the king: thereupon by common consent of the nobles, both Elfred and his company were dealt with as was above related; that they then sent for Edward out of Normandy, with hostages to be left there of their faithful intentions to make him king, and their desires not to bring over with him many Normans; that Edward at their call came then first out of Normandy; whereas all others agree that he came voluntarily over to visit Hardecnute, as is before said, and was remaining then in court at the time of his death. For Hardecnute dead, saith Malmesbury, Edward doubting greatly his own safety, determined to rely wholly on the advice and favour of earl Godwin; desiring therefore by messengers to have private speech with him, the earl a while deliberated: at last assenting, prince Edward came, and would have fallen at his feet; but that not permitted, told him the danger wherein he thought himself at present, and in great perplexity besought his help to convey him some whither out of the land. Godwin soon apprehending the fair occasion that now as it were prompted him how to advance himself and his family, cheerfully exhorted him to remember himself the son of Ethelred, the grandchild of Edgar, right heir to the crown, at full age; not to think of flying, but of reigning, which might easily be brought about if he would follow his counsel; then setting forth the power and authority which he had in England, promised it should be all his to set him on the throne, if he on his part would promise and swear to be for ever his friend, to preserve the honour of his house, and to marry his daughter. Edward, as his necessity then was, consented easily, and swore to whatever Godwin required. An Assembly of states thereupon met at Gillingham, where Edward pleaded his right; and by the powerful influence of Godwin was accepted. Others, as Brompton, with no probability write, that Godwin at this time was fled into Denmark, for what he had done to Elfred, returned and submitted himself to Edward then king, was by him charged openly with the death of Elfred, and not without much ado, by the intercession of Leofric and other peers, received at length into favour.

EDWARD the Confessor.

GLAD were the English delivered so unexpectedly from their Danish masters, and little thought how near another conquest was hanging over them. Edward, the Easter following*, crowned at Winchester, the same year accompanied with earl Godwin, Leofric and Siward, came again thither on a sudden, and by their counsel

* Post Christ. 1043. Sim. Dun.

seized on the treasure of his mother Emma. The cause alledged is, that she was hard to him in the time of his banishment; and indeed she is said not much to have loved Ethelred her former husband, and thereafter the children by him; she was moreover noted to be very covetous, hard to the poor, and profuse to monasteries. † About this time also king Edward, according to promise, took to wife Edith or Egith earl Godwin's daughter, commended much for beauty, modesty, and, beyond what is requisite in a woman, learning. Ingulf then a youth lodging in the court with his father, saw her oft, and coming from the school, was sometimes met by her and posed, not in grammar only, but in logic. Edward the next year but one §, made ready a strong navy at Sandwich against Magnus king of Norway, who threatened an invasion, had not Swane king of Denmark diverted him by a war at home to defend his own land ||, not out of good will to Edward, as may be supposed, who at the same time expressed none to the Danes, banishing Gunildis the niece of Canute with her two sons, and Osgod by surname Clapa, out of the realm. ¶ Swane overpowered by Magnus sent the next year to entreat aid of king Edward; Godwin gave counsel to send him fifty ships fraught with soldiers; but Leofric and the general voice gainfaying, none were sent. ** The next year Harold Harvager king of Norway sending ambassadors, made peace with king Edward; but an earthquake at Worcester and Derby, pestilence and famine in many places, much lessened the enjoyment thereof. †† The next year Henry the emperor displeased with Baldwin earl of Flanders, had streightened him with a great army by land; and sending to king Edward, desired him with his ships to hinder what he might, his escape by sea. The king therefore with a great navy coming to Sandwich, there staid till the emperor came to an agreement with earl Baldwin. Mean while Swane son of earl Godwin, who not permitted to marry Edgiva the abbess of Chester by him defloured, had left the land, came out of Denmark with eight ships, feigning a desire to return into the king's favour; and Beorn his cousin german, who commanded part of the king's navy, promised to intercede that his earldom might be restored him. Godwin therefore and Beorn with a few ships, the rest of the fleet gone home, coming to Pevensey (but Godwin soon departing thence in pursuit of twenty nine Danish ships who had got much booty on the coast of Essex, and perished by tempest in their return) Swane with his ships comes to Beorn at Pevensey, guilefully requests him to sail with him to Sandwich, and reconcile him to the king, as he had promised. Beorn mistrusting no evil where he intended good, went with him in his ship attended by three only of his servants: but Swane, set upon barbarous cruelty, not reconciliation with the king, took Beorn now in his power and bound him; then coming to Dartmouth, slew and buried him in a deep ditch. After which the men of Hastings took six of his ships, and brought them to the king at Sandwich; with the other two he escaped into Flanders, there remaining till Aldred bishop of Worcester by earnest mediation wrought his peace with the king. §§ About this time king Edward sent to pope Leo, desiring absolution from a vow which he had made in his younger years, to take a journey to Rome, if God vouchsafed him to reign in England; the pope dispensed with his vow, but not without the expence of his journey given to the poor, and a monastery built or re-edified to St. Peter; who in a vision to a monk, as is said, chose Westminster, which king Edward thereupon rebuilding endowed with large privileges and revenues. The same year, saith Florent of Worcester, certain Irish pirates with thirty six ships entered the mouth of Severn, and with the aid of Griffin prince of South-Wales, did some hurt in those parts: then passing the river Wye, burnt Dunedham, and slew all the inhabitants they found. Against whom Aldred bishop of Worcester, with a few out of Gloucester and Herefordshire, went out in

† Malmf. § Post Christ. 1045. Sim. Dun. || Post Christ. 1046 Sim. Dun. ¶ Post Christ. 1047. Sim. Dun. ** Post Christ. 1048. Sim. Dun. †† Post Christ. 1049. Sim. Dun. §§ Malmf.

haste: but Griffin to whom the Welch and Irish had privily sent messengers, came down upon the English with his whole power, by night, and early in the morning suddenly assailing them, slew many, and put the rest to flight. * The next year but one, king Edward remitted the Danish tax which had continued thirty eight years heavy upon the land since Ethelred first paid it to the Danes, and what remained thereof in his treasury he sent back to the owners: but through imprudence laid the foundation of a far worse mischief to the English; while studying gratitude to those Normans, who to him in exile had been helpful, he called them over to public offices here, whom better he might have repaid out of his private purse; by this means exasperating either nation one against the other, and making way by degrees to the Norman conquest. Robert a monk of that country, who had been serviceable to him there in time of need, he made bishop, first of London, then of Canterbury; William his chaplain, bishop of Dorchester. Then began the English to lay aside their own ancient customs, and in many things to imitate French manners, the great peers to speak French in their houses, in French to write their bills and letters, as a great piece of gentility, ashamed of their own: a presage of their subjection shortly to that people, whose fashions and language they affected so slavishly. But that which gave beginning to many troubles ensuing, happened this year, and upon this occasion. † Eustace earl of Boloign, father of the famous Godfrey who won Jerusalem from the Saracens, and husband to Goda the king's sister, having been to visit king Edward, and returning by Canterbury to take ship at Dover, one of his harbingers insolently seeking to lodge by force in a house there, provoked to the master thereof, as by chance or heat of anger to kill him. The count with his whole train going to the house where his servant had been killed, slew both the slayer and eighteen more who defended him. But the townsmen running to arms, requited him with the slaughter of twenty more of his servants, wounded most of the rest; he himself with one or two hardly escaping, ran back with clamour to the king; whom seconded by other Norman courtiers, he stirred up to great anger against the citizens of Canterbury. Earl Godwin in haste is sent for, the cause related and much aggravated by the king against that city, the earl commanded to raise forces, and use the citizens thereof as enemies. Godwin sorry to see strangers more favoured of the king than his native people, answered, that "it were better to summon first the chief men of the town into the king's court, to charge them with sedition, where both parties might be heard, that not found in fault they might be acquitted; if otherwise, by fine or loss of life might satisfy the king whose peace they had broken, and the count whom they had injured; till this were done refusing to prosecute with hostile punishment them of his own country unheard, whom his office was rather to defend." The king displeased with his refusal, and not knowing how to compel him, appointed an assembly of all the peers to be held at Gloucester, where the matter might be fully tried; the assembly was full and frequent according to summons: but Godwin mistrusting his own cause, or the violence of his adversaries, with his two sons, Swane and Harold, and a great power gathered out of his own and his sons earldoms, which contained most of the south-east and west parts of England, came no farther than Beverstan, giving out that their forces were to go against the Welch, who intended an irruption into Herefordshire; and Swane under that pretence lay with part of his army thereabout. The Welch understanding this device, and with all diligence clearing themselves before the king, left Godwin detected of false accusation in great hatred to all the assembly. Leofric therefore and Siward, dukes of great power, the former in Mercia, the other in all parts beyond Humber, both ever faithful to the king, send privily with speed to raise the forces of their provinces. Which Godwin not knowing, sent boldly to king Edward, demanding count Eustace and his fol-

* Post Christ. 1051. Sim. Dun. Ingulf.

† Malmf.

lowers together with those Boloignians, who, as Simeon writes, held a castle in the jurisdiction of Canterbury. The king, as then having but little force at hand, entertained him a while with treaties and delays, till his summoned army drew nigh, then rejected his demands. Godwin thus matched, commanded his sons not to begin fight against the king; begun with, not to give ground. The king's forces were the flower of those counties whence they came, and eager to fall on: but Leofric and the wiser sort detesting civil war *, brought the matter to this accord; that hostages given on either side, the cause should be again debated at London. Thither the king and lords coming with their army, sent to Godwin and his sons (who with their powers were come as far as Southwark) commanding their appearance unarmed with only twelve attendants, and that the rest of their soldiers they should deliver over to the king. They to appear without pledges before an adverse faction denied; but to dismiss their soldiers refused not, nor in aught else to obey the king as far as might stand with honour, and the just regard of their safety. This answer not pleasing the king, an edict was presently issued forth, that Godwin and his sons within five days depart the land. He who perceived now his numbers to diminish, readily obeyed, and with his wife and three sons, Tosti, Swane, and Gyrtha, with as much treasure as their ship could carry, embarking at Thorney, sailed into Flanders to earl Baldwin, whose daughter Judith, Tosti had married: for Wulnod his fourth son was then a hostage to the king in Normandy; his other two, Harold and Leofwin, taking ship at Bristow, in a vessel that lay ready there belonging to Swane, passed into Ireland. King Edward pursuing his displeasure, divorced his wife Edith earl Godwin's daughter, sending her despoiled of all her ornaments to Warewel with one waiting-maid; to be kept in custody by his sister the abbess there. † His reason of so doing was as harsh as his act, that she only, while her nearest relations were in banishment, might not, though innocent, enjoy ease at home. After this, William duke of Normandy with a great number of followers coming into England, was by king Edward honourably entertained, and led about the cities and castles, as it were to shew him what ere long was to be his own, (though at that time, saith Ingulf, no mention thereof passed between them) then after some time of his abode here, presented richly and dismissed, he returned home. § The next year queen Emma died, and was buried at Winchester. The chronicle attributed to John Brompton a Yorkshire abbot, but rather of some nameless author living under Edward III. or later, reports that the year before, by Robert the archbishop she was accused both of consenting to the death of her son Alfred, and of preparing poison for Edward also; lastly of too much familiarity with Alwin bishop of Winchester: that to approve her innocence, praying over-night to St. Swithune, she offered to pass blindfold between certain plowshares red-hot, according to the ordalian law, which without harm she performed; that the king thereupon received her to honour, and from her and the bishop, penance for his credulity; that the archbishop ashamed of his accusation fled out of England: which besides the silence of antienter authors (for the bishop fled not till a year after) brings the whole story into suspicion, in this more probable, if it can be proved, that in memory of this deliverance from the nine burning plowshares, queen Emma gave to the abbey of St. Swithune nine manors, and bishop Alwin other nine. About this time Griffin prince of South-Wales wasted Herefordshire; to oppose whom the people of that country, with many Normans, garrisoned in the castle of Hereford, went out in arms, but were put to the worse, many slain, and much booty driven away by the Welch. Soon after which Harold and Leofwin, sons of Godwin, coming into Severn with many ships, in the confines of Somerset and Dorsetshire, spoiled many villages, and resisted by those of Somerset and Devonshire, slew in a fight more than thirty of their principal men, many of the common sort, and returned with much booty to their fleet. || King Edward on the other side made ready

* Sim. Dun. † Malmf. § Post Christ. 1052. Sim. Dun. || Malmf.

above sixty ships at Sandwich well stored with men and provision, under the conduct of Odo and Radulf two of his Norman kindred, enjoining them to find out Godwin, whom he heard to be at sea. To quicken them, he himself lay on ship-board, oft-times watched and sailed up and down in search of those pirates. But Godwin, whether in a mist, or by other accident, passing by them, arrived in another part of Kent, and dispersing several messengers abroad, by fair words allured the chief men of Kent, Surrey, and Essex, to his party; which news coming to the king's fleet at Sandwich, they hastened to find him out; but missing of him again, came up without effect to London. Godwin advertised of this, forthwith sailed to the Isle of Wight; where at length his two sons Harold and Leofwin finding him, with their united navy lay on the coast, forbearing other hostility than to furnish themselves with fresh victuals from land as they needed. Thence as one fleet they set forward to Sandwich, using all fair means by the way to encrease their numbers both of mariners and soldiers. The king then at London, startled at these tidings, gave speedy order to raise forces in all parts that had not revolted from him; but now too late, for Godwin within a few days after with his ships or galleys came up the river Thames to Southwark, and till the tide returned had conference with the Londoners; whom by fair speeches (for he was held a good speaker in those times) he brought to his bent. The tide returning, and none upon the bridge hindering, he rowed up in his galleys along the south bank; where his land-army, now come to him, in array of battle now stood on the shore; then turning toward the north side of the river, where the king's galleys lay in some readiness, and land forces also not far off, he made shew as offering to fight; but they understood one another, and the soldiers on either side soon declared their resolution not to fight English against English. Thence coming to treaty, the king and the earl reconciled, both armies were dissolved, Godwin and his sons restored to their former dignities, except Swane, who touched in conscience for the slaughter of Beorn his kinsman, was gone barefoot to Jerusalem, and returning home, died by sickness or Saracens in Lycia; his wife Edith, Godwin's daughter, king Edward took to him again, dignified as before. Then were the Normans, who had done many unjust things under the king's authority, and given him ill counsel against his people, banished the realm; some of them not blameable, permitted to stay. Robert archbishop of Canterbury, William of London, Ulf of Lincoln, all Normans, hardly escaping with their followers, got to sea. The archbishop went with his complaint to Rome; but returning, died in Normandy at the same monastery from whence he came. Osbern and Hugh surrendered their castles, and by permission of Leofric passed through his counties with their Normans to Macbeth king of Scotland. * The year following, Rhese brother to Griffin, prince of South-Wales, who by inroads had done much damage to the English, taken at Bulendun, was put to death by the king's appointment, and his head brought to him at Gloucester. The same year at Winchester, on the second holyday of Easter, earl Godwin sitting with the king at table, sunk down suddenly in his seat as dead: his three sons Harold, Tosti, and Girtha, forthwith carried him into the king's chamber, hoping he might revive: but the malady had so seized him, that the fifth day after he expired. The Normans who hated Godwin give out, saith Malmisbury, that mention happening to be made of Elfred, and the king thereat looking sourly upon Godwin, he to vindicate himself, uttered these words: "Thou, O king, at every mention made of thy brother Elfred, lookest frowningly upon me; but let God not suffer me to swallow this morsel, if I be guilty of aught done against his life or thy advantage;" that after these words, choaked with the morsel taken, he sunk down and recovered not. His first wife was the sister of Canute, a woman of much infamy for the trade she drove of buying up English youths and maids to sell in Denmark, whereof she

* Post Christ. 1053. Sim. Dun.

made great gain ; but ere long was struck with thunder, and died. * The year ensuing, Siward earl of Northumberland, with a great number of horse and foot, attended also by a strong fleet at the king's appointment, made an expedition into Scotland, vanquished the tyrant Macbeth, slaying many thousands of Scots with those Normans that went thither, and placed Malcolm son of the Cumbrian king in his stead ; yet not without loss of his own son, and many other both English and Danes. Told of his son's death†, he asked " whether he received his death's wound before or behind ?" When it was answered, before ; " I am glad," saith he, " and should not else have thought him, though my son, worthy of burial." In the mean while king Edward being without issue to succeed him, sent Aldred bishop of Winchester with great presents to the emperor, entreating him to prevail with the king of Hungary, that Edward the remaining son of his brother Edmund Ironside might be sent into England. Siward but one year surviving his great victory, died at York § ; reported by Huntingdon a man of giant-like stature ; and by his own demeanour at point of death manifested, of a rough and meer soldierly mind. For much disdaining to die in bed by a disease, not in the field fighting with his enemies, he caused himself compleatly armed, and weaponed with battle-ax and shield to be set in a chair, whether to fight with death, if he could be so vain, or to meet him (when far other weapons and preparations were needful) in a martial bravery ; but true fortitude glories not in the feats of war, as they are such, but as they serve to end war soonest by a victorious peace. His earldom the king bestowed on Tosti the son of earl Godwin : and soon after in a convention held at London, banished without visible cause, Huntingdon saith for treason, Algar the son of Leofric, who passing into Ireland, soon returned with eighteen ships to Griffin prince of South-Wales, requesting his aid against king Edward. He assembling his powers, entered with him into Herefordshire ; whom Radulf a timorous captain, son to the king's sister, not by Eustace, but a former husband, met two miles distant from Hereford ; and having horsed the English who knew better to fight on foot, without stroke he with his French and Normans beginning to fly, taught the English by his example. Griffin and Algar following the chace, slew many, wounded more, entered Hereford, slew seven canons defending the minster, burnt the monastery and reliques, then the city ; killing some, leading captive others of the citizens, returned with great spoils ; whereof king Edward having notice, gathered a great army at Gloucester under the conduct of Harold now earl of Kent, who strenuously pursuing Griffin entered Wales, and encamped beyond Straddale. But the enemy flying before him farther into the country, leaving there the greater part of his army with such as had charge to fight, if occasion were offered, with the rest he returned, and fortified Hereford with a wall and gates. Mean while Griffin and Algar dreading the diligence of Harold, after many messages to and fro, concluded a peace with him. Algar discharging his fleet with pay at West-Chester, came to the king, and was restored to his earldom. But Griffin with breach of faith, the next year ¶ set upon Leofgar the bishop of Hereford and his clerks then at a place called Glastbrig, with Agelnoth viscount of the shire, and slew them ; but Leofric, Harold and king Edward, by force, as is likeliest, though it be not said how, reduced him to peace. ¶ The next year Edward son of Edmund Ironside, for whom his uncle king Edward had sent to the emperor, came out of Hungary, designed successor to the crown ; but within a few days after his coming died at London, leaving behind him Edgar Atheling his son, Margaret and Christiana his daughters. About the same time also died earl Leofric in a good old age, a man of no less virtue than power in his time, religious, prudent and faithful to his country, happily wedded to Godiva, a woman of great praise. His son Algar found

* Post Christ 1054. Sim. Dun.
Christ. 1056. Sim. Dun.

† Huntingd.

§ Post Christ. 1055. Sim. Dun.

¶ Post Christ. 1057. Sim. Dun.

|| Post

less favour with king Edward, again banished the year after his father's death*; but he again by the aid of Griffin and a fleet from Norway, maugre the king, soon recovered his earldom. † The next year Malcolm king of Scots coming to visit king Edward, was brought on his way by Tosti the Northumbrian earl, to whom he swore brotherhood: yet the next year but one §, while Tosti was gone to Rome with Aldred archbishop of York for his pall, this sworn brother taking advantage of his absence, roughly harassed Northumberland. The year passing to an end without other matter of moment, save the frequent inroads and robberies of Griffin, whom no bonds of faith could restrain, king Edward sent against him after Christmas, Harold now duke of West-Saxons ||, with no great body of horse, from Gloucester, where he then kept his court; whose coming heard of, Griffin not daring to abide, nor in any part of his land holding himself secure, escaped hardly by sea, ere Harold coming to Rudeland, burnt his palace and ships there, returning to Gloucester the same day. ¶ But by the middle of May setting out with a fleet from Bristow, he sailed about the most part of Wales, and met by his brother Tosti with many troops of horse, as the king had appointed, began to waste the country; but the Welch giving pledges, yielded themselves, promised to become tributary, and banish Griffin their prince; who lurking somewhere, was the next year ** taken and slain by Griffin prince of North-Wales; his head with the head and tackle of his ship sent to Harold, by him to the king, who of his gentleness made Blechgent and Rithwallon or Rivallon his two brothers princes in his stead; they to Harold in behalf of the king swore fealty and tribute. †† Yet the next year Harold having built a fair house at a place called Portascith in Monmouthshire, and stored it with provision, that the king might lodge there in time of hunting, Caradoc the son of Griffin slain the year before §§, came with a number of men, slew all he found there, and took away the provision. Soon after which the Northumbrians in a tumult at York beset the palace of Tosti their earl, slew more than two hundred of his soldiers and servants, pillaged his treasure, and put him to fly for his life. The cause of this insurrection they alledged to be, for that the queen Edith had commanded, in her brother Tosti's behalf, Gospatric a nobleman of that country to be treacherously slain in the king's court; and that Tosti himself the year before with like treachery had caused to be slain in his chamber Gamel and Ulf, two other of their noblemen, besides his intolerable exactions and oppressions. Then in a manner the whole country coming up to complain of their grievances, met with Harold at Northampton, whom the king at Tosti's request had sent to pacify the Northumbrians; but they laying open the cruelty of his government, and their own birth-right of freedom not to endure the tyranny of any governor whatsoever, with absolute refusal to admit him again, and Harold hearing reason, all the accomplices of Tosti were expelled the earldom. He himself banished the realm, went into Flanders; Morcar the son of Algar made earl in his stead. Huntingdon tells another cause of Tosti's banishment, that one day at Windsor, while Harold reached the cup to king Edward, Tosti envying to see his younger brother in greater favour than himself, could not forbear to run furiously upon him, catching hold of his hair; the scuffle was soon parted by other attendants rushing between, and Tosti forbidden the court. He with continued fury riding to Hereford, where Harold had many servants, preparing an entertainment for the king, came to the house and set upon them with his followers; then lopping off hands, arms, legs of some, heads of others, threw them into butts of wine, meath, or ale, which were laid in for the king's drinking: and at his going away charged them to send him this word, that of other fresh meats he might bring with him to his farm what he pleased, but of souce he should find plenty provided ready for him: that for this barbarous act the king pro-

* Post Christ. 1058. Sim. Dun. † Post Christ. 1059. Sim. Dun. § Post Christ. 1061. Sim. Dun.
 || Post Christ. 1062. Sim. Dun. ¶ Post Christ. 1063. Sim. Dun. ** Post Christ.
 1064. Sim. Dun. †† Post Christ. 1065. Sim. Dun. §§ Camden.

nounced him banished; that the Northumbrians taking advantage at the king's displeasure and sentence against him, rose also to be revenged of his cruelties done to themselves. But this no way agrees; for why then should Harold or the king so much labour with the Northumbrians to re-admit him, if he were a banished man for his crimes done before? About this time it happened, that Harold putting to sea one day for his pleasure *, in a fisher-boat, from his manor at Bosham in Sussex, caught with a tempest too far off land, was carried into Normandy; and by the earl of Pontieu, on whose coast he was driven, at his own request brought to duke William; who entertaining him with great courtesy, so far won him, as to promise the duke by oath of his own accord, not only the castle of Dover then in his tenure, but the kingdom also after king Edward's death to his utmost endeavour, thereupon betrothing the duke's daughter then too young for marriage, and departing richly presented. Others say, that king Edward himself after the death of Edward his nephew, sent Harold thither on purpose to acquaint duke William with his intention to bequeath him his kingdom †: but Malmfbury accounts the former story to be the truer. Ingulf writes, that king Edward now grown old, and perceiving Edgar his nephew both in body and mind unfit to govern, especially against the pride and insolence of Godwin's sons, who would never obey him; duke William on the other side of high merit, and his kinsman by the mother, had sent Robert archbishop of Canterbury, to acquaint the duke with his purpose, not long before Harold came thither. The former part may be true, that king Edward upon such considerations had sent one or other; but archbishop Robert was fled the land, and dead many years before. Eadmer and Simeon write, that Harold went of his own accord into Normandy, by the king's permission or connivance, to get free his brother Wulnod and nephew Hacun the son of Swane, whom the king had taken hostages of Godwin, and sent into Normandy; that king Edward foretold Harold, his journey thither would be to the detriment of all England and his own reproach; that duke William then acquainted Harold, how Edward ere his coming to the crown had promised, if ever he attained it, to leave duke William successor after him. Last of these Matthew Paris writes, that Harold to get free of duke William, affirmed his coming thither not to have been by accident or force of tempest, but on set purpose, in that private manner to enter with him into secret confederacy: so variously are these things reported. After this king Edward grew sickly §, yet as he was able kept his Christmas at London, and was at the dedication of St. Peter's church in Westminster, which he had rebuilt; but on the eve of Epiphany, or Twelfth-tide, deceased much lamented, and in the church was entombed. That he was harmless and simple, is conjectured by his words in anger to a peasant who had crossed his game (for with hunting and hawking he was much delighted) "by God and God's mother, said he, I shall do you as shrewd a turn if I can;" observing that law-maxim, the best of all his successors, "That the king of England can do no wrong." The softness of his nature gave growth to factions of those about him, Normans especially and English; these complaining that Robert the archbishop was a sower of dissension between the king and his people, a traducer of the English; the other side, that Godwin and his sons bore themselves arrogantly and proudly towards the king, usurping to themselves equal share in the government; oft-times making sport with his simplicity ||, that through their power in the land, they made no scruple to kill men of whose inheritance they took a liking, and so to take possession. The truth is, that Godwin and his sons did many things boistrously and violently, much against the king's mind; which not able to resist, he had, as some say, his wife Edith Godwin's daughter in such averfation, as in bed never

* Malmf.
|| Huntingd.

† Leges Ed. Conf Tit. Lex Noricor.

§ Post Christ. 1066. Sim. Dun.

to have touched her ; whether for this cause or mistaken chastity, not commendable ; to enquire further, is not material. His laws held good and just, and long after desired by the English of their Norman kings, are yet extant. He is said to be at table not excessive, at festivals nothing puffed up with the costly robes he wore, which his queen with curious art had woven for him in gold. He was full of alms-deeds, and exhorted the monks to like charity. He is said to be the first English king that cured the disease thence called the king's evil ; yet Malmesbury blames them who attribute that cure to his royalty, not to his sanctity ; said also to have cured certain blind men with the water wherein he hath washed his hands. A little before his death, lying speechless two days, the third day after a deep sleep, he was heard to pray, that if it were a true vision, not an illusion which he had seen, God would give him strength to utter it, otherwise not. Then he related how he had seen two devout monks, whom he knew in Normandy, to have lived and died well, who appearing told him they were sent messengers from God to foretel, that because the great-ones of England, dukes, lords, bishops, and abbots, were not ministers of God, but of the devil, God had delivered the land to their enemies ; and when he desired that he might reveal this vision, to the end they might repent, it was answered, they neither will repent, neither will God pardon them : at this relation others trembling, Stigand the simonious archbishop, whom Edward much to blame had suffered many years to sit primate in the church, is said to have laughed, as at the feverish dream of a doting old man ; but the event proved it true.

H A R O L D, son of earl Godwin.

HAROLD, whether by king Edward a little before his death ordained successor to the crown, as Simeon of Durham, and * others affirm ; or by the prevalence of his faction, excluding Edgar the right heir, grandchild to Edmund Ironside, as Malmesbury and Huntingdon agree, no sooner was the funeral of king Edward ended, but on the same day was elected and crowned king : and no sooner placed in the throne, but began to frame himself by all manner of compliances to gain affection, endeavoured to make good laws, repealed bad, became a great patron to church and church-men, courteous and affable to all reputed good, a hater of evil-doers, charged all his officers to punish thieves, robbers, and all disturbers of the peace, while he himself by sea and land laboured in the defence of his country : so good an actor is ambition. In the mean while a blazing star, seven mornings together, about the end of April was seen to stream terribly, not only over England, but other parts of the world ; foretelling here, as was thought, the great changes approaching : plainliest prognosticated by Elmer, a monk of Malmesbury, who could not foresee, when time was, the breaking of his own legs for soaring too high. - He in his youth strangely aspiring, had made and fitted wings to his hands and feet ; with these on the top of a tower, spread out to gather air, he flew more than a furlong ; but the wind being too high, came fluttering down, to the maiming of all his limbs ; yet so conceited of his art, that he attributed the cause of his fall to the want of a tail, as birds have, which he forgot to make to his hinder parts. This story, though seeming otherwise too light in the midst of a sad narration, yet for the strangeness thereof, I thought worthy enough the placing, as I found it placed in my author. But to digress no farther : Tofti the king's brother coming from Flanders, full of envy at his younger brother's advancement to the crown, resolved what he might to trouble his reign ; forcing therefore them of Wight Isle to contribution, he sailed thence to Sandwich, committing piracies on the coast between. Harold then residing at London, with a great number of ships

* Moved, Florent.

drawn together, and of horse troops by land, prepares in person for Sandwich: whereof Tosti having notice, directs his course with sixty ships towards Lindsey *, taking with him all the seamen he found, willing or unwilling: where he burnt many villages, and slew many of the inhabitants; but Edwin the Mercian duke, and Morcar his brother, the Northumbrian earl, with their forces on either side, soon drove him out of the country. Who thence betook him to Malcolm the Scottish king, and with him abode the whole summer. About the same time duke William sending ambassadors to admonish Harold of his promise and oath, to assist him in his plea to the kingdom, he made answer, that by the death of his daughter betrothed to him on that condition, he was absolved of his oath †; or not dead, he could not take her now an outlandish woman, without consent of the realm; that it was presumptuously done, and not to be persisted in, if without consent or knowledge of the states, he had sworn away the right of the kingdom; that what he swore was to gain his liberty, being in a manner then his prisoner; that it was unreasonable in the duke to require or expect of him the foregoing of a kingdom, conferred upon him with universal favour and acclamation of the people. To this flat denial he added contempt, sending the messengers back, saith Matthew Paris, on maimed horses. The duke thus contemptuously put off, addresses himself to the pope, setting forth the justice of his cause, which Harold, whether through haughtiness of mind, or distrust, or that the ways to Rome were stopped, fought not to do. Duke William, besides the promise and oath of Harold, alledged that king Edward by the advice of Seward, Godwin himself, and Stigand the archbishop, had given him the right of succession, and had sent him the son and nephew of Godwin, pledges of the gift: the pope sent to duke William, after this demonstration of his right, a consecrated banner. Whereupon he having with great care and choice got an army of tall and stout soldiers, under captains of great skill and mature age, came in August to the port of St. Valerie. Mean while Harold from London comes to Sandwich, there expecting his navy; which also coming, he sails to the Isle of Wight; and having heard of duke William's preparations and readiness to invade him, kept good watch on the coast, and foot forces every where in fit places to guard the shore. But ere the middle of September, provision failing when it was most needed, both fleet and army return home. When on a sudden, Harold Harvager king of Norway, with a navy of more than five hundred great ships §, (others lessen them by two hundred, others augment them to a thousand) appears at the mouth of Tine; to whom earl Tosti with his ships came as was agreed between them; whence both uniting, set sail with all speed and entered the river Humber. Thence turning into Ouse, as far as Rical, landed, and won York by assault. At these tidings Harold with all his power hastes thitherward; but ere his coming, Edwin and Morcar at Fulford by York, on the north-side of Ouse, about the feast of St. Matthew had given them battle; successfully at first, but over-borne at length with numbers; and forced to turn their backs, more of them perished in the river, than in the fight. The Norwegians taking with them five hundred hostages out of York, and leaving there one hundred and fifty of their own, retired to their ships. But the fifth day after, king Harold with a great and well-appointed army, coming to York, and at Stamford bridge, or Battle bridge on Darwent, assailing the Norwegians, after much bloodshed on both sides, cut off the greatest part of them with Harvager their king, and Tosti his own brother ||. But Olave the king's son, and Paul earl of Orkney, left with many soldiers to guard the ships, surrendering themselves with hostages and oath given never to return as enemies, he suffered freely to depart with twenty ships and the small remnant of their army. ¶ One man of the Norwegians is not to be forgotten, who with incre-

* Malmf.

† Eadmer.

§ Malmf. Matt. Paris.

|| Camd.

¶ Malmf.

dible valour keeping the bridge a long hour against the whole English army, with his single resistance delayed their victory; and scorning offered life, till in the end no man daring to grapple with him, either dreaded as too strong, or contemned as one desperate, he was at length shot dead with an arrow; and by his fall opened the passage of pursuit to a compleat victory. Wherewith Harold lifted up in mind, and forgetting now his former shews of popularity, defrauded his soldiers their due and well deserved share of the spoils. While these things passed in Northumberland, duke William lay still at St. Valerie; his ships were ready, but the wind served not for many days; which put the soldiery into much discouragement and murmur, taking this for an unlucky sign of their success; at last the wind came favourable, the duke first under sail awaited the rest at anchor, till all coming forth, the whole fleet of nine hundred ships with a prosperous gale arrived at Hastings. At his going out of the boat by a slip falling on his hands, to correct the omen*, a soldier standing by said aloud, that their duke had taken possession of England. Landed, he restrained his army from waste and spoil, saying that they ought to spare what was their own. But these things are related of Alexander and Cæsar, and I doubt thence borrowed by the monks to inlay their story. The duke for fifteen days after landing kept his men quiet within the camp, having taken the castle of Hastings, or built a fortress there. Harold secure the while, and proud of his new victory, thought all his enemies now under foot: but sitting jollily at dinner, news is brought him, that duke William of Normandy with a great multitude of horse and foot, slingers and archers, besides other choice auxiliaries which he had hired in France, was arrived at Pevensey. Harold, who had expected him all the summer, but not so late in the year as now it was, for it was October, with his forces much diminished after two fore conflicts, and the departing of many others from him discontented, in great haste marches to London. Thence not tarrying for supplies which were on their way towards him, hurries into Suffex (for he was always in haste since the day of his coronation) and ere the third part of his army could be well put in order, finds the duke about nine miles from Hastings, and now drawing nigh, sent spies before him to survey the strength and number of his enemies: them discovered such, the duke causing to be led about, and after well filled with meat and drink, sent back. They not over-wise brought word that the duke's army were most of them priests; for they saw their faces all over shaven; the English then using to let grow on their upper-lip large mustachio's, as did anciently the Britains. The king laughing answered, that they were not priests, but valiant and hardy soldiers. Therefore said Girtha his brother, a youth of noble courage and understanding above his age, "Forbear thou thyself to fight, who art obnoxious to duke William by oath, let us unsworn undergo the hazard of battle, who may justly fight in the defence of our country; thou reserved to fitter time, mayst either re-unite us flying, or revenge us dead." The king not hearkening to this, lest it might seem to argue fear in him or a bad cause, with like resolution rejected the offers of duke William sent to him by a monk before the battle, with this only answer hastily delivered. "Let God judge between us." The offers were these, that Harold would either lay down the scepter, or hold it of him, or try his title with him by single combat in fight of both armies, or refer it to the pope. These rejected, both sides prepared to fight the next morning, the English from singing and drinking all night, the Normans from confession of their sins, and communion of the host. The English were in a streight disadvantageous place, so that many discouraged with their ill ordering, scarce having room where to stand, slipped away before the onset, the rest in close order with their battle-axes and shields, made an impenetrable squadron: the king himself, with his brothers

* Sim. Dun.

on foot stood by the royal standard, wherein the figure of a man fighting was inwoven with gold and precious stones. The Norman foot, most bowmen, made the foremost front, on either side wings of horse somewhat behind. The duke arming, and his corslet given him on the wrong side, said pleasantly, "The strength of my dukedom will be turned now into a kingdom." Then the whole army singing the song of Rowland, the remembrance of whose exploits might hearten them, imploring lastly divine help, the battle began; and was fought sorely on either side: but the main body of English foot by no means would be broken, till the duke causing his men to feign flight, drew them out with desire of pursuit into open disorder, then turned suddenly upon them so routed by themselves, which wrought their overthrow; yet so they died not unmanfully, but turning oft upon their enemies, by the advantage of an upper ground, beat them down by heaps, and filled up a great ditch with their carcasses. Thus hung the victory wavering on either side, from the third hour of day to evening; when Harold having maintained the fight with unspeakable courage and personal valour, shot into the head with an arrow, fell at length, and left his soldiers without heart longer to withstand the unwearied enemy. With Harold fell also his two brothers, Leofwin and Girtha, with them greatest part of the English nobility. His body lying dead, a knight or soldier wounding on the thigh, was by the duke presently turned out of military service. Of Normans and French were slain no small number; the duke himself also that day not a little hazarded his person, having had three choice horses killed under him. Victory obtained, and his dead carefully buried, the English also by permission, he sent the body of Harold to his mother without ransom, though she offered very much to redeem it; which having received, she buried at Waltham, in a church built there by Harold. In the mean while, Edwin and Morcar, who had withdrawn themselves from Harold, hearing of his death, came to London; sending Aldgith the queen their sister with all speed to West-chester. Aldred archbishop of York, and many of the nobles, with the Londoners would have set up Edgar the right heir, and prepared themselves to fight for him; but Morcar and Edwin not liking the choice, who each of them expected to have been chosen before him, withdrew their forces and returned home. Duke William, contrary to his former resolution, (if Florent of Worcester, and they who follow him * say true,) wasting, burning, and slaying all in his way; or rather, as saith Malmſbury, not in hostile but in regal manner, came up to London, met at Barcham by Edgar, with the nobles, bishops, citizens, and at length Edwin and Morcar, who all submitted to him, gave hostages and swore fidelity, he to them promised peace and defence; yet permitted his men the while to burn and make prey. Coming to London with all his army, he was on Christmas day solemnly crowned in the great church at Westminster, by Aldred archbishop of York, having first given his oath at the altar, in presence of all the people, to defend the church, well govern the people, maintain right law, prohibit rapine and unjust judgment. Thus the English, while they agreed not about the choice of their native king, were constrained to take the yoke of an outlandish conqueror. With what minds and by what course of life they had fitted themselves for this servitude, William of Malmſbury spares not to lay open. Not a few years before the Normans came, the clergy, though in Edward the confessor's days, had lost all good literature and religion, scarce able to read and understand their Latin service: he was a miracle to others who knew his grammar. The monks went clad in fine stuffs, and made no difference what they eat; which though in itself no fault, yet to their consciences was irreligious. The great men given to gluttony and dissolute life, made a prey of the common people, abusing their daughters whom they had in service, then turning them

* Sim. Dun.

off to the stews; the meaner sort tipling together night and day, spent all they had in drunkenness, attended with other vices which effeminate men's minds. Whence it came to pass, that carried on with fury and rashness more than any true fortitude or skill of war, they gave to William their conqueror so easy a conquest. Not but that some few of all sorts were much better among them; but such was the generality. And as the long-suffering of God permits bad men to enjoy prosperous days with the good, so his severity oft-times exempts not good men from their share in evil times with the bad.

If these were the causes of such misery and thralldom to those our ancestors, with what better close can be concluded, than here in fit season to remember this age in the midst of her security, to fear from like vices without amendment the revolution of like calamities?

The End of the Sixth BOOK.

True Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration;

And what best MEANS may be used against the

GROWTH of POPERY*.

IT is unknown to no man, who knows aught of concernment among us, that the increase of popery is at this day no small trouble and offence to greatest part of the nation; and the rejoicing of all good men that it is so: the more their rejoicing, that God hath given a heart to the people to remember still their great and happy deliverance from popish thralldom, and to esteem so highly the precious benefit of his gospel, so freely and so peaceably enjoyed among them. Since therefore some have already in public with many considerable arguments exhorted the people to beware the growth of this Romish weed; I thought it no less than a common duty to lend my hand, how unable soever, to so good a purpose. I will not now enter into the labyrinth of councils and fathers, an intangled wood which the papists love to fight in, not with hope of victory, but to obscure the shame of an open overthrow: which yet in that kind of combat, many heretofore, and one of late, hath eminently given them. And such manner of dispute with them, to learned men is useful and very commendable. But I shall insist now on what is plainer to common apprehension, and what I have to say, without longer introduction.

True religion is the true worship and service of God, learnt and believed from the word of God only. No man or angel can know how God would be worshipped and served unless God reveal it: he hath revealed and taught it us in the holy scriptures by inspired ministers, and in the gospel by his own son and his apostles, with strictest command to reject all other traditions or additions whatsoever. According to that of St. Paul, "Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be anathema, or accursed." And Deut. iv. 2. "Ye shall not add to the word which I command you, neither shall you diminish aught from it." Rev. xxii. 18, 19. "If any man shall add, &c. If any man shall take away from the words," &c. With good and religious reason therefore all protestant churches with one consent, and particularly the church of England in her thirty-nine articles, artic. 6th, 19th, 20th, 21st, and elsewhere, maintain these two points, as the main principles of true religion: that the rule of true religion is the word of God only: and that their faith ought not to be an implicit faith, that is, to believe, though as the church believes, against or without express authority of scripture. And if all protestants as universally as they hold these two principles, so attentively and religiously would observe them, they would avoid and cut off many debates and contentions, schisms and persecutions, which too oft have been among them, and

* Printed in the Year 1673.

more firmly unite against the common adversary. For hence it directly follows, that no true protestant can persecute, or not tolerate his fellow-protestant, though dissenting from him in some opinions, but he must flatly deny and renounce these two his own main principles, whereon true religion is founded; while he compels his brother from that which he believes as the manifest word of God, to an implicit faith (which he himself condemns) to the endangering of his brother's soul, whether by rash belief, or outward conformity: for "whatsoever is not of faith, is sin."

I will now as briefly show what is false religion or heresy, which will be done as easily: for of contraries the definitions must needs be contrary. Heresy therefore is a religion taken up and believed from the traditions of men and additions to the word of God. Whence also it follows clearly that of all known sects or pretended religions at this day in christendom, popery is the only or the greatest heresy: and he who is so forward to brand all others for heretics, the obstinate papist, the only heretic. Hence one of their own famous writers found just cause to stile the Romish church "Mother of error, school of heresy." And whereas the papist boasts himself to be a Roman catholic, it is a meer contradiction, one of the pope's bulls, as if he should say, universal particular, a catholic schismatic. For catholic in Greek signifies universal: and the christian church was so called, as consisting of all nations to whom the gospel was to be preached, in contradistinction to the jewish church, which consisted for the most part of Jews only.

Sects may be in a true church as well as in a false, when men follow the doctrine too much for the teachers sake, whom they think almost infallible; and this becomes, through infirmity, implicit faith; and the name sectary pertains to such a disciple.

Schism is a rent or division in the church, when it comes to the separating of congregations; and may also happen to a true church, as well as to a false; yet in the true needs not tend to the breaking of communion, if they can agree in the right administration of that wherein they communicate, keeping their other opinions to themselves, not being destructive to faith. The pharisees and saducees were two sects, yet both met together in their common worship of God at Jerusalem. But here the papist will angrily demand, what! are lutherans, calvinists, anabaptists, socinians, arminians, no heretics? I answer, all these may have some errors, but are no heretics. Heresy is in the will and choice professedly against scripture; error is against the will; in misunderstanding the scripture after all sincere endeavours to understand it rightly: Hence it was said well by one of the ancients, "Err I may, but a heretic I will not be." It is a human frailty to err, and no man is infallible here on earth. But so long as all these profess to set the word of God only before them as the rule of faith and obedience; and use all diligence and sincerity of heart, by reading, by learning, by study, by prayer for illumination of the holy spirit, to understand the rule and obey it, they have done what man can do: God will assuredly pardon them, as he did the friends of Job: good and pious men, though much mistaken, as there it appears, in some points of doctrine. But some will say, with christians it is otherwise, whom God hath promised by his spirit to teach all things. True, all things absolutely necessary to salvation: But the hottest disputes among protestants, calmly and charitably enquired into, will be found less than such. The lutheran holds consubstantiation; an error indeed, but not mortal. The calvinist is taxed with predestination, and to make God the author of sin; not with any dishonourable thought of God, but it may be over-zealously asserting his absolute power, not without plea of scripture. The anabaptist is accused of denying infants their right to baptism; again they say, they deny nothing but what the scripture denies them. The arian and socinian are charged to dispute against the trinity: they affirm to believe the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to scripture and the apostolic creed; as for terms of trinity, triniunity, co-

essentiality, triperfonality, and the like, they reject them as scholastic notions, not to be found in scripture, which by a general protestant maxim is plain and perspicuous abundantly to explain its own meaning in the properest words, belonging to so high a matter, and so necessary to be known; a mystery indeed in their sophistical subtilities, but in scripture a plain doctrine. Their other opinions are of less moment. They dispute the satisfaction of Christ, or rather the word "Satisfaction," as not scriptural: but they acknowledge him both God and their saviour. The Arminian lastly is condemned for setting up free will against free grace; but that imputation he disclaims in all his writings, and grounds himself largely upon scripture only. It cannot be denied that the authors or late revivers of all these sects or opinions were learned, worthy, zealous, and religious men, as appears by their lives written, and the same of their many eminent and learned followers, perfect and powerful in the scriptures, holy and unblameable in their lives: and it cannot be imagined that God would desert such painful and zealous labourers in his church, and oft-times great sufferers for their conscience, to damnable errors and a reprobate sense, who had so often implored the assistance of his spirit; but rather, having made no man infallible, that he hath pardoned their errors, and accepts their pious endeavours, sincerely searching all things according to the rule of scripture, with such guidance and direction as they can obtain of God by prayer. What protestant then, who himself maintains the same principles, and disavows all implicit faith, would persecute, and not rather charitably tolerate such men as these, unless he mean to abjure the principles of his own religion? if it be asked, how far they should be tolerated? I answer, doubtless equally, as being all protestants; that is, on all occasions to give account of their faith, either by arguing, preaching in their several assemblies, publick writing, and the freedom of printing. For if the French and Polonian protestants enjoy all this liberty among papists, much more may a protestant justly expect it among protestants; and yet sometimes here among us, the one persecutes the other upon every slight pretence.

But he is wont to say, he enjoins only things indifferent. Let them be so still; who gave him authority to change their nature by enjoining them? if by his own principles, as is proved, he ought to tolerate controverted points of doctrine not slightly grounded on scripture, much more ought he not impose things indifferent without scripture. In religion nothing is indifferent, but, if it come once to be imposed, is either a command or a prohibition, and so consequently an addition to the word of God, which he professes to disallow. Besides, how unequal, how uncharitable must it needs be, to impose that which his conscience cannot urge him to impose, upon him whose conscience forbids him to obey? What can it be but love of contention for things not necessary to be done, to molest the conscience of his brother, who holds them necessary to be not done? To conclude, let such an one but call to mind his own principles above-mentioned, and he must necessarily grant, that neither he can impose, nor the other believe or obey ought in religion, but from the word of God only. More amply to understand this, may be read the 14th and 15th chapters to the Romans, and the contents of the 14th, set forth no doubt but with full authority of the church of England; the gloss is this: "Men may not condemn or condemn one the other for things indifferent." And in the 6th article above-mentioned, "whatsoever is not read in holy scripture, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man as an article of faith, or necessary to salvation." And certainly what is not so, is not to be required at all; as being an addition to the word of God expressly forbidden.

Thus this long and hot contest, whether protestants ought to tolerate one another, if men will be but rational and not partial, may be ended without need of more words to compose it.

Let us now enquire whether popery be tolerable or no. Popery is a double thing to deal with, and claims a twofold power, ecclesiastical and political, both usurped, and the one supporting the other.

But ecclesiastical is ever pretended to political. The pope by this mixt faculty pretends right to kingdoms and states, and especially to this of England, thrones and unthrones kings, and absolves the people from their obedience to them; sometimes interdicts to whole nations the public worship of God, shutting up their churches: and was wont to drein away greatest part of the wealth of this then miserable land, as part of his patrimony, to maintain the pride and luxury of his court and prelates: and now since, through the infinite mercy and favour of God, we have shaken off his Babylonish yoke, hath not ceased by his spies and agents, bulls and emissaries, once to destroy both king and parliament; perpetually to seduce, corrupt, and pervert as many as they can of the people. Whether therefore it be fit or reasonable, to tolerate men thus principled in religion towards the state, I submit it to the consideration of all magistrates, who are best able to provide for their own and the public safety. As for tolerating the exercise of their religion, supposing their state-activities not to be dangerous, I answer, that toleration is either public or private; and the exercise of their religion, as far as it is idolatrous, can be tolerated neither way: not publicly, without grievous and unsufferable scandal given to all conscientious beholders; not privately, without great offence to God, declared against all kind of idolatry, though secret. Ezek. viii. 7, 8. "And he brought me to the door of the court, and when I looked, behold a hole in the wall. Then said he unto me, son of man, dig now in the wall: and when I had digged, behold a door; and he said unto me, go in, and behold the wicked abominations that they do here." And ver. 12. "Then said he unto me, son of man, hast thou seen what the ancients of the house of Israel do in the dark?" &c. And it appears by the whole chapter, that God was no less offended with these secret idolatries, than with those in public; and no less provoked, than to bring on and hasten his judgments on the whole land for these also.

Having shewn thus, that popery, as being idolatrous, is not to be tolerated either in public or in private; it must be now thought how to remove it and hinder the growth thereof, I mean in our natives, and not foreigners, privileged by the law of nations. Are we to punish them by corporal punishment, or fines in their estates, upon account of their religion? I suppose it stands not with the clemency of the gospel, more than what appertains to the security of the state: but first we must remove their idolatry, and all the furniture thereof, whether idols, or the mass wherein they adore their God under bread and wine: for the commandment forbids to adore, not only "any graven image, but the likeness of any thing in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them, for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God." If they say, that by removing their idols we violate their consciences, we have no warrant to regard conscience which is not grounded on scripture: and they themselves confess in their late defences, that they hold not their images necessary to salvation, but only as they are enjoined them by tradition.

Shall we condescend to dispute with them? The scripture is our only principle in religion; and by that only they will not be judged, but will add other principles of their own, which, forbidden by the word of God, we cannot assent to. And [in several places of the gospel] the common maxim also in Logic is, "against them who deny principles, we are not to dispute." Let them bound their disputations on the scripture only, and an ordinary protestant, well read in the bible, may turn and wind their doctors. They will not go about to prove their idolatries by the word of God, but turn to shifts and evasions, and frivolous distinctions: idols they say are laymen's books, and a great means to stir up pious thoughts and devotion in the learnedest. I

say

say, they are no means of God's appointing, but plainly the contrary: let them hear the prophets; Jer. x. 8. "The stock is a doctrine of vanities." Hab. ii. 18. "What profiteth the graven image that the maker thereof hath graven it: the molten image and a teacher of lies?" But they alledge in their late answers, that the laws of Moses given only to the Jews, concern not us under the gospel; and remember not that idolatry is forbidden as expressly: but with these wiles and fallacies "compassing sea and land, like the Pharisees of old, to make one profelyte," they lead away privily many simple and ignorant souls, men and women, "and make them twofold more the children of hell than themselves," Mat. xxiii. 15. But the apostle hath well warned us, I may say, from such deceivers as these, for their mystery was then working. "I beseech you, brethren," saith he, "mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them; for they that are such, serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly, and by good words and fair speeches deceive the heart of the simple," Rom. xvi. 17, 18.

The next means to hinder the growth of popery, will be to read duly and diligently the holy scriptures, which as St. Paul saith to Timothy, who had known them from a child, "are able to make wise unto salvation." And to the whole church of Colossi; "Let the word of Christ dwell in you plentifully, with all wisdom," Col. iii. 16. The papal antichristian church permits not her laity to read the bible in their own tongue: our church on the contrary hath proposed it to all men, and to this end translated it into English, with profitable notes on what is met with obscure, though what is most necessary to be known be still plainest; that all sorts and degrees of men, not understanding the original, may read it in their mother-tongue. Neither let the countryman, the tradesman, the lawyer, the physician, the statesman, excuse himself by his much business from the studious reading thereof. Our Saviour saith, Luke x. 41, 42. "Thou art careful and troubled about many things, but one thing is needful." If they were asked, they would be loth to set earthly things, wealth, or honour before the wisdom of salvation. Yet most men in the course and practice of their lives are found to do so; and through unwillingness to take the pains of understanding their religion by their own diligent study, would fain be saved by a deputy. Hence comes implicit faith, ever learning and never taught, much hearing and small proficience, till want of fundamental knowledge easily turns to superstition or popery: therefore the apostle admonishes, Ephes. iv. 14. "That we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness whereby they lie in wait to deceive." Every member of the church, at least of any breeding or capacity, so well ought to be grounded in spiritual knowledge, as, if need be, to examine their teachers themselves, Acts xvii. 11. "They searched the scriptures daily, whether those things were so." Rev. ii. 2. "Thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not." How should any private christian try his teachers, unless he be well grounded himself in the rule of scripture, by which he is taught. As therefore among papists, their ignorance in scripture chiefly upholds popery; so among protestant people, the frequent and serious reading thereof will soonest pull popery down.

Another means to abate popery, arises from the constant reading of scripture, wherein believers who agree in the main, are every-where exhorted to mutual forbearance and charity one towards the other, though dissenting in some opinions. It is written that the coat of our Saviour was without seam; whence some would infer, that there should be no division in the church of Christ. It should be so indeed; yet seams in the same cloth, neither hurt the garment, nor misbecome it; and not only seams, but schisms will be while men are fallible: but if they who dissent in matters not essential to belief, while the common adversary is in the field, shall stand jarring and pelting at one another,

another, they will be soon routed and subdued. The papist with open mouth makes much advantage of our several opinions; not that he is able to confute the worst of them, but that we by our continual jangle among ourselves make them worse than they are indeed. To save ourselves therefore, and resist the common enemy, it concerns us mainly to agree within ourselves, that with joint forces we may not only hold our own, but get ground; and why should we not? The gospel commands us to tolerate one another, though of various opinions, and hath promised a good and happy event thereof; Phil. iii. 15. "Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded; and if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you." And we are bid, 1 Theff. v. 21. "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good." St. Paul judged that not only to tolerate, but to examine and prove all things, was no danger to our holding fast that which is good. How shall we prove all things, which includes all opinions at least founded on scripture, unless we not only tolerate them, but patiently hear them, and seriously read them? If he who thinks himself in the truth, professes to have learnt it, not by implicit faith, but by attentive study of the scriptures, and full persuasion of heart; with what equity can he refuse to hear or read him, who demonstrates to have gained his knowledge by the same way? Is it a fair course to assert truth, by arrogating to himself the only freedom of speech, and stopping the mouths of others equally gifted? This is the direct way to bring in that papistical implicit faith which we all disclaim. They pretend it would unsettle the weaker sort; the same groundless fear is pretended by the Romish clergy. At least then let them have leave to write in Latin, which the common people understand not; that what they hold may be discussed among the learned only. We suffer the idolatrous books of papists, without this fear, to be sold and read as common as our own: why not much rather of anabaptists, arians, arminians, and socinians? There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, his judgment sharpened, and the truth which he holds more firmly established. If then it be profitable for him to read, why should it not at least be tolerable and free for his adversary to write? In Logic they teach, that contraries laid together more evidently appear: it follows then, that all controversy being permitted, falsehood will appear more false, and truth the more true; which must needs conduce much, not only to the confounding of popery, but to the general confirmation of unimplicit truth.

The last means to avoid popery, is to amend our lives: it is a general complaint that this nation of late years, is grown more numerously and excessively vicious than heretofore; pride, luxury, drunkenness, whoredom, cursing, swearing, bold and open atheism every-where abounding: where these grow, no wonder if popery also grow apace. There is no man so wicked, but at some times his conscience will wring him with thoughts of another world, and the peril of his soul; the trouble and melancholy which he conceives of true repentance and amendment he endures not, but inclines rather to some carnal superstition, which may pacify and lull his conscience with some more pleasing doctrine. None more ready and officious to offer herself than the Romish, and opens wide her office, with all her faculties, to receive him; easy confession, easy absolution, pardons, indulgences, masses for him both quick and dead, Agnus Dei's, reliques, and the like: and he, instead of "working out his salvation with fear and trembling," strait thinks in his heart (like another kind of fool than he in the psalms) to bribe God as a corrupt judge; and by his proctor, some priest, or fryer, to buy out his peace with money, which he cannot with his repentance. For God, when men sin outrageously, and will not be admonished, gives over chastizing them, perhaps by pestilence, fire, sword, or famine, which may all turn to their good, and takes up his severest punishments, hardness, besottedness of heart, and idolatry, to their final perdition. Idolatry brought the Heathen to heinous transgressions, Rom. ii. And heinous transgressions

transgressions oft-times bring the slight professors of true religion, to gross idolatry : 1 Theff. ii. 11, 12. " For this cause God shall send them strong delusion that they should believe a lye, that they all might be damned who believe not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness." And Ifaiah xlv. 18. speaking of Idolaters, " They have not known nor understood, for he hath shut their eyes that they cannot see, and their hearts that they cannot understand." Let us therefore, using this last means, last here spoken of, but first to be done, amend our lives with all speed ; lest through impenitency we run into that stupidity, which we now seek all means so warily to avoid, the worst of superstitions, and the heaviest of all God's judgments, popery.

A B R I E F
H I S T O R Y
O F
M O S C O V I A,
A N D

Of other less-known Countries lying Eastward of
R U S S I A as far as C A T H A Y.

Gathered from the Writings of several Eye-Witnesses.

The P R E F A C E.

TH E study of geography is both profitable and delightful ; but the writers thereof, though some of them exact enough in setting down longitudes and latitudes, yet in those other relations of manners, religion, government, and such like, accounted geographical, have for the most part missed their proportions. Some too brief and deficient satisfy not ; others too voluminous and impertinent cloy and weary out the reader, while they tell long stories of absurd superstitions, ceremonies, quaint habits, and other petty circumstances little to the purpose. Whereby that which is useful, and only worth observation, in such a wood of words, is either overslipt, or soon forgotten ; which perhaps brought into the mind of some men more learned and judicious, who had not the leisure or purpose to write an entire geography, yet at least to assay something in the description of one or two countries, which might be as a pattern or example to render others more cautious hereafter, who intended the whole work. And this perhaps induced Paulus Jovius to describe only Moscovy and Britain. Some such thoughts, many years since, led me at a vacant time to attempt the like argument, and I began with Moscovy, as being the most northern region of Europe reputed civil ; and the more northern parts thereof, first discovered by English voyages. Wherein I saw I had by much the advantage of Jovius. What was scattered in many volumes, and observed at several times by eye-witnesses, with no curfory pains I laid together, to save the reader a far longer travail of wandering through so many desert authors ; who yet with some delight drew me after them, from the eastern bounds of Russia, to the walls of Cathay, in several late journies made thither over-land by Russians, who describe the countries in their way far otherwise than our common geographers. From proceeding further, other occasions diverted me. This Essay, such as it is, was thought by some, who knew of it, not amiss to be published ; that so many things remarkable, dispersed before, now brought under one view, might not hazard to be otherwise lost, nor the labour lost of collecting them.

M O S C O V I A :

O R,

R E L A T I O N S of M O S C O V I A,

As far as hath been discovered by ENGLISH Voyages;

Gathered from the WRITINGS of several Eye-Witnesses :
and the other less-known Countries lying Eastward of RUSSIA
as far as CATHAY, lately discovered at several times by the
RUSSIANS.

C H A P. I.

A brief DESCRIPTION.

THE empire of Moscovia, or as others call it Russia, is bounded on the north with Lapland and the ocean ; southward by the Crim Tartar ; on the west by Lithuania, Livonia, and Poland ; on the east by the river Ob, or Oby, and the Nagayan Tartars on the Volga as far as Astracan.

The north parts of this country are so barren, that the inhabitants fetch their corn a thousand miles * ; and so cold in winter, that the very sap of their wood-fewel burning on the fire, freezes at the brand's end, where it drops. The mariners which were left on ship-board in the first English voyage thither, in going up only from the cabins to the hatches †, had their breath so congealed by the cold, that they fell down as it were stifled. The bay of St. Nicholas, where they first put in §, lieth in sixty four degrees ; called so from the abbey there built of wood, wherein are twenty monks, unlearned, as then they found them, and great drunkards : their church is fair, full of images and tapers. There are besides but six houses, whereof one built by the English. In the bay over-against the abbey is Rose Island ||, full of damask and red roses, violets, and wild rosemary ; the isle is in circuit seven or eight miles ; about the midst of May, the snow there is cleared, having two months been melting ; then the ground in fourteen days is dry, and grass knee-deep within a month ; after September frost returns, and snow a yard high : it hath a house built by the English near to a fresh fair spring. North-east of the abbey on the other side of Duina, is the castle of Archangel, where the English have another house. The river Duina beginning about seven hundred miles within the country, having first received Pinega, falls here into the sea, very large and swift, but shallow. It runneth pleasantly between hills on either side ; beset like a wilderness with high fir, and other trees. Their boats of timber without any iron in them, are either to sail, or to be drawn up with ropes against the stream.

* Hack. 251.

† Ibid. vol. I. 248.

§ Ibid. 376.

|| Ibid 365.

North-east beyond Archangel standeth Lampas *, where twice a year is kept a great fair of Russes, Tartars, and Samoeds; and to the landward Mezen, and Slobotca, two towns of traffic between the river Pechora, or Petzora, and Duina: to seaward lies the cape of Candinos, and the island of Colgoieve, about thirty leagues from the bar of Pechory in sixty nine degrees †.

The river Pechora or Petzora holding his course through Siberia, how far the Russians thereabouts know not, runneth into the sea at seventy-two mouths, full of ice; abounding with swans, ducks, geese, and partridge, which they take in July, sell the feathers, and salt the bodies for winter provision. On this river spreading to a lake stands the town of Pustozera in sixty eight degrees §, having some eighty or a hundred houses, where certain merchants of Hull wintered in the year sixteen hundred and eleven. The town Pechora, small and poor, hath three churches. They traded there up the river four days journey to Oustzilma a small town of sixty houses. The Russians that have travelled, say that this river springs out of the mountains of Jougoria, and runs through Permia. Not far from the mouth thereof are the streights of Vaigats, of which hereafter: more eastward is the point of Naramzy, the next to that the river Ob ||; beyond which the Moscovites have extended lately their dominion. Touching the Riphæan mountains, whence Tanais was anciently thought to spring, our men could hear nothing; but rather that the whole country is champaign, and in the northermost part huge and desert woods of fir, abounding with black wolves, bears, buffs, and another beast called rossomakka, whose female bringeth forth by passing through some narrow place, as between two stakes, and so presseth her womb to a disburthening. Travelling southward they found the country more pleasant, fair, and better inhabited, corn, pasture, meadows, and huge woods. Arkania (if it be not the same with Archangel) is a place of English trade, from whence a day's journey distant, but from St. Nicholas a hundred versts ‡, Colmogro stands on the Duina; a great town not walled, but scattered. The English have here lands of their own, given them by the emperor, and fair houses: not far beyond, Pinega running between rocks of alabaster and great woods, meets with Duina. From Colmogro to Ustiug are five hundred versts or little miles, an ancient city upon the confluence of Juga and Sucana into Duina ¶, which there first receives his name. Thence continuing by water to Wologda, a great city so named of the river which passes through the midst; it hath a castle walled about with brick and stone, and many wooden churches, two for every parish, the one in winter to be heated, the other used in summer; this is a town of much traffick, a thousand miles from St. Nicholas. All this way by water no lodging is to be had but under open sky by the river side, and other provision only what they bring with them. From Wologda by Sled they go to Yeraslave on the Volga, whose breadth is there at least a mile over, and thence runs two thousand seven hundred versts to the Caspian sea **, having his head spring out of Bealozera, which is a lake, amidst whereof is built a strong tower, wherein the kings of Moscovy reserve their treasure in time of war. From this town to Rostove, then to Pereslave, a great town situate on a fair lake; thence to Mosco.

Between Yeraslave and Mosco, which is two hundred miles, the country is so fertile, so populous and full of villages, that in a forenoon seven or eight hundred sleds are usually seen coming with salt fish, or laden back with corn ††.

Mosco the chief city, lying in fifty five degrees, distant from St. Nicholas fifteen hundred miles, is reputed to be greater than London with the suburbs, but rudely built; §§ their houses and churches most of timber, few of stone, their streets unpaved; it hath a fair castle four-square, upon a hill, two miles about, with brick walls very high, and

* Hack. 284.

† Hack. 376.

‡ Purc. par. 3. 533.

¶ Ibid. 312.

** Ibid. 377, 248.

§ Ibid Purc.

†† Ibid. 251, 335.

|| Ibid. 549, 445, 551.

§§ Ibid. 313.

some say eighteen foot thick, sixteen gates, and as many bulwarks ; in the castle are kept the chief markets, and in winter on the river, being then firm ice. This river Moscua on the south-west side incloses the castle, wherein are nine fair churches with round gilded towers, and the emperor's palace ; which neither within nor without is equal for state to the king's houses in England, but rather like our buildings of old fashion, with small windows, some of glass, some with latices, or iron bars.

They who travel from Mosco to the Caspian, go by water down the Moscua to the river Occa* ; then by certain castles to Rezan, a famous city now ruinate ; the tenth day to Nyfnovogrod, where Occa falls into Volga, which the Tartars call Edel. From thence the eleventh day to Cazan a Tartan city of great wealth heretofore, now under the Russian ; walled at first with timber and earth, but since by the emperor Vasiliwich with free-stone. From Cazan, to the river Cama, falling into Volga from the province of Permia, the people dwelling on the left side are Gentiles, and live in woods without houses † : beyond them to Astracan, Tartars of Mangat, and Nagay : on the right side those of Crimme. From Mosco to Astracan is about six hundred leagues. The town is situate in an island on a hill-side walled with earth, but the castle with earth and timber ; the houses, except that of the governor, and some few others, poor and simple ; the ground utterly barren, and without wood : they live there on fish, and sturgeon especially ; which hanging up to dry in the streets and houses, brings whole swarms of flies, and infection to the air, and oft great pestilence. This island in length twelve leagues, three in breadth, is the Russian limit toward the Caspian, which he keeps with a strong garison, being twenty leagues from that sea, into which Volga falls at seventy mouths. From St. Nicholas, or from Mosco to the Caspian, they pass in forty six days and nights, most part by water.

Westward from St. Nicholas twelve hundred miles is the city ‡ Novogrod fifty eight degrees, the greatest mart-town of all this dominion, and in bigness not inferior to Mosco. The way thither is through the western bottom of St. Nicholas-bay, and so along the shore full of dangerous rocks to the monastery Solofky, wherein are at least two hundred monks ; the people thereabout in a manner savages, yet tenants to those monks. Thence to the dangerous river Owiga, wherein are waterfalls as steep as from a mountain, and by the violence of their descent kept from freezing : so that the boats are to be carried there a mile over land ; which the tenants of that abbey did by command, and were guides to the merchants without taking any reward. Thence to the town Povenfa, standing within a mile of the famous lake Onega three hundred and twenty miles long, and in some places seventy, at narrowest twenty five broad, and of great depth. Thence by some monasteries to the river Swire ; then into the lake Ladiscay much longer than Onega ; after which into the river Volhusky, which through the midst of Novogrod runs into this lake, and this lake into the Baltic found by Narva and Revel. Their other cities toward the western bound are Plesco, Smolensko, or Vobfco.

The emperor exerciseth absolute power : if any man die without male issue, his land returns to the emperor §. Any rich man who through age or other impotency is unable to serve the public, being informed of, is turned out of his estate, and forced with his family to live on a small pension, while some other more deserving is by the duke's authority put into possession. The manner of informing the duke is thus : Your grace, saith one, hath such a subject, abounding with riches, but for service of the state unmeet ; and you have others poor and in want, but well able to do their country good service. Immediately the duke sends forth to enquire, and calling the rich man before him, Friend, saith he, you have too much living, and are unserviceable to your prince ; less will serve you, and the rest maintain others who deserve more.

* Hack. 325.

† Idid. 334.

‡ Ibid. 365.

§ Ibid. 240.

The man thus called to impart his wealth, repines not, but humbly answers, that all he hath is God's and the duke's, as if he made restitution of what more justly was another's, than parted with his own. Every gentleman hath rule and justice over his own tenants : if the tenants of two gentlemen agree not, they seek to compose it ; if they cannot, each brings his tenant before the high judge of that country. They have no lawyers, but every man pleads his own cause, or else by bill or answer in writing delivers it with his own hands to the duke : yet justice, by corruption of inferior officers, is much perverted. Where other proof is wanting, they may try the matter by personal combat, or by champion. If a debtor be poor, he becomes bondman to the duke, who lets out his labour till it pay the debt ; till then he remains in bondage. Another trial they have by lots *.

The revenues of the emperor are what he list, and what his subjects are able ; and he omits not the coarsest means to raise them : for in every good town there is a drunken tavern, called a *Cursēmay*, which the emperor either lets out to farm, or bestows on some duke, or gentleman †, in reward of his service, who for that time is lord of the whole town, robbing and spoiling at his pleasure, till being well enriched, he is sent at his own charge to the wars, and there squeezed of his ill-got wealth ; by which means the waging of war is to the emperor little or nothing chargeable.

The Russian armeth not less in time of war than three hundred thousand men §, half of whom he takes with him into the field, the rest bestows in garisons on the borders. He presseth no husbandman or merchant, but the youth of the realm. He useth no foot, but such as are pioneers, or gunners, of both which sort thirty thousand. The rest being horsemen, are all archers, and ride with a short stirrup, after the Turkish. Their armour is a coat of plate, and a skull on their heads. Some of their coats are covered with velvet, or cloth of gold ; for they desire to be gorgeous in arms, but the duke himself above measure ; his pavilion covered with cloth of gold or silver, set with precious stones. They use little drums at the saddle-bow, instead of spurs, for at the sound thereof the horses run more swiftly.

They fight without order ¶ ; nor willingly give battle ; but by stealth or ambush. Of cold and hard diet marvelously patient ; for when the ground is covered with snow frozen a yard thick, the common soldier will lie in the field two months together without tent, or covering over head ; only hangs up his mantle against that part from whence the weather drives, and kindling a little fire, lies him down before it, with his back under the wind : his drink, the cold stream mingled with oat-meal, and the same all his food : his horse fed with green wood and bark, stands all this while in the open field, yet does his service. The emperor gives no pay at all, but to strangers ; yet repays good deserts in war with certain lands during life ; and they who ofteneft are sent to the wars, think themselves most favoured ¶, though serving without wages. On the twelfth of December yearly, the emperor rides into the field, which is without the city, with all his nobility, on jennets and Turkey horses in great state ; before him five thousand harquebusiers, who shoot at a bank of ice, till they beat it down ; the ordnance, which they have very fair of all sorts, they plant against two wooden houses filled with earth at least thirty foot thick, and beginning with the smallest, shoot them all off thrice over, having beat those two houses flat. Above the rest six great cannon they have, whose bullet is a yard high, so that a man may see it flying : then out of mortar-pieces they shoot wild-fire into the air. Thus the emperor having seen what his gunners can do, returns home in the same order.

They follow the Greek church, but with excess of superstitions** : their service is in the Russian tongue. They hold the ten commandments not to concern them, saying that God gave them under the law, which Christ by his death on the cross hath abro-

* Hac. 309. † Ibid. 314. § Ibid. 239. 250. ¶ Ibid. 314. 250. ¶ Ibid. 316. ** Ibid. 253.

gated : the eucharist they receive in both kinds. They observe four lents, have service in their churches daily, from two hours before dawn till evening *; yet for whoredom, drunkenness and extortion none worse than the clergy.

They have many great and rich monasteries †, where they keep great hospitality. That of Trojetes hath in it seven hundred friers, and is walled about with brick very strongly, having many pieces of brass ordnance on the walls; most of the lands, towns, and villages within forty miles belong to those monks, who are also as great merchants as any in the land. During Easter holy-days when two friends meet, they take each other by the hand; one of them saying, the Lord is risen; the other answering §, it is so of a truth; and then they kiss, whether men or women. The emperor esteemeth the metropolitan next to God, after our lady, and St. Nicholas, as being his spiritual officer, himself but his temporal. || But the Muscovites that border on Tartaria are yet Pagans.

When there is love between two ¶, the man among other trifling gifts, sends to the woman a whip, to signify, if she offend, what she must expect; and it is a rule among them, that if the wife be not beaten once a week, she thinks herself not beloved, and is the worse; yet are they very obedient, and stir not forth, but at some seasons. Upon utter dislike, the husband divorces; which liberty no doubt they received first with their religion from the Greek church **, and the imperial laws.

Their dead they bury with new shoes on their feet ††, as to a long journey; and put letters testimonial in their hands to St. Nicholas, or St. Peter, that this was a Russe of Russes, and died in the true faith; which, as they believe, St. Peter having read, forthwith admits him into heaven.

They have no learning §§, nor will suffer to be among them; their greatest friendship is in drinking; they are great talkers, lyars, flatterers and dissemblers. They delight in gross meats and noisome fish; their drink is better, being fundry sorts of meath; the best made with juice of a sweet and crimson berry called Maliena, growing also in France |||; other sorts with black-cherry, or divers other berries: another drink they use in the spring drawn from the birch-tree root, whose sap after June dries up. But there is no people that live so miserably as the poor of Russia; if they have straw and water they make shift to live; for straw dried and stampd in winter time is their bread; in summer grass and roots; at all times bark of trees is good meat with them; yet many of them die in the street for hunger, none relieving, or regarding them.

When they are sent into foreign countries ¶¶, or that strangers come thither, they are very sumptuous in apparel, else the duke himself goes but meanly.

In winter they travel only upon sleds *†, the ways being hard, and smooth with snow, the rivers all frozen: one horse with a sled will draw a man four hundred miles in three days; in summer the way is deep, and travelling ill. The Russe of better sort goes not out in winter, but on his sled; in summer on his horse: in his sled he sits on a carpet, or a white bear's skin; the sled drawn with a horse well deckt, with many fox or wolf tails about his neck, guided by a boy on his back, other servants riding on the tail of the sled.

The Russian sea breeds a certain beast which they call a morse †§; who seeks his food on the rocks, climbing up with help of his teeth; whereof they make as great account, as we of the elephant's tooth.

* Hac. p. 242, 321. † Ibid. 320. § Ibid. 318. || Ibid. 320, 254. ¶ Ibid. 322.
 ** Ibid. 314. †† Ibid. 242, 254, 323. §§ Ibid. 241, 314. ||| Ibid. 323. ¶¶ Ib.
 239. *† Ibid. 314. †§ Ibid. 252.

C H A P. II.

Of Samoëdia, Siberia, and other countries north-east, subject to the Muscovites.

NOrth-east of Russia lieth Samoëdia by the river Ob. This country was first discovered by Oneke a Russian; who first trading privately among them in rich furs, got great wealth, and the knowledge of their country; then revealed his discovery to Boris protector to Pheodor, shewing how beneficial that country gained, would be to the empire. Who sending ambassadors among them gallantly attired, by fair means won their subjection to the empire, every head paying yearly two skins of richest fables. Those messengers travelling also two hundred leagues beyond Ob eastward, made report of pleasant countries, abounding with woods and fountains, and people riding on elks and loshes; others drawn on sleds by rein deer; others by dogs as swift as deer. The Samoëds that came along with those messengers, returning to Mosco, admired the flateliness of that city, and were as much admired for excellent shooters, hitting every time the breadth of a penny, as far distant as hardly could be discerned.

The river Ob is reported * by the Russes to be in breadth the sailing of a summer's day: but full of islands and shoals, having neither woods, nor, till of late, inhabitants. Out of Ob they turn into the river Tawze. The Russians have here, since the Samoëds yielded them subjection, two governors, with three or four hundred gunners; have built villages and some small castles; all which place they call Mongozey or Molgomfay †. Further up-land they have also built other cities of wood, consisting chiefly of Poles, Tartars and Russes, fugitive or condemned men; as Vergateria, Siber, whence the whole country is named Tinna, thence Tobolsca on this side Ob, on the rivers Irtis, and Tobol, chief seat of the Russian governor; above that, Zergolta in an island of Ob, where they have a custom-house. Beyond that on the other side Ob, Narim, and Tooina, now a great city §. Certain churches also are erected in those parts; but no man forced to religion; beyond Narim eastward on the river Telta is built the castle of Comgoscoi, and all this plantation began since the year 1590, with many other towns like these. And these are the countries from whence come all the fables and rich furs.

The Samoëds have no towns or certain place of abode, but up and down where they find moss for their deer ||; they live in companies peaceably, and are governed by some of the ancientest amongst them, but are idolaters. They shoot wondrous cunningly: their arrow-heads are sharpened stones, or fish-bones, which latter serve them also for needles; their thread being the sinews of certain small beasts, wherewith they sew the furs which clothe them; the furry side in summer outward, in winter inward. They have many wives, and their daughters they sell to him who bids most; which, if they be not liked, are turned back to their friends, the husband allowing only to the father what the marriage-feast stood him in. Wives are brought to bed there by their husbands, and the next day go about as before. They till not the ground; but live on the flesh of those wild beasts which they hunt. They are the only guides to such as travel Jougoria, Siberia, or any of those north-east parts in winter ¶; being drawn on sleds with bucks, riding post day and night, if it be moon-light, and lodge on the snow under tents of deer-skins, in whatever place they find enough of white moss to feed their sled-stags, turning them loose to dig it up themselves out of the deep snow: another Samoëd stepping to the next wood, brings in store of firing: round about which they lodge within their tents, leaving the top open to vent smoke; in which

* Purch. part 3. p. 543, 540.
522, 555. ¶ Ibid 548.

† Ibid. 524. 526.

§. Ibid. 526, 527;

|| Ibid.

manner they are as warm as the stoves in Russia. They carry provision of meat with them, and partake besides of what fowl or venison the Samoëd kills with shooting by the way; their drink is melted snow. Two deer being yoked to a sled riding post, will draw two hundred miles in twenty-four hours without resting, and laden with their stuff, will draw it thirty miles in twelve.

C H A P. III.

Of Tingoëfia, and the countries adjoining eastward, as far as Cathay.

BEYOND Narim and Comgoscoi * the soldiers of those garisons travelling by appointment of the Russian governor in the year 1605, found many goodly countries not inhabited, many vast deserts and rivers; till at the end of ten weeks they spied certain cottages and herds, or companies of people, which came to them with reverent behaviour, and signified to the Samoëds and Tartars, which were guides to the Russian foldiers, that they were called Tingoëfi; that their dwelling was on the great river Jenissey. This river is said to be far bigger than Ob †, distant from the mouth thereof four days and nights sailing; and likewise falls into the sea of Naramzie: it hath high mountains on the east, some of which cast out fire, to the west a plain and fertile country, which in the spring-time it overflows about seventy leagues; all that time the inhabitants keep them in the mountains, and then return with their cattle to the plain. The Tingoëfi are a very gentle nation, they have great swoln throats §, like those in Italy that live under the Alps; at persuation of the Samoëds they forthwith submitted to the Russian government: and at their request travelling the next year to discover still eastward, they came at length to a river, which the savages of that place called Pisida ||, somewhat less than Jenissey; beyond which hearing oft-times the tolling of brazen bells, and sometimes the noise of men and horses, they durst not pass over; they saw there certain sails afar off, square, and therefore supposed to be like Indian or China sails, and the rather for that they report that great guns have been heard shot off from those vessels. In April and May they were much delighted with the fair prospect of that country, replenished with many rare trees, plants and flowers, beasts and fowl. Some think here to be the borders of Tangut in the north of Cathay ¶. Some of those Samoëds about the year 1610, travelled so far till they came in view of a white city, and heard a great din of bells, and report there came to them men all armed in iron from head to foot. And in the year 1611, divers out of Cathay, and others from Alteen Czar, who stiles himself the golden king, came and traded at Zergolta, or Surgoot, on the river Ob, bringing with them plates of silver. Whereupon Michael Pheodorowich the Russian emperor, in the year 1619, sent certain of his people from Tooma to Alteen, and Cathay, who returned with ambassadors from those princes. These relate **, that from Tooma in ten days and a half, three days whereof over a lake, where rubies and saphirs grow, they came to the Alteen king, or king of Alty; through his land in five weeks they passed into the country of Sheromugaly, or Mugalla, where reigned a queen called Manchica; whence in four days they came to the borders of Cathay, fenced with a stone wall, fifteen fathom high; along the side of which, having on the other hand many pretty towns belonging to queen Manchica, they travelled ten days without seeing any on the wall till they came to the gate; where they saw very great ordnance lying, and three thousand men in watch. They traffic with other nations at the gate, and very few at once are suffered to enter. They were travelling from Tooma to this gate twelve weeks; and from thence to the great

* Purch. part 3. p. 527.
¶ Ibid. 543 546.

† Ibid. 527. 551. 546. 527.
** Ibid 797.

§ Ibid.

|| Ibid. 523.

city of Cathay ten days. Where being conducted to the house of ambassadors, within a few days there came a secretary from king Tambur, with two hundred men well apparelled, and riding on asses, to feast them with divers sorts of wine, and to demand their message; but having brought no presents with them, they could not be admitted to his sight; only with his letter to the emperor they returned, as is aforesaid, to Tobolsca. They report, that the land of Mugalla reaches from Boghar to the north sea*, and hath many castles built of stone four-square, with towers at the corners covered with glazed tiles; and on the gates alarum-bells, or watch-bells, twenty pound weight of metal; their houses built also of stone, the cieling cunningly painted with flowers of all colours. The people are idolaters; the country exceeding fruitful. They have asses and mules, but no horses. The people of Cathay say that this great wall stretches from Boghar to the north sea, four months journey, with continual towers a slight shot distant from each other, and beacons on every tower; and that this wall is the bound between Mugalla and Cathay. In which are but five gates; those narrow, and so low, that a horseman sitting upright cannot ride in. Next to the wall is the city Shirokalga; it hath a castle well furnished with short ordnance and small shot, which they who keep watch on the gates, towers, and walls, duly at sun-set and rising discharge thrice over. The city abounds with rich merchandize, velvets, damasks, cloth of gold and tissue, with many sorts of sugars. Like to this is the city Yara, their markets smell odoriferously with spices, and Tayth more rich than that. Shirooan yet more magnificent, half a day's journey through, and exceeding populous. From hence to Cathaia the imperial city is two days journey, built of white stone four-square, in circuit four days going, cornered with four white towers, very high and great, and others very fair along the wall, white intermingled with blue, and loop-holes furnish'd with ordnance. In midst of this white city stands a castle built of magnet, where the king dwells, in a sumptuous palace, the top whereof is overlaid with gold. The city stands on even ground encompassed with the river Youga, seven days journey from the sea. The people are very fair but not warlike, delighting most in rich traffick. These relations are referred hither, because we have them from Russians; who report also, that there is a sea beyond † Ob so warm that all kind of sea-fowl live thereabout as well in winter as in summer. Thus much briefly of the sea and lands between Russia and Cathay.

C H A P. IV.

The succession of Moscovia dukes and emperors, taken out of their chronicles by a Polac, with some later additions §.

THE great dukes of Moscovy derive their pedigree, though without ground, from Augustus Cæsar: whom they fable to have sent certain of his kindred to be governors over many remote provinces; and among them, Prussus over Prussia; him to have had his seat on the eastern Baltic shore by the river Wixel; of whom Rurek, Sinaus, and Truunor descended by the fourth generation, were by the Russians, living then without civil government, sent for in the year 573, to bear rule over them, at the persuasion of Gostomislus chief citizen of Novogrod. They therefore taking with them Olechus their kinsman, divided those countries among themselves, and each in his province taught them civil government.

Ivorson of Rurek, the rest dying without issue, became successor to them all; being left in nonage under the protection of Olechus. He took to wife Olha daughter to a citizen of Plesco, of whom he begat Stoflaus; but after that being slain by his enemies, Olha his wife went to Constantinople, and was there baptized Helena.

* Purch. p. 759.

† Ibid. 806.

§ Hac. vol. 1. p. 221.

Stofflaus fought many battles with his enemies ; but was at length by them slain, who made a cup of his skull, engraven with this sentence in gold ; “ Seeking after other mens, he lost his own.” His sons were Teropolchus, Olega and Volodimir.

Volodimir having slain the other two, made himself sole lord of Russia ; yet after that fact inclining to christian religion, had to wife Anna sister of Basilus and Constantine Greek emperors ; and with all his people in the year 988, was baptized, and called Basilus. Howbeit Zonaras reporteth, that before that time Basilus the Greek emperor sent a bishop to them ; at whose preaching they not being moved, but requiring a miracle, he after devout prayers, taking the book of gospel into his hands, threw it before them all into the fire ; which remaining there unconsumed, they were converted.

Volodimir had eleven sons, among whom he divided his kingdom ; Boristus and Glebus for their holy life registered saints ; and their feast kept every year in November with great solemnity. The rest, through contention to have the sole government, ruined each other ; leaving only Jaroslaus inheritor of all.

Volodimir son of Jaroslaus kept his residence in the ancient city Kiow upon the river Boristhenes. And after many conflicts with the sons of his uncles ; and having subdued all was called Monomachus. He made war with Constantine the Greek emperor, wasted Thracia, and returning home with great spoils to prepare new war, was appeased by Constantine, who sent Neophytus bishop of Ephesus, and Eustathius abbot of Jerusalem, to present him with part of our Saviour's cross, and other rich gifts, and to salute him by the name of Czar, or Cæsar : with whom he thenceforth entered into league and amity.

After him in order of descent Vuszevolodus, George, Demetrius.

Then George his son, who in the year 1237, was slain in battle by the Tartar prince Bathy, who subdued Muscovia and made it tributary. From that time the Tartarians made such dukes of Russia, as they thought would be most pliable to their ends ; of whom they required, as oft as ambassadors came to him out of Tartary, to go out and meet them ; and in his own court to stand bare-headed, while they sate and delivered their message. At which time the Tartars wasted also Polonia, Silesia, and Hungaria, till pope Innocent the Fourth obtained peace of them for five years. This Bathy, say the Russians, was the father of Tamerlane, whom they call Temirkutla.

Then succeeded Jaroslaus the brother of George, then Alexander his son.

Daniel the son of Alexander was he who first made the city of Mosco his royal seat, builded the castle, and took on him the title of great duke.

John the son of Daniel was surnamed Kaleta, that word signifying a scrip, out of which, continually carried about with him, he was wont to deal his alms.

His son Simeon dying without issue, left the kingdom to John his next brother ; and he to his son Demetrius, who left two sons, Basilus and George.

Basilus reigning had a son of his own name, but doubting lest not of his own body, through the suspicion he had of his wife's chastity, him he disinherits, and gives the dukedom to his brother George.

George putting his nephew Basilus in prison, reigns ; yet at his death, either through remorse, or other cause, surrenders him the dukedom.

Basilus unexpectedly thus attaining his supposed right, enjoyed it not long in quiet ; for Andrew and Demetrius the two sons of George counting it injury not to succeed their father, made war upon him, and surprizing him on a sudden, put out his eyes. Notwithstanding which, the Boiarens, or nobles, kept their allegiance to the duke, though blind, whom therefore they called Cziemnox.

John Vasilivich his son was the first who brought the Russian name out of obscurity into renown. To secure his own estate he put to death as many of his kindred as were likely to pretend ; and stiled himself great duke of Wolodimiria, Moscovia, Novogardia,

gardia, Czar of all Russia. He won Plesco the only walled city in all Muscovy, and Novogrod the richest, from the Lithuanians, to whom they had been subject fifty years before; and from the latter carried home three hundred waggons laden with treasure. He had war with Alexander king of Poland, and with the Livonians; with him, on pretence of withdrawing his daughter Helena, whom he had to wife, from the Greek church to the Romish; with the Livonians for no other cause, but to enlarge his bounds: though he were often foiled by Plettebergius great master of the Prussian knights. His wife was daughter to the duke of Tyversky; of her he begat John; and to him resigned his dukedom; giving him to wife the daughter of Steven, palatine of Moldavia; by whom he had issue Demetrius, and deceased soon after. Vasilivich therefore re-assuming the dukedom, married a second wife Sophia daughter to Thomas Palæologus: who is said to have received her dowry out of the pope's treasury, upon promise of the duke to become Romish.

This princess, of a haughty mind, often complaining that she was married to the Tartars vassal, at length by continual perswasions, and by a wile, found means to ease her husband, and his country of that yoke. For whereas till then the Tartar had his procurators, who dwelt in the very castle of Mosco, to oversee state-affairs, she feigned that from heaven she had been warned, to build a temple to saint Nicholas on the same place where the Tartar agents had their house. Being therefore delivered of a son, she made it her request to the prince of Tartary, whom she had invited to the baptizing, that he would give her that house, which obtaining, she razed to the ground, and removed those overseers out of the castle; and so by degrees dispossessed them of all which they held in Russia. She prevailed also with her husband to transfer the dukedom from Demetrius the son of John deceased, to Gabriel his eldest by her.

Gabriel, no sooner duke, but changed his name to Basilius, and set his mind to do nobly; he recovered great part of Moscovy from Vitoldus duke of Lithuania; and on the Boristhenes won Smolensko and many other cities in the year 1514. He divorced his first wife, and of Helena daughter to duke Gliniski begat Juan Vasilivich.

Juan Vasilivich being left a child, was committed to George his uncle and protector; at twenty-five years of age he vanquished the Tartars of Cazan and Astracan, bringing home with him their princes captive; made cruel war in Livonia, pretending right of inheritance. He seemed exceedingly devout; and whereas the Russians in their churches use out of zeal and reverence to knock their heads against the ground, his forehead was seldom free of swellings and bruises, and very often seen to bleed. The cause of his rigour in government he alledged to be the malice and treachery of his subjects. But some of the * nobles incited by his cruelty, called in the Crim Tartar, who in the year 1571 broke into Russia, burnt Mosco to the ground. He reigned fifty-four years, had three sons, of which the eldest being strook on a time by his father, with grief thereof died; his other sons were Pheodor and Demetrius. In the time of Juan Vasilivich the English came first by sea into the north parts of Russia.

Pheodor Juanovich being under age, was left to the protection of Boris, brother to the young empress, and third son by adoption in the emperor's will †. After forty days of mourning, the appointed time of coronation being come, the emperor issuing out of his palace §, the whole clergy before him, entered with his nobility the church of Blaveshina or blessedness; whence after service to the church of Michael, then to our lady church, being the cathedral. In midst whereof a chair was placed, and most unvaluable garments put upon him; there also was the imperial crown set on his head by the metropolitan, who out of a small book in his hand read exhortations to the emperor of justice and peaceable government. After this, rising from his chair he

* Horsey's observations.

† Hæc. vol. i. 466.

§ Horsey.

was invested with an upper robe, so thick with orient pearls and stones, as weighed two hundred pounds, the train born up by six dukes; his staff imperial was of a unicorn's horn three foot and a half long, beset with rich stones; his globe and six crowns carried before him by princes of the blood; his horse at the church-door stood ready with a covering of imbroidered pearl, saddle and all suitable, to the value of three hundred thousand marks. There was a kind of bridge made three ways, one hundred and fifty fathom long, three foot high, two fathom broad, whereon the emperor with his train went from one church to another above the infinite throng of people making loud acclamations: at the emperor's returning from those churches they were spread under-foot with cloth of gold, the porches with red velvet, the bridges with scarlet and stammel-cloth, all which, as the emperor passed by, were cut and snatched by them that stood next; besides new-minted coins of gold and silver cast among the people. The empress in her palace was placed before a great open window in rich and shining robes, among her ladies. After this the emperor came into parliament, where he had a banquet served by his nobles in princely order; two standing on either side his chair with battle-axes of gold; three of the next rooms great and large, being set round with plate of gold and silver, from the ground up to the roof. This triumph lasted a week, wherein many royal pastimes were seen: after which, election was made of the nobles to new offices and dignities. The conclusion of all was a peal of one hundred and seventy brass ordnance two miles without the city, and twenty thousand harquebuzes twice over; and so the emperor with at least fifty thousand horse returned through the city to his palace, where all the nobility, officers, and merchants brought him rich presents. Shortly after the emperor, by direction of Boris, conquered the large county of Siberia, and took prisoner the king thereof: he removed also corrupt officers and former taxes. In sum, a great alteration in the government followed, yet all quietly and without tumult. These things reported abroad strook such awe into the neighbour kings, that the Crim Tartar, with his wives also, and many nobles valiant and personable men, came to visit the Russian. There came also twelve hundred Polish gentlemen, many Circassians, and people of other nations to offer service; ambassadors from the Turk, the Persian, Georgian, and other Tartar princes; from Almany, Poland, Sweden, Denmark. But this glory lasted not long, through the treachery of Boris, who procured the death first of Demetrius, then of the emperor himself, whereby the imperial race, after the succession of three hundred years, was quite extinguished.

Boris adopted, as before was said, third son to Juan Vasilivich, without impeachment now ascended the throne; but neither did he enjoy long what he had so wickedly compassed, divine revenge raising up against him a counterfeit of that Demetrius whom he had caused to be murdered at Ouglets *. This upstart, strengthened with many Poles and Cossacks, appears in arms to claim his right out of the hands of Boris, who sent against him an army of two hundred thousand men, many of whom revolted to this Demetrius: Peter Basman the general, returning to Mosco with the empty triumph of a reported victory. But the enemy still advancing, Boris one day, after a plentiful meal, finding himself heavy and pained in his stomach, laid him down on his bed; but ere his doctors, who made great haste, came to him, was found speechless, and soon after died with grief, as is supposed, of his ill success against Demetrius. Before his death, though it were speedy, he would be shorn, and new christened. He had but one son, whom he loved so fondly, as not to suffer him out of sight; using to say he was lord and father of his son, and yet his servant, yea his slave. To gain the people's love, which he had lost by his ill getting the empire, he used two policies; first he caused Mosco to be fired in four places, that in the quenching thereof he might

* Post Christ. 1604. Purch. par. 3. p. 750.

shew his great care and tenderness of the people; among whom he likewise distributed so much of his bounty, as both new built their houses, and repaired their losses. At another time the people murmuring that the great pestilence which had then swept away a third part of the nation, was the punishment of their electing him, a murderer, to reign over them, he built galleries round about the utmost wall of Mosco, and there appointed for one whole month twenty thousand pound to be given to the poor; which well nigh stopt their mouths. After the death of Boris, Peter Basman, their only hope and refuge, though a young man, was sent again to the wars, with him many English, Scots, French, and Dutch; who all with the other general Goleeche fell off to the new Demetrius, whose messengers coming now to the suburbs of Mosco, were brought by the multitude to that spacious field before the castle-gate, within which the council were then sitting, many of whom were by the people's threatening called out and constrained to hear the letters of Demetrius openly read: which, long ere the end, wrought so with the multitude, that furiously they broke into the castle, laying violence on all they met; when strait appeared coming towards them two messengers of Demetrius formerly sent, pitifully whipt and roasted, which added to their rage. Then was the whole city in an uproar, all the great counsellors houses ransacked, especially of the Godonova's, the kindred and family of Boris. Such of the nobles that were best beloved, by entreaty prevailed at length to put an end to this tumult. The empress flying to a safer place, had her collar of pearl pulled from her neck; and by the next message command was given to secure her, with her son and daughter. Whereupon Demetrius by general consent was proclaimed emperor. The empress now seeing all lost, counselled the prince her son to follow his father's example, who, it seems, had dispatched himself by poison; and with a desperate courage beginning the deadly health, was pledged effectually by her son; but the daughter only sipping, escaped. Others ascribe this deed to the secret command of Demetrius, and self-murder imputed to them, to avoid the envy of such a command.

Demetrius Evanowich, for so he called himself, who succeeded *, was credibly reported the son of Gregory Peupoloy a Russe gentleman, and in his younger years to have been shorn a friar, but escaping from the monastery, to have travelled Germany and other countries, but chiefly Poland: where he attained to good sufficiency in arms and other experience; which raised in him such high thoughts, as grounding on a common belief among the Russians, that the young Demetrius was not dead, but conveyed away, and their hatred against Boris, on this foundation with some other circumstances to build his hopes no lower than an empire; which on his first discovery found acceptance so generally, as planted him at length on the royal seat: but not so firmly as the fair beginning promised; for in a short while the Russians finding themselves abused by an impostor, on the sixth day after his marriage, observing when his guard of Poles were most secure, rushing into the palace before break of day, dragged him out of his bed, and when he had confessed the fraud, pull'd him to pieces; with him Peter Basman was also slain, and both their dead bodies laid open in the market-place. He was of no presence, but otherwise of a princely disposition; too bountiful, which occasioned some exactions; in other matters a great lover of justice, not unworthy the empire which he had gotten, and lost only through greatness of mind, neglecting the conspiracy, which he knew the Russians were plotting. Some say their hatred grew, for that they saw him alienated from the Russian manners and religion, having made Buchinskoy a learned protestant his secretary. Some report from Gilbert's relation, who was a Scot, and captain of his guard, that lying on his bed awake, not long before the conspiracy, he saw the appearance of an aged man coming toward him, at which he rose, and called to them that watched; but they denied to have seen

* Purch. part 3. p. 764.

any such pass by them. He returning to his bed, and within an hour after troubled again with the same apparition, sent for Buchinskoy, telling him he had now twice the same night seen an aged man, who at his second coming told him, that though he were a good prince of himself, yet for the injustice and oppression of his inferior ministers, his empire should be taken from him. The secretary counselled him to embrace true religion, affirming that for lack thereof his officers were so corrupt. The emperor seemed to be much moved, and to intend what was persuaded him. But a few days after, the other secretary, a Russian, came to him with a drawn sword, of which the emperor made slight at first; but he after bold words assaulted him, strait seconded by other conspirators, crying liberty. Gilbert with many of the guard oversuddenly surprised, retreated to Coluga, a town which they fortified; most of the other strangers were massacred, except the English, whose mediation saved also Buchinskoy. Shusky who succeeded him, reports in a letter to king James otherwise of him; that his right name was Gryshca the son of Boughdan; that to escape punishment for villanies done, he turned friar, and fell at last to the black art; and fearing that the metropolitan intended therefore to imprison him, fled into Lettow; where by counsel of Sigismund the Poland king, he began to call himself Demetry of Ouglitts; and by many libels and spies privily sent into Mosco, gave out the same; that many letters and messengers thereupon were sent from Boris into Poland, and from the patriarch, to acquaint them who the runnagate was: but the Polanders giving them no credit, furnished him the more with arms and money, notwithstanding the league; and sent the palatine Sandamersko and other lords to accompany him into Russia, gaining also a prince of the Crim Tartars to his aid; that the army of Boris hearing of his sudden death, yielded to this Gryshca, who taking to wife the daughter of Sandamersko, attempted to root out the Russian clergy, and to bring in the Romish religion, for which purpose many jesuits came along with him. Whereupon Shusky with the nobles and metropolitans conspiring against him, in half a year gathered all the forces of Moscovia, and surprising him, found in writing under his own hand all these his intentions; letters also from the pope and cardinals to the same effect, not only to set up the religion of Rome, but to force it upon all, with death to them that refused.

Vasily Evanowich Shusky *, after the slaughter of Demetry or Gryshca, was elected emperor, having not long before been at the block for reporting to have seen the true Demetrius dead and buried; but Gryshca not only recalled him, but advanced him to be the instrument of his own ruin. He was then about the age of fifty; nobly descended, never married, of great wisdom reputed, a favourer of the English: for he saved them from rising in the former tumults. Some say † he modestly refused the crown, till by lot four times together it fell to him; yet after that growing jealous of his title, removed by poison and other means all the nobles that were like to stand his rivals; and is said to have consulted with witches of the Samoeds, Lappians, and Tartarians, about the same fears; and being warned of one Michalowich to have put to death three of that name, yet a fourth was reserved by fate to succeed him, being then a youth attendant in the court, one of those that held the golden axes, and least suspected. But before that time he also was supplanted by another reviving Demetrius brought in by the Poles; whose counterfeited hand, and strange relating of privatest circumstances, had almost deceived Gilbert himself, had not their persons been utterly unlike; but Gryshca's wife so far believed him for her husband, as to receive him to her bed. Shusky besieged in his castle of Mosco, was adventrously supplied with some powder and ammunition by the English; and with two thousand French, English and Scots, with other forces from Charles king of Sweden. The § English, after many miseries of cold, and hunger, and assaults by the way, deserted by the French, yielded

* Post Christ. 1606.

† Purc. part 3. p. 769, &c.

§ Post Christ. 1609.

most of them to the Pole, near Smolensko, and served him against the Rufs. * Mean- while this second Demetrius being now rejected by the Poles, with those Russians that sided with him laid siege to Mosco : Zolkiewsky for Sigismund king of Poland be- leaguers on the other side with forty thousand men ; whereof fifteen hundred English, Scotch, and French. Shusky despairing success, betakes him to a monastery ; but with the city is yielded to the Pole ; who turns now his force against the counterfeit Deme- trius ; he seeking to fly is by a Tartar slain in his camp. Smolensko held out a siege of two years, then surrendered, Shusky the emperor carried away into Poland, there ended miserably in prison. But before his departure out of Moscovy, the Polanders in his name sending for the chief nobility, as to a last farewell, cause them to be entertained in a secret place, and there dispatched : by this means the easier to subdue the people. Yet the Poles were starved at length out of those places in Mosco which they had for- tified. Wherein the Russians who besieged them, found, as is reported, sixty barrels of man's flesh powdered, being the bodies of such as died among them, or were slain in fight.

† After which the empire of Russia broke to pieces, the prey of such as could catch, every one naming himself, and striving to be accounted that Demetrius of Ouglitts. Some chose Uladislaus king Sigismund's son, but he not accepting, they fell to a popular government ; killing all the nobles under pretence of favouring the Poles. Some overtures of receiving them were made, as some say, to king James, and Sir John Meric, and Sir William Russel employed therein. Thus Russia remaining in this confusion, it happened that a mean man, a butcher, dwelling in the north about Duina, inveighing against the baseness of their nobility §, and the corruption of officers, uttered words, that if they would but choose a faithful treasurer to pay well the soldiers, and a good general (naming one Pozarsky, a poor gentleman, who after good service done, lived not far off retired and neglected ;) that then he doubted not to drive out the Poles. The people assent, and choose that general ; the butcher they make their trea- surer, who both so well discharged their places, that with an army soon gathered they raise the siege of Mosco, which the Polanders had renewed ; and with Boris Licin, another great soldier of that country, fall into consultation about the choice of an em- peror, and choose at last Michalowich, or Michael Pheodorowich, the fatal youth, whose name Shusky so feared.

|| Michael Pheodorowich thus elected by the valour of Pozarsky and Boris Licin, made them both generals of his forces, joining with them another great commander of the Cossacks, whose aid had much befriended him ; the butcher also was made a coun- sellor of state. Finally, a peace was made up between the Russians and the Poles ; and that partly by the mediation of king James.

C H A P. V.

The first discovery of Russia by the north-east, 1553, with the English embassies, and entertainments at that court, until the year 1604.

TH E discovery of Russia by the northern ocean ¶, made first, of any nation that we know, by Englishmen, might have seemed an enterprize almost heroic ; if any higher end than the excessive love of gain and traffic, had animated the design. Nevertheless, that in regard that many things not unprofitable to the knowledge of na- ture, and other observations are hereby come to light, as good events oft-times arise

* Purch. 779.

† Post Christ. 1612.

§ Purch. par. 3. 790.

|| Post Christ. 1613.

¶ Hac. vol. 1. 243, 234.

from evil occasions, it will not be the worst labour to relate briefly the beginning, and prosecution of this adventurous voyage ; until it became at last a familiar passage.

When our merchants perceived the commodities of England to be in small request abroad, and foreign merchandize to grow higher in esteem and value than before, they began to think with themselves how this might be remedied. And seeing how the Spaniards and Portugals had encreased their wealth by discovery of new trades and countries, they resolved upon some new and strange navigation. At the same time Sebastian Chabota, a man for the knowledge of sea-affairs much renowned in those days, happened to be in London. With him first they consult ; and by his advice conclude to furnish out three ships for the search and discovery of the northern parts. And having heard that a certain worm is bred in that ocean, which many times eateth through the strongest oak, they contrive to cover some part of the keel of those ships with thin sheets of lead ; and victual them for eighteen months ; allowing equally to their journey their stay, and their return. Arms also they provide and store of munition, with sufficient captains and governors for so great an enterprize. To which among many, and some void of experience that offered themselves, Sir Hugh Willowby a valiant gentleman earnestly requested to have the charge. Of whom before all others both for his goodly personage, and singular skill in the services of war, they made choice to be admiral ; and of Richard Chancelor, a man greatly esteemed for his skill, to be chief pilot. This man was brought up by Mr. Henry Sidney, afterwards deputy of Ireland, who coming where the adventurers were gathered together, though then a young man, with a grave and elegant speech, commended Chancelor unto them.

After this, they omitted no enquiry after any person that might inform them concerning those north-easterly parts to which the voyage tended ; and two Tartarians then of the king's stable were sent for ; but they were able to answer nothing to purpose. So after much debate it was concluded, that by the twentieth of May the ships should depart. Being come near Greenwich where the court then lay, presently the courtiers came running out, the privy council at the windows, the rest on the towers and battlements. The mariners all apparelled in watchet, or sky-coloured cloth, discharge their ordnance ; the noise whereof, and of the people shouting is answered from the hills and waters with as loud an eccho. Only the good king Edward then sick beheld not this sight, but died soon after. From hence putting into Harwich, they staid long and lost much time. At length passing by Shetland, they kenned afar off Ægelands, being an innumerable sort of islands called Rost Islands in sixty six degrees. Thence to Lofoot in sixty eight, to Seinam in seventy degrees ; these islands belong all to the crown of Denmark. Whence departing Sir Hugh Willowby set out his flag, by which he called together the chief men of his other ships to counsel ; where they conclude, in case they happened to be scattered by tempest, that Wardhouse, a noted haven in Finmark, be the appointed place of their meeting. The very same day after noon so great a tempest arose, that the ships were some driven one way, some another, in great peril. The general with his loudest voice called to Chancelor not to be far from him ; but in vain, for the admiral sailing much better than his ship, and bearing all her sails, was carried with great swiftness soon out of sight ; but before that, the ship-boat striking against her ship, was overwhelmed in view of the Bonaventure whereof Chancelor was captain. * The third ship also in the same storm was lost. But Sir Hugh Willowby escaping that storm, and wandering on those desolate seas till the eighteenth of September, put into a haven where they had weather as in the depth of winter ; and there determining to abide till spring, sent out three men south-west to find inhabitants ; who journied three days, but found none ; then other three went westward four days journey, and lastly three south-east three days ; but they all returning

* Hac. 235.

without news of people, or any sign of habitation, Sir Hugh with the company of his two ships abode there till January, as appears by a will since found in one of the ships; but then perished all with cold. This river or haven was Arzina in Lapland near to Keger *, where they were found dead the year after by certain Russian fishermen. Whereof the English agent at Mosco having notice, sent and recovered the ships with the dead bodies and most of the goods, and sent them for England; but the ships being unstanched, as is supposed, by their two years wintering in Lapland, sunk by the way with their dead, and them also that brought them. But now Chancellor with his ship and company thus left, shaped his course to Wardhouse, the place agreed on to expect the rest; where having staid seven days without tidings of them, he resolves at length to hold on his voyage; and sailed so far till he found no night, but continual day and sun clearly shining on that huge and vast sea for certain days. At length they enter into a great bay, named, as they knew after, from St. Nicholas; and spying a fisher-boat, made after him to know what people they were. The fishermen amazed with the greatness of his ship, to them a strange and new sight, sought to fly; but overtaken, in great fear they prostrate themselves, and offer to kiss his feet; but he raising them up with all signs and gestures of courtesy, sought to win their friendship. They no sooner dismiss, but spread abroad the arrival of a strange nation, whose humanity they spake of with great affection; whereupon the people running together, with like return of all courteous usage receive them; offering them victuals freely; nor refusing to traffic, but for a loyal custom which bound them from that, without first the consent had of their king. After mutual demands of each other's nation, they found themselves to be in Russia where Juan Vasilivich at that time reigned emperor. To whom privily the governor of that place sending notice of the strange guests that were arrived, held in the mean while our men in what suspense he could. The emperor well pleased with so unexpected a message, invites them to his court, offering them post-horses at his own charge, or if the journey seemed over long, that they might freely traffic where they were. But ere this messenger could return, having lost his way, the Muscovites themselves, loath that our men should depart which they made shew to do, furnished them with guides and other conveniencies to bring them to their king's presence. Chancellor had now gone more than half his journey, when the sled-man sent to court meets him on the way; delivers him the emperor's letters; which when the Russes understood, so willing they were to obey the contents thereof, that they quarreled and strove who should have the preferment to put his horses to the sled. So after a long and troublesome journey of fifteen hundred miles he arrived at Mosco. After he had remained in the city about twelve days, a messenger was sent to bring them to the king's house. Being entered within the court gates, and brought into an outward chamber, they beheld there a very honourable company to the number of a hundred, sitting all apparelled in cloth of gold down to their ancles: next conducted to the chamber of presence, there sat the emperor on a lofty and very royal throne; on his head a diadem of gold, his robe all of goldsmiths work, in his hand a chrystal sceptre garnished and beset with precious stones; no less was his countenance full of majesty. Beside him stood his chief secretary; on his other side the great commander of silence, both in cloth of gold; then sat his council of a hundred and fifty round about on high seats, clad all as richly. Chancellor nothing abashed, made his obeisance to the emperor after the English manner. The emperor having taken, and read his letters, after some enquiry of king Edward's health, invited them to dinner, and till then dismissed them. But before dismissal the secretary presented their present bareheaded; till which time they were all covered; and before admittance our men had charge not to speak, but when the emperor demanded aught. Having sat two hours in the secretary's chamber, they were at length

* Hac. 464.

called in to dinner ; where the emperor was set at table, now in a robe of silver, and another crown on his head. This place was called the golden palace, but without cause, for the Englishmen had seen many fairer ; round about the room, but at distance, were other long tables ; in the midst a cup-board of huge and massy goblets, and other vessels of gold and silver ; among the rest four great flaggons nigh two yards high, wrought in the top with devices of towers and dragons heads. The guests ascended to their tables by three steps ; all apparelled in linnen, and that lined with rich furs. The messes came in without order, but all in chargers of gold, both to the emperor, and to the rest that dined there, which were two hundred persons ; on every board also were set cups of gold without number. The servitors one hundred and forty were likewise arrayed in gold, and waited with caps on their heads. They that are in high favour sit on the same bench with the emperor, but far off. Before meat came in, according to the custom of their kings, he sent to every guest a slice of bread ; whom the officer naming, saith thus, John Basiliwich emperor of Rufs, &c. doth reward thee with bread, at which words all men stand up. Then were swans in several pieces served in, each piece in a several dish, which the great duke sends about as the bread, and so likewise the drink. In dinner-time he twice changed his crown, his waiters thrice their apparel ; to whom the emperor in like manner gives both bread and drink with his own hands ; which they say is done to the intent that he may perfectly know his own household ; and indeed when dinner was done, he called his nobles every one before him by name ; and by this time candles were brought in, for it grew dark ; and the English departed to their lodgings from dinner, an hour within night.

In the year fifteen hundred and fifty five *, Chancelor made another voyage to this place with letters from queen Mary ; had a house in Mosco, and diet appointed him ; and was soon admitted to the emperor's presence in a large room spread with carpets ; at his entering and salutation all stood up, the emperor only sitting, except when the queen's name was read, or spoken ; for then he himself would rise : at dinner he sat bareheaded ; his crown and rich cap standing on a pinnacle by. † Chancelor returning for England, Osep Napea governor of Wologda came in his ship ambassador from the Ruffe ; but suffering shipwreck in Pettislego a bay in Scotland, Chancelor who took more care to save the ambassador than himself was drowned, the ship rifled, and most of her lading made booty by the people thereabout.

In the year fifteen hundred and fifty seven §, Osep Napea returned into his country with Antony Jenkinson who had the command of four tall ships. He reports of a whirlpool between the Rost Islands and Lofoot called Malestrand ; which from half ebb to half flood is heard to make so terrible a noise, as shakes the door-rings of houses in those islands ten miles off ; whales that come within the current thereof make a pitiful cry ; trees carried in and cast out again have the ends and boughs of them so beaten, as they seem like the stalks of bruised hemp. About Zeinam they saw many whales very monstrous, hard by their ships ; whereof some by estimation sixty foot long ; they roared hideously, it being then the time of their engendring. At Wardhouse, he saith, the cattle are fed with fish. Coming to Mosco, he found the emperor sitting aloft in a chair of state, richly crowned, a staff of gold in his hand wrought with costly stone. Distant from him sat his brother, and a youth the emperor's son of Casan whom the Rufs had conquered ; there dined with him diverse ambassadors, christian and heathen, diversely apparelled ; his brother with some of the chief nobles sat with him at table : the guests were in all six hundred. In dinner-time came in six musicians ; and standing in the midst, sung three several times, but with little or no delight to our men ; there dined at the same time in other halls two thousand Tartars who came to serve the duke in his wars. The English were set at a small table by themselves, direct

* Hac. 258, 263, 465.

† Ibid. 286.

§ Ibid. 310, &c.

before the emperor ; who sent them diverse bowls of wine and meath, and many dishes from his own hand : the messes were but mean, but the change of wines and several meaths were wonderful. As oft as they dined with the emperor, he sent for them in the morning, and invited them with his own mouth. * On Christmas day being invited, they had for other provision as before ; but for store of gold and silver plate excessive ; among which were twelve barrels of silver, hooped with fine gold, containing twelve gallons a-piece.

In the year fifteen hundred and sixty, was the first English traffic to the Narve in Livonia, till then concealed by Danskers and Lubeckers.

Fifteen hundred and sixty-one. The same Antony Jenkinson made another voyage to Mosco ; and arrived while the emperor was celebrating his marriage with a Circassian lady ; during which time the city gates for three days were kept shut ; and all men whatsoever straitly commanded to keep within their houses ; except some of his household ; the cause whereof is not known.

Fifteen hundred and sixty-six. He made again the same voyage † ; which now men usually made in a month from London to St. Nicholas with good winds, being seven hundred and fifty leagues.

Fifteen hundred and sixty-eight. Thomas Randolph, Esq; went ambassador to Muscovy §, from queen Elizabeth ; and in his passage by sea met nothing remarkable save great store of whales, whom they might see engendring together, and the spermaceti swimming on the water. At Colmogro he was met by a gentleman from the emperor, at whose charge he was conducted to Mosco : but met there by no man ; not so much as the English ; lodged in a fair house built for ambassadors ; but there confined upon some suspicion which the emperor had conceived ; sent for at length after seventeen weeks delay, was fain to ride thither on a borrowed horse, his men on foot. In a chamber before the presence were sitting about three hundred persons, all in rich robes taken out of the emperor's wardrobe for that day ; they sat on three ranks of benches, rather for shew than that the persons were of honour ; being merchants, and other mean inhabitants. The ambassador saluted them, but by them unsaluted passed on with his head covered. At the presence door being received by two which had been his guardians, and brought into the midst, he was there willed to stand still, and speak his message from the queen ; at whose name the emperor stood up, and demanded her health : then giving the ambassador his hand to kiss, fell to many questions. The present being delivered, which was a great silver bowl curiously graven, the emperor told him, he dined not that day openly because of great affairs ; but, faith he, I will send thee my dinner, and augment thy allowance. And so dismissing him, sent a duke richly apparelled soon after to his lodging, with fifty persons, each of them carrying meat in silver dishes covered ; which himself delivered into the ambassador's own hands, tasting first of every dish, and every sort of drink ; that done, set him down with his company, took part, and went not thence unrewarded. The emperor sent back with this ambassador another of his own called Andrew Savin.

Fifteen hundred and seventy one. Jenkinson made a third voyage ; but was staid long at Colmogro by reason of the plague in those parts ; at length had audience where the court then was, near to Pereaslave ; to which place the emperor was returned from his Swedish war with ill success : and Mosco the same year had been wholly burnt by the Crim ; in it the English house, and diverse English were smothered in the cellars, multitudes of people in the city perished, all that were young, led captive with exceeding spoil.

Fifteen hundred and eighty-three. ¶ Juan Basiliwich having the year before sent his ambassador Pheodor Andrewich about matters of commerce, the queen made choice of

* Hac. 317.

† Ibid. 311.

§ Ibid. 373.

¶ Ibid. vol. 1. 453.

Sir Jerom Bowes, one of her household, to go into Russia ; who being attended with more than forty persons, and accompanied with the Russe returning home, arrived at St. Nicholas. The Dutch by this time had intruded into the Muscovy trade, which by privilege long before had been granted solely to the English ; and had corrupted to their side Shalkan the chancellor, with others of the great ones ; who so wrought, that a creature of their own was sent to meet Sir Jerom at Colmogro, and to offer him occasions of dislike : until at Vologda he was received by another from the emperor ; and at Yeraflave by a duke well accompanied, who presented him with a coach and ten geldings. Two miles from Mosco met him four gentlemen with two hundred horse ; who after short salutation, told him what they had to say from the emperor, willing him to alight, which the ambassador soon refused, unless they also lighted ; whereon they stood long debating ; at length agreed, great dispute followed, whose foot should first touch the ground. Their message delivered, and then embracing, they conducted the ambassador to a house at Mosco, built for him purposely. At his going to court, he and his followers honourably mounted and apparelled, the emperor's guard were set on either side all the way about six thousand shot. At the court-gate met him four noblemen in cloth of gold, and rich furr-caps, embroidered with pearl and stone ; then four others of greater degree, in which passage there stood along the walls, and sat on benches seven or eight hundred men in coloured sattins and gold. At the presence-door met him the chief Herald, and with him all the great officers of court, who brought him where the emperor sat : there were set by him three crowns of Muscovy, Cazan, and Astracan ; on each side stood two young noblemen, costly apparelled in white ; each of them had a broad ax on his shoulder ; on the benches round sat above a hundred noblemen. Having given the ambassador his hand to kiss, and enquired of the queen's health, he willed him to go sit in the place provided for him, nigh ten paces distant ; from thence to send him the queen's letters and present. Which the ambassador thinking not reasonable, stepped forward ; but the chancellor meeting him, would have taken his letters ; to whom the ambassador said, that the queen had directed no letters to him ; and so went on and delivered them to the emperor's own hand's ; and after a short withdrawing into the council-chamber, where he had conference with some of the council, he was called in to dinner : about the midst whereof, the emperor standing up, drank a deep carouse to the queen's health, and sent to the ambassador a great bowl of Rhenish wine to pledge him. But at several times being called for to treat about affairs, and not yielding aught beyond his commission, the emperor not wont to be gain-say'd, one day especially broke into passion, and with a stern countenance told him, he did not reckon the queen to be his fellow ; for there are, quoth he, her betters. The ambassador not holding it his part, whatever danger might ensue, to hear any derogate from the majesty of his prince, with like courage and countenance told him, that the queen was equal to any in christendom who thought himself greatest ; and wanted not means to offend her enemies whomsoever. Yea, quoth he, what sayest thou of the French and Spanish kings ? I hold her, quoth the ambassador, equal to either. Then what to the German emperor ? Her father, quoth he, had the emperor in his pay. This answer misliked the duke so far, as that he told him, were he not an ambassador, he would throw him out of doors. You may, said the ambassador, do your will, for I am now fast in your country ; but the queen, I doubt not, will know how to be revenged of any injury offered to her ambassador. Whereat the emperor in great fudden bid him get home ; and he with no more reverence than such usage required, saluted the emperor, and went his way. Notwithstanding this, the Muscovite, soon as his mood left him, spake to them that stood by, many praises of the ambassador, wishing he had such a servant, and presently after sent his chief secretary to tell him, that whatever had passed in words, yet for his great respect to the queen, he would shortly after dispatch him with honour and full contentment, and in

the mean while he much enlarged his entertainment. He also desired that the points of our religion might be set down, and caused them to be read to his nobility with much approbation. And as the year before he had sought in marriage the lady Mary Hastings, which took not effect, the lady and her friends excusing it, he now again renewed the motion to take to wife some one of the queen's kinswomen, either by sending an embassy, or going himself with his treasure into England. Now happy was that nobleman whom Sir Jerom Bowes in public favoured; unhappy they who had opposed him: for the emperor had beaten Shalkan the chancellor very grievously for that cause, and threatened, not to leave one of his race alive. But the emperor dying soon after of a surfeit, Shalkan to whom then almost the whole government was committed, caused the ambassador to remain close prisoner in his house nine weeks. Being sent for at length to have his dispatch, and slightly enough conducted to the council-chamber, he was told by Shalkan, that this emperor would condescend to no other agreements than were between his father and the queen before his coming: and so disarming both him and his company, brought them to the emperor with many affronts in their passage, for which there was no help but patience. The emperor saying but over what the chancellor had said before, offered him a letter for the queen: which the ambassador, knowing it contained nothing to the purpose of his embassy, refused, till he saw his danger grow too great; nor was he suffered to reply, or have his interpreter. Shalkan sent him word that now the English emperor was dead; and hastened his departure, but with so many disgraces put upon him, as made him fear some mischief in his journey to the sea; having only one mean gentleman sent with him to be his convoy; he commanded the English merchants in the queen's name to accompany him, but such was his danger, that they durst not. So arming himself and his followers in the best wise he could, against any outrage, he at length recovered the shore of St. Nicholas. Where he now resolved to send them back by his conduct some of the affronts which he had received. Ready therefore to take ship, he causes three or four of his valiantest and discreetest men to take the emperor's letter, and disgraceful present, and to deliver it, or leave it at the lodging of his convoy, which they safely did; though followed with a great tumult of such as would have forced them to take it back.

Fifteen hundred and eighty-four. At the coronation of Pheodor the emperor, Jerom Horsey being then regent in Russia, and called for to court with one John de Wale, a merchant of the Netherlands and a subject of Spain, some of the nobles would have preferred the Fleming before the English. But to that our agent would in no case agree, saying he would rather have his legs cut off by the knees, than bring his present in course after a subject of Spain. The emperor and prince Boris perceiving the controversy, gave order to admit Horsey first: who was dismissed with large promises, and seventy messes with three carts of several meath sent after him.

Fifteen hundred and eighty-eight. Dr. Giles Fletcher went ambassador from the queen to Pheodor then emperor; whose relations being judicious and exact are best read intirely by themselves. * This emperor, upon report of the great learning of John Dee the mathematician, invited him to Mosco with offer of two thousand pounds a year, and from prince Boris one thousand marks; to have his provision from the emperor's table, to be honourably received, and accounted as one of the chief men in the land. All which Dee accepted not.

One thousand six hundred and four. Sir Thomas Smith was sent ambassador from king James to Boris then emperor; and staid some days at a place five miles from Mosco till he was honourably received into the city; met on horseback by many thousands of gentlemen and nobles on both sides the way; where the ambassador alighting from his coach, and mounted on his horse, rode with his trumpets sounding before

* Hack. 508.

him; till a gentleman of the emperor's stable brought him a gennet gorgeously trapt with gold, pearl and stone, especially with a great chain of plated gold about his neck, and horses richly adorned for his followers. Then came three great noblemen with an interpreter offering a speech; but the ambassador deeming it to be ceremony, with a brief compliment found means to put it by. Thus alighting all, they saluted, and gave hands mutually. Those three, after a tedious preamble of the emperor's title thrice repeated, brought a several compliment of three words a-piece, as namely, the first, To know how the king did; the next, how the ambassador; the third, That there was a fair house provided him. Then on they went on either hand of the ambassador, and about six thousand gallants behind them; still met within the city by more of greater quality to the very gate of his lodging: where fifty gunners were his daily guard both at home and abroad. The prestaves or gentlemen assigned to have the care of his entertainment, were earnest to have had the ambassador's speech and message given them in writing, that the interpreter, as they pretended, might the better translate it; but he admonished them of their foolish demand. On the day of his audience, other gennets were sent him and his attendants to ride on, and two white palfreys to draw a rich chariot, which was parcel of the present; the rest whereof was carried by his followers through a lane of the emperor's guard; many messengers posting up and down the while, till they came through the great castle, to the uttermost court-gate. There met by a great duke, they were brought up stairs through a stone-gallery, where stood on each hand many in fair coats of Persian stuff, velvet and damask. The ambassador by two other counsellors being led into the presence, after his obeisance done, was to stay and hear again the long title repeated; then the particular presents; and so delivered as much of his embassy as was then requisite. After which the emperor arising from his throne, demanded of the king's health; so did the young prince. The ambassador then delivered his letters into the emperor's own hand, though the chancellor offered to have taken them. He bore the majesty of a mighty emperor; his crown and sceptre of pure gold, a collar of pearls about his neck, his garment of crimson velvet embroidered with precious stone and gold. On his right side stood a fair globe of beaten gold on a pyramis with a cross upon it; to which, before he spake, turning a little he crost himself. Not much less in splendor on another throne sat the prince. By the emperor stood two Noblemen in cloth of silver, high caps of black furr, and chains of gold hanging to their feet; on their shoulders two poleaxes of gold; and two of silver by the prince; the ground was all covered with arras or tapestry. Dismist, and brought in again to dinner, they saw the emperor and his son seated in state, ready to dine; each with a skull of pearl on their bare heads, their vestments changed. In the midst of this hall seemed to stand a pillar heaped round to a great height with massy plate curiously wrought with beasts, fishes and fowl. The emperor's table was served with two hundred noblemen in coats of gold; the princes table with young dukes of Casan, Astracan, Siberia, Tartaria and Circassia. The emperor sent from his table to the ambassador, thirty dishes of meat, to each a loaf of extraordinary fine bread. Then followed a number more of strange and rare dishes piled up by half dozens, with boiled, roast and baked, most part of them besawced with garlick and onions. In midst of dinner calling the ambassador up to him he drank the king's health, who receiving it from his hand, returned to his place, and in the same cup, being of fair chrystal, pledged it with all his company. After dinner they were called up to drink of excellent and strong meath from the emperor's hand; of which when many did but sip, he urged it not; saying he was best pleased with what was most for their health. Yet after that, the same day he sent a great and glorious duke, one of them that held the golden poleax, with his retinue, and fundry sorts of meath to drink merrily with the ambassador, which some of the English did, until the duke and his followers light-headed, but well rewarded with thirty yards of cloth of gold,

gold, and two standing cups, departed. At second audience the ambassador had like reception as before: and being dismissed, had dinner sent after him with three hundred several dishes of fish, it being Lent, of such strangeness, greatness and goodness as scarce would be credible to report. The ambassador departing, was brought a mile out of the city with like honour as he was first met; where lighting from the emperor's sled, he took him to his coach, made fast upon a sled; the rest to their sleds an easy and pleasant passage.

Names of the authors from whence these relations have been taken; being all either eye-witnesses, or immediate relaters from such as were.

THE journal of Sir Hugh Willowby.

Discourse of Richard Chancellor.

Another of Clement Adams, taken from the mouth of Chancellor.

Notes of Richard Johnson, servant to Chancellor.

The Protonotaries Register.

Two Letters of Mr. Hen. Lane.

Several Voyages of Jenkinson.

Southam and Sparks.

The journal of Randolf the ambassador.

Another of Sir Jerom Bowes.

The coronation of Pheodor, written by Jerom Horsey.

Gourdon of Hull's voyage to Pechora.

The voyage of William Purfglove to Pechora.

Of Josias Logan.

Hessel Gerardus, out of Purchas, part 3. l. 3.

Russian relations in Purch. 797. *ibid.* 806, *ibid.*

The embassy of Sir Thomas Smith.

Papers of Mr. Hackluit.

Janfonius.

A
D E C L A R A T I O N,
O R,
L E T T E R S P A T E N T S

For the ELECTION of this present

King of POLAND JOHN the Third,

Elected on the 22d of May last past, Anno Dom. 1674.

C O N T A I N I N G

The Reasons of this Election, the great Vertues and Merits of the said Serene Elect, his eminent services in war, especially in his last great victory against the Turks and Tartars, whereof many particulars are here related, not published before.

Now faithfully translated from the Latin Copy.

In the name of the most Holy and Individual Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

WE ANDREW TREZEBICKI, bishop of Cracovia, duke of Severia, JOHN GEMBICKI of Uladislau and Pomerania, &c. bishops to the number of ten.

STANISLAUS WARSZYCKI, Castellan of Cracovia; ALEXANDER MICHAEL LUBOMIRSKI of Cracovia, &c. Palatines to the number of twenty-three.

CHRISTOPHERUS GRZYMALTOUSKI of Pofnania, ALEXANDER GRATUS de Tarnow of Sandimer; Castellans to the number of twenty-four.

HILAREUS POLUBINSKI, high marshal of the great dukedom of Lithuania, CHRISTOPHERUS PAC, high chancellor of the great dukedom of Lithuania, senators and great officers, to the number of seventy-five.

WE declare by these our present letters unto all and single persons whom it may concern: our commonwealth, being again left widowed by the unseasonable death of that famous MICHAEL late king of Poland, who having scarce reigned full five years, on the tenth day of November, of the year last past, at Leopolis, changed his fading crown for one immortal; in the sense of so mournful a funeral and fresh calamity, yet with undaunted courage, mindful of herself in the midst of dangers, forbore not to seek remedies, that the world may understand
she

she grows in the midst of her losses ; it pleased her to begin her counsels of preserving her country, and delivering it from the utmost chances of an inter-reign, from the divine deity, (as it were by the only motion of whose finger, it is easy that kingdoms be transferred from nation to nation, and kings from the lowest state to thrones ;) and therefore the business was begun according to our country-laws, and ancestors institutions. After the convocation of all the states of the kingdom ended, in the month of February at Warsaw, by the common consent of all those states, on the day decreed for the election the twentieth of April : at the report of this famous act, as though a trumpet had been sounded, and a trophy of virtue erected, the wishes and desires of foreign princes came forth of their own accord into the field of the Polonian liberty, in a famous strife of merits and good-will towards the commonwealth, every one bringing their ornaments, advantages and gifts to the commonwealth : but the commonwealth becoming more diligent by the prodigal ambition used in the last inter-reign, and factions, and disagreements of minds, nor careless of the future, considered with herself whether firm or doubtful things were promised, and whether she should seem from the present state to transfer both the old and new honours of Poland into the possession of strangers, or the military glory, and their late unheard of victory over the Turks, and blood spilt in the war, upon the purple of some unwarlike prince ; as if any one could so soon put on the love of the country, and that Poland was not so much an enemy to her own nation and fame, as to favour strangers more than her own ; and valour being found in her, should suffer a guest of new power to wax proud in her : therefore she thenceforth turned her thoughts upon some one in her own nation, and at length abolished (as she began in the former election) that reproach cast upon her, under pretence of a secret maxim, “ That none can be elected king of Poland, but such as are born out of Poland ;” neither did she seek long among her citizens whom she should prefer above the rest (for this was no uncertain or suspended election, there was no place for delay ;) for although in the equality of our nobles many might be elected, yet the virtue of a hero appeared above his equals : therefore the eyes and minds of all men were willingly, and by a certain divine instinct turned upon the high marshal of the kingdom, captain of the army, John Sobietki. The admirable virtue of the man, the high power of marshal in the court, with his supreme command in arms, senatorial honour, with his civil modesty, the extraordinary splendor of his birth and fortune, with open courtesy, piety towards God, love to his fellow-citizens in words and deeds ; constancy, faithfulness and clemency towards his very enemies, and what noble things soever can be said of a hero, did lay such golden chains on the minds and tongues of all, that the senate and people of Poland and of the great dukedom of Lithuania, with suffrages and agreeing voices named and chose him their KING ; not with his seeking or precipitate counsel, but with mature deliberations continued and extended till the third day.

Certainly it conduced much for the honour of the most serene elect, the confirmation of a free election, and the eternal praise of the people electing, that the great business of an age was not transacted in one day, or in the shadow of the night, or by one casual heat : for it was not right that a hero of the age, should in a moment of time (and as it were by the cast of a die) be made a king, whenas antiquity by an ancient proverb has delivered, “ that Hercules was not begot in one night ;” and it hath taught that election should shine openly under a clear sky, in the open light.

The most serene elect took it modestly that his nomination should be deferred till the third day, plainly shewing to endeavour, lest his sudden facility of assent being suspected, might detract from their judgment, and the world might be enforced to believe by a more certain argument, that he that was so chosen was elected without his own ambition, or the envy of corrupted liberty ; or was it by the appointed counsel of God, that this debate continued three whole days, from Saturday till Monday, as if the Cotinian victory (begun on the Saturday, and at length on the third day after accom-

plished, after the taking of the Cotimian castle) had been a lucky preface of his royal reward ; or, as if with an auspicious omen, the third day of election had alluded to the regal name of JOHN the Third.

The famous glory of war paved his way to the crown, and confirmed the favour of suffrages to his most serene elect. He the first of all the Polonians shewed that the Scythian swiftness (troublesome heretofore to all the monarchies in the world) might be repressed by a standing fight, and the terrible main battalion of the Turk might be broken and routed at one stroke. That we may pass by in silence the ancient rudiments of warfare which he stoutly and gloriously managed under the conduct and authority of another, against the Swedes, Moscovites, Borussians, Transylvanians, and Cossacks : though about sixty cities taken by him from the Cossacks be less noised in the mouth of fame ; yet these often and prosperous battles were a prelude to greatest victories in the memory of man. Myriads of Tartars had over-run within this six years with their plundering troops the coast of Podolia, when a small force and some shattered legions were not sufficient against the hostile assault, yet our general knowing not how to yield, shut himself up (by a new stratagem of war) in Podhajecy, a strait castle, and fortified in haste, whereby he might exclude the cruel destruction which was hastening into the bowels of the kingdom, by which means the Barbarian deluded and routed, took conditions of peace ; as if he had made his inroad for this only purpose, that he might bring to the most serene elect matter of glory, victory.

For these four last years the famous victories of Sobietzki have signalized every year of his warlike command on the Cossacks and Tartarians both joined together ; the most strong province of Braclavia, as far as it lies between Hypanis and Tyras, with their cities and warlike people, were won from the Cossack enemy.

And those things are beyond belief which two years ago the most serene elect, after the taking of Camenick (being undaunted by the siege of Laopolis) performed to a miracle by the hardness and fortitude of the Polonian army, scarce consisting of three thousand men, in the continual course of five days and nights, sustaining life without any food, except wild herbs ; setting upon the Tartarians, he made famous the names of Narulum, Niemicrovia, Konarnum, Kalussia, obscure towns before, by a great overthrow of the Barbarians. He slew three sultans of the Crim Tartars, descended of the royal Gietian family, and so trampled on that great force of the Scythians, that in these later years they could not regain their courage, nor recollect their forces. But the felicity of this last autumn exceeded all his victories ; whenas the fortifications at Chocimum, famous of old, were possessed and fortified by above forty thousand Turks, in which three and forty years ago the Polonians had sustained and repressed the forces of the Ottoman family, drawn together out of Asia, Africa, and Europe, fell to the ground within a few hours, by the only (under God) imperatorious valour and prudence of Sobietzki ; for he counted it his chief part to go about the watches, order the stations, and personally to inspect the preparations of warlike ordnance, to encourage the soldiers with voice, hands, and countenance, wearied with hunger, badness of weather, and three days standing in arms ; and he (which is most to be admired) on foot at the head of the foot-forces, made through, and forced his way to the battery, hazarding his life devoted to God and his country ; and thereupon made a cruel slaughter within the camp and fortifications of the enemy ; while the desperation of the Turks whetted their valour, and he performed the part of a most provident and valiant captain : at which time three bashaws were slain, the fourth scarce passed with difficulty the swift river of Tyras ; eight thousand Janizaries, twenty thousand chosen Spachies, besides the more common soldiers, were cut off ; the whole camp with all their ammunition and great ordnance, besides the Assyrian and Phrygian wealth of luxurious Asia, were taken and pillaged ; the famous castle of Cotimia, and the bridge over Tyras, strong fortresses, equal to castles on each side the river, were additions to the victory.

victory. Why therefore should not such renowned heroic valour be crowned with the legal reward of a diadem? All christendom have gone before us in example, which being arrived to the recovery of Jerusalem under the conduct of Godfrey of Bulloin, on their own accord gave him that kingdom, for that he first scaled the walls of that city. Our most serene elect is not inferior, for he first ascended two main fortresses of the enemy.

The moment of time adorns this victory unheard of in many ages, the most serene king Michael dying the day before, as it were signifying thereby that he gave way to so great valour, as if it were by his command and favour, that this conqueror might so much the more gloriously succeed from the helmet to the crown, from the commander's staff to the sceptre, from his lying in the field to the regal throne.

The commonwealth recalled the grateful and never to be forgotten memory of his renowned father, the most illustrious and excellent James Sobietiki, castellan of Cracovia, a man to be written of with sedulous care, who by his golden eloquence in the public councils, and by his hand in the scene of war, had so often amplified the state of the commonwealth, and defended it with the arms of his family. Neither can we believe it happened without divine providence, that in the same place wherein forty years ago his renowned father, ambassador of the Polonian commonwealth, had made peace and covenants with Cimanus the Turkish general, his great son should revenge with his sword the peace broke, (heaven itself upbraiding the perfidious enemy.) The rest of his grand-fires and great-grand-fires, and innumerable names of famous senators and great officers, have as it were brought forth light to the serene elect by the emulous greatness and glory of his mother's descent, especially Stanislaus Zelkievius, high chancellor of the kingdom, and general of the army, at whose grave in the neighbouring fields, in which by the Turkish rage in the year sixteen hundred and twenty he died, his victorious nephew took full revenge by so remarkable an overthrow of the enemy: the immortal valour and fatal fall of his most noble uncle Stanislaus Daniloivius in the year sixteen hundred and thirty-five, palatine of Russia, doubled the glory of his ancestors; whom desirous of honour, and not enduring the sluggish peace wherein Poland then slept secure, valour and youthful heat accited at his own expence and private forces, into the Tauric fields; that by his footing, and the ancient warlike Polonian discipline, he might lead and point the way to these merits of Sobietski, and being slain by Cantimiz the Tartarian cham, in revenge of his son by him slain, he might by his noble blood give lustre to this regal purple. Neither hath the people of Poland forgot the most illustrious Marcus Sobietski, elder brother of our most serene elect, who when the Polonian army at Batto was routed by the Barbarians, although occasion was offered him of escape, yet chose rather to die in the overthrow of such valiant men, a sacrifice for his country, than to buy his life with a dishonourable retreat; perhaps the divine judgment so disposing, whose order is, that persons pass away and fail, and causes and events happen again the same; that by the repeated fate of the Huniades, the elder brother of great hopes removed by a lamented slaughter, might leave to his younger brother surviving the readier passage to the throne. That therefore which we pray may be happy, auspicious, and fortunate to our orthodox commonwealth, and to all christendom, with free and unanimous votes, none opposing, all consenting and applauding, by the right of our free election, notwithstanding the absence of those which have been called and not appeared; We being led by no private respect, but having only before our eyes the glory of God, the increase of the ancient catholic church, the safety of the commonwealth, and the dignity of the Polish nation and name, have thought fit to elect, create, and name, JOHN in Zolkiew and Zloczew Sobietiki, supreme marshal general of the kingdom, general of the armies, governor of Neva, Bara, Strya, Loporovient, and Kalussien, most eminently adorned with so high endowments, merits and splendor, to be KING of Poland, grand-duke of Lithuania, Russia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia,

Samogitia, Kyovia, Volhinia, Padlachia, Podolia, Livonia, Smolensko, Severiā, and Czerniechovia, as we have elected, created, declared, and named him: I the aforesaid bishop of Cracovia (the archiepiscopal see being vacant) exercising the office and authority of primate, and by consent of all the states thrice demanded, opposed by none, by all and every one approved, conclude the election; promising faithfully that we will always perform to the same most serene and potent elect prince, lord JOHN the Third, our king, the same faith, subjection, obedience, and loyalty, according to our rights and liberties, as we have performed to his blessed ancestor, as also that we will crown the same most serene elect in the next assembly at Cracovia, to that end ordained, as our true king and lord, with the regal diadem, with which the kings of Poland were wont to be crowned; and after the manner which the Roman catholic church before-time hath observed in anointing and inaugurating kings, we will anoint and inaugurate him: yet so as he shall hold fast and observe first of all the rights, immunities both ecclesiastical and secular, granted and given unto us by his ancestor of blessed memory; as also these laws which we ourselves in the time of this present and former inter-reign, according to the right of our liberty, and better preservation of the commonwealth, have established. And if moreover the most serene elect will bind himself by an oath to perform the conditions concluded with those persons sent by his majesty before the exhibition of this present decree of election, and will provide in best manner for the performance of them by his authentic letters; which decree of election we by divine aid desirous to put in execution, do send by common consent, to deliver it into the hand of the most serene elect, the most illustrious and reverend lord bishop of Cracovia, together with some senators and chief officers, and the illustrious and magnificent Benedictus Sapieha, treasurer of the court of the great dukedom of Lithuania, marshal of the Equestrian order; committing to them the same decree of intimating an oath, upon the aforesaid premises, and receiving his subscription; and at length to give and deliver the same decree into the hands of the said elect, and to act and perform all other things which this affair requires; in assurance whereof the seals of the lords senators, and those of the Equestrian order deputed to sign, are here affixed.

Given by the hands of the most illustrious and reverend father in Christ, the lord Andrew Olszonski, bishop of Culma and Pomisania, high chancellor of the kingdom, in the general ordinary assembly of the kingdom, and great dukedom of Lithuania, for the election of the new king. Warsaw the twenty-second day of May, in the year of our Lord sixteen hundred and seventy four.

In the presence of Franciscus Praszmowski, provost of Guesna, abbot of Sieciethovia, chief secretary of the kingdom; Joannes Malachowski, abbot of Mogila, referendary of the kingdom, &c. with other great officers of the kingdom and clergy, to the number of fourscore and two. And the rest, very many great officers; captains, secretaries, courtiers, and inhabitants of the kingdom; and great dukedom of Lithuania, gathered together at Warsaw to the present assembly of the election of the kingdom and great dukedom of Lithuania.

Assistants at the solemn oath taken of his sacred majesty on the fifth day of the month of June, in the palace at Warsaw, after the letters patents delivered upon the covenants, and agreements, or capitulations, the most reverend and excellent lord Francisco Bonvisi, archbishop of Thessalonica, apostolic nuntio; count Christopherus a Scaffgotfch, Cæcareus Tuffanus de Forbin, de Jason, bishop of Marseilles in France, Joannes free-baron Hoverbec, from the marquis of Brandenburg, ambassadors, and other envoys and ministers of state.

LETTERS of STATE

TO MOST OF THE

Sovereign Princes and Republics of EUROPE,

During the Administration of the Commonwealth, and the
Protectors OLIVER and RICHARD CROMWELL.

LETTERS written in the Name of the PARLIAMENT.

The Senate and People of ENGLAND, to the most noble Senate of the City
of HAMBOROUGH.

FOR how long a series of past years, and for what important reasons the friendship entered into by our ancestors with your most noble city, has continued to this day, we both willingly acknowledge, together with yourselves; nor is it a thing displeasing to us, frequently also to call to our remembrance. But as to what we understand by your letters dated the twenty-fifth of June, that some of our people deal not with that fidelity and probity, as they were wont to do in their trading and commerce among ye; we presently referred it to the consideration of certain persons well skilled in those matters, to the end they might make a more strict enquiry into the frauds of the clothiers and other artificers of the woollen manufacture. And we farther promise to take such effectual care, as to make you sensible of our unalterable intentions, to preserve sincerity and justice among ourselves, as also never to neglect any good offices of our kindness that may redound to the welfare of your commonwealth. On the other hand, there is something likewise which we not only require, but which equity itself, and all the laws of God and man demand of yourselves; That you will not only conserve inviolable to the merchants of our nation their privileges, but by your authority and power defend and protect their lives and estates, as it becomes your city to do. Which as we most earnestly desired in our former letters; so upon the repeated complaints of our merchants that are daily made before us, we now more earnestly solicit and request it: they complaining, that their safety, and all that they have in the world, is again in great jeopardy among ye. For although they acknowledge themselves to have reaped some benefit for a short time of our former letters sent you, and to have had some respite from the injuries of a sort of profligate people; yet since the coming of the same Coc--m to your city (of whom we complained before) who pretends to be honoured with a sort of embassy from ----- the son of the lately deceased king, they have been assaulted with all manner of ill language, threats, and naked swords of ruffians and homicides, and have wanted your accustomed protection and defence; insomuch, that when two or three of the merchants, together with the president of the society, were hurried away by surprize aboard a certain privateer, and that the rest implored your aid, yet they could not obtain any assistance from you, till the merchants themselves were forced to embody their own strength, and rescue from the hands of pirates the persons seized on in that river, of which your city is the mistress, not
without

without extreme hazard of their lives. Nay, when they had fortunately brought them home again, and as it were by force of arms recovered them from an ignominious captivity, and carried the pirates themselves into custody; we are informed that Coc--m was so audacious as to demand the release of the pirates, and that the merchants might be delivered prisoners into his hands. We therefore again, and again, beseech and adjure ye, if it be your intention that contracts and leagues, and the very ancient commerce between both nations should be preserved (the thing which you desire) that our people may be able to assure themselves of some certain and firm support and reliance upon your word, your prudence and authority; that you would lend them a favourable audience concerning these matters, and that you would inflict deserved punishment as well upon Coc--m, and the rest of his accomplices in that wicked act, as upon those who lately assaulted the preacher, hitherto unpunished, or command them to depart your territories; nor that you would believe that expelled and exiled Tarquins are to be preferred before the friendship, and the wealth, and power of our republic. For if you do not carefully provide to the contrary, but that the enemies of our republic shall presume to think lawful the committing of any violences against us in your city, how unsafe, how ignominious the residence of our people there will be, do you consider with yourselves! These things we recommend to your prudence and equity, yourselves to the protection of heaven.

Westminster, Aug. 10. 1649.

To the Senate of HAMBOROUGH.

YOUR conspicuous favour in the doubtful condition of our affairs, is now the reason, that after victory and prosperous success, we can no longer question your good-will and friendly inclination towards us. As for our parts, the war being almost now determined, and our enemies every where vanquished, we have deemed nothing more just, or more conducing to the firm establishment of the republic, than that they who by our means (the Almighty being always our captain and conductor) have either recovered their liberty, or obtained their lives and fortunes, after the pernicious ravages of a civil war, of our free gift and grace, should testify and pay in exchange to their magistrates allegiance and duty in a solemn manner, if need required: more especially when so many turbulent and exasperated persons, more than once received into protection, will make no end, either at home or abroad, of acting perfidiously, and raising new disturbances. To that purpose we took care to enjoin a certain form of an oath, by which all who held any office in the commonwealth, or being fortified with the protection of the law, enjoyed both safety, ease, and all other conveniencies of life, should bind themselves to obedience in words prescribed. This we also thought proper to be sent to all colonies abroad, or where-ever else our people resided for the convenience of trade; to the end that the fidelity of those over whom we are set, might be proved and known to us, as it is but reasonable and necessary. Which makes us wonder so much the more at what our merchants write from your city, that they are not permitted to execute our commands by some or other of your order and degree. Certainly what the most potent united provinces of the low countries, most jealous of their power and their interests, never thought any way belonging to their inspection, namely whether the English foreigners swore fidelity and allegiance to their magistrates at home, either in these or those words, how that should come to be so suspected and troublesome to your city, we must plainly acknowledge that we do not understand. But this proceeding from the private inclinations or fears of some, whom certain vagabond Scots, expelled their country, are said to have enforced by menaces, on purpose to deter our merchants from
fswearing

swearing fidelity to us, we impute not to your city. Most earnestly therefore we intreat and conjure ye (for it is not now the interest of trade, but the honour of the republic itself that lies at stake) not to suffer any one among ye, who can have no reason to concern himself in this affair, to interpose his authority, whatever it be, with that supremacy which we challenge over our own subjects, not by the judgment and opinion of foreigners, but by the laws of our country; for who would not take it amiss, if we should forbid your Hamburgers, residing here, to swear fidelity to you that are their magistrates at home? Farewel.

Jan. 4. 1649.

To the most Serene and Potent Prince PHILIP the Fourth, King of SPAIN: The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, Greeting.

WE send to your majesty Anthony Ascham, a person of integrity, learned, and descended of an ancient family, to treat of matters very advantageous, as we hope, as well to the Spanish, as to the English nation. Wherefore in friendly manner, we desire that you would be pleased to grant, and order him a safe and honourable passage to your royal city, and the same in his return from thence, readily prepared to repay the kindness when occasion offers. Or if your majesty be otherwise inclined, that it may be signified to him with the soonest, what your pleasure is in this particular, and that he may be at liberty to depart without molestation.

Feb. 4. 1649.

To the most Serene and Potent Prince PHILIP the Fourth, King of SPAIN: The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, Greeting.

WHAT is the condition of our affairs, and by what heinous injuries provoked and broken, at length we began to think of recovering our liberty by force of arms; what constituted form of government we now make use of, can neither be concealed from your majesty, nor any other person who has but cast an impartial eye upon our writings published on these occasions. Neither ought we to think it a difficult thing, among fit and proper judges of things, to render our fidelity, our equity and patience, manifest to all men, and justly meriting their approbation; as also to defend our authority, honour, and grandeur, against the infamous tongues of exiles and fugitives. Now then, as to what is more the concern of foreign nations, after having subdued and vanquished the enemies of our country, through the miraculous assistance of heaven, we openly and cordially profess ourselves readily prepared to have peace and friendship, more desirable than all enlargement of empire, with our neighbour nations. For these reasons we have sent into Spain to your majesty, Anthony Ascham, of approved dexterity and probity, to treat with your majesty concerning friendship, and the accustomed commerce between both nations; or else, if it be your pleasure, to open a way for the ratifying of new articles and alliances. Our request therefore is, that you will grant him free liberty of access to your majesty, and give such order that care may be taken of his safety and honour, while he resides a public minister with your majesty; to the end he may freely propose what he has in charge from us, for the benefit, as we hope, of both nations; and certify to us with the soonest, what are your majesty's sentiments concerning these matters.

Westminster, Feb. 4. 1649.

To

To the most Serene Prince, JOHN the Fourth, King of PORTUGAL: The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, Greeting.

AFTER we had suffered many, and those the utmost mischiefs of a faithless peace, and intestine war, our being reduced to those exigencies, that if we had any regard to the safety of the republic, there was a necessity of altering for the chiefest part the form of government; is a thing which we make no question is well known to your majesty, by what we have both publicly written and declared in justification of our proceedings. To which, as it is but reason, if credit might be rather given than to the most malicious calumnies of loose and wicked men; perhaps we should find those persons more amicably inclined, who now abroad have the worst sentiments of our actions. For as to what we justify ourselves to have justly and strenuously performed after the example of our ancestors, in pursuance of our rights, and for recovery of the native liberty of Englishmen, certainly it is not the work of human force or wit to eradicate the perverse and obstinate opinions of people wickedly inclined concerning what we have done. But after all, in reference to what is common to us with all foreign nations, and more for the general interest on both sides, we are willing to let the world know, that there is nothing which we more ardently desire, than that the friendship and commerce which our people have been accustomed to maintain with all our neighbours, should be enlarged and settled in the most ample and solemn manner. And whereas our people have always driven a very great trade, and gainful to both nations, in your kingdom; we shall take care, as much as in us lies, that they may not meet with any impediment to interrupt their dealings. However, we foresee that all our industry will be in vain, if, as it is reported, the pirates and revolvers of our nation shall be suffered to have refuge in your ports, and after they have taken and plundered the laden vessels of the English, shall be permitted to sell their goods by public outcries at Lisbon. To the end therefore that a more speedy remedy may be applied to this growing mischief, and that we may be more clearly satisfied concerning the peace which we desire, we have sent to Your Majesty the most noble Charles Vane, under the character of our agent, with instructions and a commission, a plenary testimonial of the trust we have reposed, and the employment we have conferred upon him. Him therefore we most earnestly desire your majesty graciously to hear, to give him credit, and to take such order that he may be safe in his person and his honour, within the bounds of your dominions. These things, as they will be most acceptable to us, so we promise, whenever occasion offers, that the same offices of kindness to your majesty shall be mutually observed on all our parts.

Westminster, Feb. 4. 1649.

To the most Serene Prince, JOHN the Fourth, King of PORTUGAL: The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, Greeting.

ALMOST daily and most grievous complaints are brought before us, that certain of our seamen and officers who revolted from us the last year, and treacherously and wickedly carried away the ships with the command of which they were entrusted, and who having made their escape from the port of Ireland, where being blocked up for almost a whole summer together, they very narrowly avoided the punishment due to their crimes, have now betaken themselves to the coast of Portugal, and the mouth of the river Tagus; that there they practise furious piracy, taking and
plundering

plundering all the English vessels they meet with sailing to and fro upon the account of trade ; and that all the adjoining seas are become almost impassable, by reason of their notorious and infamous robberies. To which increasing mischief, unless a speedy remedy be applied, who does not see but that there will be a final end of that vast trade so gainful to both nations, which our people were wont to drive with the Portuguese? Wherefore we again and again request Your Majesty, that you would command those pirates and revolvers to depart the territories of Portugal : and that if any pretended ambassadors present themselves from ***** that you will not vouchsafe to give them audience ; but that you will rather acknowledge us, upon whom the supreme power of England, by the conspicuous favour and assistance of the Almighty, is devolved ; and that the ports and rivers of Portugal may not be barred and defended against your friends and confederates fleet, no less serviceable to your emolument than the trade of the English.

To PHILIP the Fourth, King of SPAIN.

HOW heinously, and with what detestation your majesty resented the villanous murder of our agent, Anthony Ascham, and what has hitherto been done in the prosecution and punishment of his assassins, we have been given to understand, as well by your majesty's own letters, as from your ambassador Don Alphonso de Cardenos. Nevertheless, so often as we consider the horridness of that bloody fact, which utterly subverts the very foundations of correspondence and commerce, and of the privilege of ambassadors, most sacred among all nations, so villanously violated without severity of punishment ; we cannot but with utmost importunity repeat our most urgent suit to your majesty, that those parricides may with all the speed imaginable be brought to justice, and that you would not suffer their merited pains to be suspended any longer by any delay or pretence of religion. For tho' most certainly we highly value the friendship of a potent prince ; yet it behoves us to use our utmost endeavours, that the authors of such an enormous parricide should receive the deserved reward of their impiety. Indeed, we cannot but with a grateful mind acknowledge that civility, of which by your command, our people were not unsensible, as also your surpassing affection for us, which lately your ambassador at large unfolded to us : nor will it be displeasing to us to return the same good offices to your majesty, and the Spanish nation, whenever opportunity offers. Nevertheless, if justice be not satisfied without delay, which we still most earnestly request, we see not upon what foundations a sincere and lasting friendship can subsist. For the preservation of which, however, we shall omit no just and laudable occasion ; to which purpose we are likewise apt to believe that the presence of your ambassador does not a little conduce.

To the SPANISH Ambassador.

Most Excellent Lord,

THE council of state, so soon as their weighty affairs would permit them, having carried into parliament the four writings, which it pleased your Excellency to impart to the council upon the nineteenth of December last, have received in command from the parliament to return this answer to the first head of those writings, touching the villanous assassins of their late agent, Anthony Ascham.

The parliament have so long time, so often, and so justly demanded their being brought to deserved punishment; that there needs nothing further to be said on a thing of so great importance, wherein (as your excellency well observed) his royal majesty's authority itself is so deeply concerned, that unless justice be done upon such notorious offenders, all the foundations of human society, all the ways of preserving friendship among nations, of necessity must be overturned and abolished. Nor can we apprehend by any argument drawn from religion, that the blood of the innocent, shed by a propensity malicious murder, is not to be avenged. The parliament therefore once more most urgently presses, and expects from his royal majesty, according to their first demands; that satisfaction be given them effectually, and sincerely in this matter.

To the most Serene Prince LEOPOLD, Archduke of AUSTRIA, Governor of the SPANISH Low Countries, under King PHILIP.

SO soon as word was brought us, not without a most grievous complaint, that Jane Puckering, an heiress of an illustrious and opulent family, while yet by reason of her age she was under guardians, not far from the house wherein she then lived at Greenwich, was violently forced from the hands and embraces of her attendants; and of a sudden in a vessel to that purpose ready prepared, carried off into Flanders by the treachery of one Walsh, who has endeavoured all the ways imaginable, in contempt of law both human and divine, to constrain a wealthy virgin to marriage, even by terrifying her with menaces of present death. We deeming it proper to apply some speedy remedy to so enormous and unheard-of piece of villany, gave orders to some persons to treat with the governors of Newport and Ostend (for the unfortunate captive was said to be landed in one of those two places) about rescuing the free-born lady out of the hands of the ravisher. Who, both out of their singular humanity and love of virtue, lent their assisting aid to the young virgin in servitude, and by downright robbery rifled from her habitation: so that to avoid the violence of her imperious masters, she was as it were deposited in a nunnery, and committed to the charge of the governess of the society. Wherefore the same Walsh, to get her again into his clutches, has commenced a suit against her in the ecclesiastical court of the bishop of Ypre, pretending a matrimonial contract between him and her. Now in regard that both the ravisher and the ravished person, are natives of our country, as by the witnesses upon their oaths abundantly appears; as also for that the splendid inheritance, after which most certainly the criminal chiefly gapes, lies within our territories; so that we conceive that the whole cognizance and determination of this cause belongs solely to ourselves: therefore let him repair hither, he who calls himself the husband, here let him commence his suit, and demand the delivery of the person whom he claims for his wife. In the meantime, this it is that we most earnestly request from your highness, which is no more than what we have already requested by our agent residing at Brussels, that you will permit an afflicted and many ways misused virgin, born of honest parents, but pirated out of her native country, to return, as far as lies in your power, with freedom and safety home again. This not only we, upon all opportunities offered, as readily prepared to return the same favour and kindness to your highness, but also humanity itself, and that same hatred of infamy, which ought to accompany all persons of virtue and courage in defending the honour of the female sex, seem altogether jointly to require at your hands.

Westminster, March 28. 1650.

To

To the most Serene Prince, JOHN the Fourth, King of PORTUGAL.

UNDERSTANDING that Your Majesty had both honourably received our agent, and immediately given him a favourable audience, we thought it became us to assure your majesty without delay, by speedy letters from us, that nothing could happen more acceptable to us, and that there is nothing which we have decreed more sacred, than not to violate by any word or deed of ours, not first provoked, the peace, the friendship and commerce, now for some time settled between us and the greatest number of other foreign nations, and among the rest with the Portuguese. Nor did we send the English fleet to the mouth of the river Tagus with any other intention or design, than in pursuit of enemies so often put to flight, and for recovery of our vessels, which being carried away from their owners by force and treachery, the same rabble of fugitives conducted to your coasts, and even to Lisbon itself, as to the most certain fairs for the sale of their plunder. But we are apt to believe, that by this time almost all the Portuguese are abundantly convinced, from the flagitious manners of those people, of their audaciousness, their fury and their madness. Which is the reason we are in hopes that we shall more easily obtain from your majesty, first, that you will, as far as in you lies, be assistant to the most illustrious Edward Popham, whom we have made admiral of our new fleet, for the subduing those detested freebooters, and that you will no longer suffer them, together with their captain, not guests, but pirates, not merchants, but the pests of commerce, and violaters of the law of nations, to harbour in the ports and under the shelter of the fortresses of your kingdom ; but that where-ever the confines of Portugal extend themselves, you will command them to be expelled as well by land as by sea. Or if you are unwilling to proceed to that extremity, at least that with your leave it may be lawful for us with our proper forces to assail our own revolvers and sea-robbers ; and if it be the pleasure of heaven, to reduce them into our power. This, as we have earnestly desired in our former letters, so now again with the greatest ardency and importunity we request of your majesty. By this, whether equity, or act of kindness, you will not only enlarge the fame of your justice over all well-governed and civil nations, but also in a greater measure bind both us and the people of England, who never yet had other than a good opinion of the Portuguese, to yourself and to your subjects. Farewel.

Westminster, April 27. 1650.

To the HAMBURGERS.

MORE than once we have written concerning the controversies of the merchants, and some other things which more nearly concern the dignity of our republic, yet no answer has been returned. But understanding that affairs of that nature can hardly be determined by letters only, and that in the mean time certain seditious persons have been sent to your city by ***** authorized with no other commission than that of malice and audaciousness, who make it their business utterly to extirpate the ancient trade of our people in your city, especially of those whose fidelity to their country is most conspicuous ; therefore we have commanded the worthy and most eminent Richard Bradshaw to reside as our agent among ye ; to the end he may be able more at large to treat and negotiate with your lordships such matters and affairs, as are interwoven with the benefit and advantages of both republics. Him therefore we request ye, with the soonest to admit to a favourable audience ; and that in all things that

credit may be given to him, that honour paid him, as is usual in all countries, and among all nations paid to those that bear his character.

Westminster, April 2. 1650.

To the HAMBURGERS.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Illustrious, our dearest Friends ;

THAT your sedulities in the reception of our agent were so cordial and so egregious, we both gladly understand, and earnestly exhort ye that you would persevere in your good-will and affection towards us. And this we do with so much the greater vehemence, as being informed that the same exiles of ours, concerning whom we have so frequently written, now carry themselves more insolently in your city than they were wont to do, and that they not only openly affront, but give out threatening language in a most despiteful manner against our resident. Therefore once more by these our letters we would have the safety of his person, and the honour due to his quality, recommended to your care. On the other side, if you inflict severe and timely punishment upon those fugitives and ruffians, as well the old ones as the new-comers, it will be most acceptable to us, and becoming your authority and prudence.

Westminster, May 31. 1650.

To PHILIP the Fourth, King of SPAIN.

TO our infinite sorrow we are given to understand, that Anthony Ascham, by us lately sent our agent to your majesty, and under that character most civilly and publicly received by your governors, upon his first coming to your royal city, naked of all defence and guard, was most bloodily murdered in a certain inn, together with John Baptista de Ripa his interpreter, butchered at the same time. Wherefore we most earnestly request your majesty, that deserved punishment may be speedily inflicted upon those parricides already apprehended, as it is reported, and committed to custody, who have not only presumed to wound ourselves through his sides, but have also dared to stab, as it were, to the very heart, your faith of word and royal honour. So that we make no question but what we so ardently desire, would nevertheless be done effectually, by a prince of his own accord so just and pious, though no body required it. As to what remains, we make it our farther suit, that the breathless carcass may be delivered to his friends and attendants to be brought back and interred in his own country, and that such care may be taken for the security of those that remain alive, as is but requisite ; till having obtained an answer to these letters, if it may be done, they shall return to us the witnesses of your piety and justice.

Westminster, June 28. 1650.

To

To the most Excellent Lord, ANTHONY JOHN LEWIS DE LA CERDA, Duke of MEDINA CELI, Governor of ANDALUSIA: The Council of State constituted by Authority of Parliament, Greeting.

WE have received advice from those most accomplished persons whom we lately sent with our fleet into Portugal, in pursuit of traitors, and for the recovery of our vessels, that they were most civilly received by your excellency, as often as they happened to touch upon the coast of Gallæcia, which is under your government, and assisted with all things necessary to those that perform long voyages. This civility of yours, as it was always most acceptable to us, so it is now more especially at this time, while we are sensible of the ill-will of others in some places towards us without any just cause given on our side: therefore we make it our request to your Illustrious Lordship, that you will persevere in the same good-will and affection to us, and that you would continue your favour and assistance to our people, according to your wonted civility, as often as our ships put in to your harbours: and be assured that there is nothing which we desire of your Lordship in the way of kindness; which we shall not be ready to repay both to you and yours, whenever the like occasion shall be offered us.

Sealed with the seal of the council,

Westminster, Nov. 7. 1650.

J. BRADSHAW, President.

To the Illustrious and Magnificent Senate of the City of DANTZICK:

Magnificent and most Noble Lords, our dearest friends;

MANY letters are brought us from our merchants trading upon the coast of Borussia, wherein they complain of a grievous tribute imposed upon them in the grand council of the Polanders, enforcing them to pay the tenth part of all their goods for the relief of the king of Scots, our enemy. Which in regard it is plainly contrary to the law of nations, that guests and strangers should be dealt withal in such a manner; and most unjust that they should be compelled to pay public stipends in a foreign commonwealth to him from whom they are, by God's assistance, delivered at home: we make no question but that out of respect to that liberty, which as we understand you yourselves enjoy, you will not suffer so heavy a burden to be laid on merchants in your city, wherein they have maintained a continual amity and commerce, to the extraordinary advantage of the place for many years together. If therefore you think it convenient to undertake the protection of our merchants trading among ye, which we assuredly expect as well from your prudence and equity, as from the dignity and grandeur of your city; we shall take that care, that you shall be sensible from time to time, of our grateful acceptance of your kindness, as often as the Dantzickers shall have any dealings within our territories, or their ships, as frequently it happens, put into our ports.

Westminster, Febr. 6. 1650.

T.

To the PORTUGAL Agent.

Most Illustrious Lord,

WE received your letters dated from Hampton the fifteenth of this month, wherein you signify, that you are sent by the king of Portugal to the parliament of the commonwealth of England; but say not under what character, whether of ambassador, or agent, or envoy, which we would willingly understand by your credential letters from the king, a copy of which you may send us with all the speed you can. We would also further know, whether you come with a plenary commission, to give us satisfaction for the injuries, and to make reparation for the damages which your king has done this republic, protecting our enemy all the last summer in his harbours, and prohibiting the English fleet, then ready to assail rebels and fugitives, which our admiral had pursued so far; but never restraining the enemy from falling upon ours. If you return us word, that you have ample and full commission to give us satisfaction concerning all these matters, and send us withal a copy of your recommendatory letters, we shall then take care, that you may with all speed repair to us upon the Public Faith: at which time, when we have read the king's letters, you shall have liberty freely to declare what further commands you have brought along with you.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the most Serene Prince
D. FERDINAND, Grand Duke of TUSCANY, &c.

WE have received your highness's letters, dated April twenty-two, sixteen hundred and fifty-one, and delivered to us by your resident, Signor Almeric Salvetti, wherein we readily perceive how greatly your highness favours the English name, and the value you have for this nation; which not only our merchants, that for many years have traded in your ports, but also certain of our young nobility, either travelling through your cities, or residing there for the improvement of their studies, both testify and confirm. Which as they are things most grateful and acceptable to us, we also on our parts make this request to your Highness, that your Serenity will persevere in your accustomed good-will and affection towards our merchants, and other citizens of our republic, travelling through the Tuscan territories. On the other side, we promise and undertake, as to what concerns the parliament, that nothing shall be wanting, which may any way conduce to the confirmation and establishment of that commerce and mutual friendship, that now has been of long continuance between both nations, and which it is our earnest wish and desire should be preserved to perpetuity, by all offices of humanity, civility, and mutual observance.

Westminster,
Jan. 20. 1651.

Sealed with the seal of the parliament, and subscribed by
WILLIAM LENTHALL speaker of the parliament of the
commonwealth of England.

The

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the Illustrious and
Magnificent Senate of the City of HAMBOROUGH.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Illustrious, our dearest friends ;

TH E parliament of the commonwealth of England, out of their earnest desire to continue and preserve the ancient friendship and mutual commerce between the English nation and your city, not long since sent thither Richard Bradshaw, Esq; with the character of our resident ; and among other instructions tending to the same purpose, gave him an express charge to demand Justice against certain persons within your jurisdiction, who endeavoured to murder the Preacher belonging to the English society, and who likewise laid impious hands upon the deputy-president, and some of the principal merchants of the same company, and hurried them away aboard a privateer. And although the aforesaid resident, upon his first reception and audience, made known to your lordships in a particular manner the commands which he received from us ; upon which it was expected that you would have made those criminals ere this a severe example of your justice : yet when we understood our expectations were not answered, considering with ourselves what danger both our people and their estates were in, if sufficient provision were not made for their security and protection against the malice of their enemies, we again sent orders to our aforesaid resident, to represent to your lordships our judgment upon the whole matter ; as also to exhort and persuade ye, in the name of this republic, to be careful of preserving the friendship and alliance contracted between this commonwealth and your city, as also the traffic and commerce no less advantageous for the interest of both ; and to that end, that you would not fail to protect our merchants, together with their privileges, from all violation, and more particularly against the insolences of one Garmes, who has carried himself contumeliously toward this republic, and publicly cited to the Chamber of Spire, certain merchants of the English company residing in your city, to the great contempt of this commonwealth, and trouble of our merchants ; for which we expect such reparation, as shall be consentaneous to equity and justice.

To treat of these heads, and whatever else more largely belongs to the common friendship of both republics, we have ordered our resident aforesaid to attend your lordships, requesting that ample credit may be given to him in such matters as he shall propose relating to these affairs.

Westminster,
Mar. 12. 1651.

Scaled with the parliament seal, and subscribed
Speaker, &c.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the most Serene
CHRISTIANA, Queen of the SWEDES, GOTHs and VANDALS, &c. Greeting.

Most Serene Queen ;

WE have received and read your majesty's letters to the parliament of England, dated from Stockholm, the twenty-sixth of September last, and delivered by Peter Spering Silvercroon ; and there is nothing which we more vehemently and cordially desire, than that the ancient peace, traffic and commerce of long continuance between the English and Swedes, may prove diuturnal, and every day increase. Nor did we question but that your majesty's ambassador was come amply instructed to make those

those propofals chiefly which ſhould be moſt for the intereſt and honour of both nations, and which we were no leſs readily prepared to have heard, and to have done effectually that which ſhould have been thought moſt ſecure and beneficial on both ſides. But it pleaſed the Supreme Moderator and Governor of all things, that before he had deſired to be heard as to thoſe matters which he had in charge from your majeſty to propound to the parliament, he departed this life, (whoſe loſs we took with that heavineſs and ſorrow, as it became perſons whom it no leſs beloved to acquieſce in the will of the Almighty) whence it comes to paſs, that we are prevented hitherto from knowing your majeſty's pleaſure, and that there is a ſtop at preſent put to this negotiation. Wherefore we thought we could do no leſs than by theſe our letters, which we have given to our meſſenger on purpoſe ſent with theſe unhappy tidings, to ſignify to your majeſty, how acceptable your letters, how grateful your public miniſter were to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England; as alſo how earneſtly we expect your frienſhip, and how highly we ſhall value the amity of ſo great a princeſs; aſſuring your majeſty, that we have thoſe thoughts of encreaſing the commerce between this republic and your majeſty's kingdom, as we ought to have of a thing of the higheſt importance, which for that reaſon will be moſt acceptable to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England. And ſo we recommend your majeſty to the protection of the Divine Providence.

Westminſter,
March---1651.

Sealed with the parliament ſeal, and ſubſcribed,
Speaker, &c.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the moſt Serene and Potent Prince, PHILIP the Fourth, King of SPAIN, Greeting.

TH E merchants of this commonwealth, who trade in your majeſty's territories, make loud complaints of extraordinary violence and injuries offered them, and of new tributes impoſed upon them by the governors and other officers of your ports and places where they traffic, and particularly in the Canary iſlands, and this againſt the articles of the league ſolemnly ratified by both nations on the account of trade; the truth of which complaints they have confirmed by oath. And they make it out before us, that unleſs they can enjoy their privileges, and that their loſſes be repaired; laſtly, that except they may have ſome certain ſafeguard and protection for themſelves and their eſtates againſt thoſe violences and injuries, they can no longer traffic in thoſe places. Which complaints of theirs being duly weighed by us, and believing the unjuſt proceedings of thoſe miniſters, either not at all to have reached your knowledge, or elſe to have been untruly repreſented to your majeſty, we deemed it convenient to ſend the complaints themſelves, together with theſe our letters, to your majeſty. Nor do we queſtion but that your majeſty, as well out of your love of juſtice, as for the ſake of that commerce no leſs gainful to your ſubjects than our people, will command your governors to deſiſt from thoſe unjuſt oppreſſions of our merchants, and ſo order it, that they may obtain ſpeedy juſtice, and due ſatisfaction for thoſe injuries done them by Don Pedro de Carillo de Guzman, and others; and that your majeſty will take care that the merchants aforeſaid may reap the fruit of thoſe articles; and be ſo far under your protection, that both their perſons and their eſtates may be ſecure and free from all manner of injury and vexation. And this they believe they ſhall for the greateſt part obtain, if your majeſty will be pleaſed to reſtore them that expedient, taken from them, of a judge-conſervator, who may be able to defend them from a new conſulſhip more uneaſy to them; leſt if no ſhelter from injuſtice be allowed them, there ſhould follow a
neceſſity

necessity of breaking off that commerce, which has hitherto brought great advantages to both nations, while the articles of the league are violated in such a manner.

Westm. Aug.----1651.

To the most Serene Prince, the Duke of VENICE, and the most Illustrious Senate.

Most Serene Prince, most Illustrious Senate, our dearest Friends;

CERTAIN of our merchants, by name John Dickins, and Job Throckmorton, with others, have made their complaints unto us, that upon the twenty-eighth of November, sixteen hundred and fifty-one, having seized upon a hundred butts of Caveare in the vessel called the Swallow, riding in the Downs, Isaac Taylor master, which were their own proper goods, and laden aboard the same ship in the Muscovite bay of Archangel, and this by the authority of our court of admiralty; in which court, the suit being there depending, they obtained a decree for the delivery of the said butts of Caveare into their possession, they having first given security to abide by the sentence of that court: and that the said court, to the end the said suit might be brought to a conclusion, having written letters, according to custom, to the magistrates and judges of Venice; wherein they requested liberty to cite John Piatti to appear by his proctor in the English court of Admiralty, where the suit depended, and prove his right: nevertheless that the said Piatti and one David Rutts a Hollander, while this cause depends here in our court, put the said John Dickins, and those other merchants, to a vast deal of trouble about the said Caveare, and sollicit the seizure of their goods and estates as forfeited for debt. All which things, and whatever else has hitherto been done in our foresaid court, is more at large set forth in those letters of request afore-mentioned; which after we had viewed, we thought proper to be transmitted to the most serene republic of Venice, to the end they might be assistant to our merchants in this cause. Upon the whole therefore, it is our earnest request to your highness, and the most illustrious senate, that not only those letters may obtain their due force and weight; but also that the goods and estates of the merchants, which the foresaid Piatti and David Rutts have endeavoured to make liable to forfeiture, may be discharged; and that the said defendants may be referred hither to our court, to try what right they have in their claim to this Caveare. Wherein your highness, and the most serene republic will do as well what is most just in itself, as what is truly becoming the spotless amity between both republics: and lastly, what will gratefully be recompenced by the good-will and kind offices of this republic; whenever occasions offer.

Whitehall, Feb. ---
1652.

Sealed with the seal of the council, and subscribed
PRESIDENT of the council.

To the SPANISH Ambassador.

Most Excellent Lord,

THE council of state, according to a command from the parliament, dated the second of March, having taken into serious deliberation your excellency's paper of the fifteenth of February, delivered to the commissioners of this council, wherein it seemed good to your excellency to propose, that a reply might be given to two certain heads therein specified as previous, returns the following answer to your excellency.

VOL. II.

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The

The parliament, when they gave an answer to those things which were proposed by your excellency at your first audience, as also in those letters which they wrote to the most serene king of Spain, gave real and ample demonstrations how grateful and how acceptable that friendship and that mutual alliance, which was offered by his royal majesty, and by yourself in his name, would be to them; and how fully they were resolved, as far as in them lay, to make the same returns of friendship and good offices.

After that, it seemed good to your excellency, at your first audience in council upon the nineteenth of December Old Stile, to propound to this council, as a certain ground or method for an auspicious commencement of a stricter amity, that some of their body might be nominated, who might hear what your excellency had to propose; and who having well weighed the benefit that might redound from thence, should speedily report the same to the council. To which request of yours, that satisfaction might be given, the council appointed certain of their number to attend your excellency, which was done accordingly. But instead of those things which were expected to have been propounded, the conference produced no more than the above-mentioned paper: to which the answer of the council is this.

When the parliament shall have declared their minds, and your excellency shall have made the progress as above expected, we shall be ready to confer with your excellency, and to treat of such matters as you shall propose in the name of the king your master, as well in reference to the friendship already concluded, as the entering into another more strict and binding; or as to any thing else which shall be offered by ourselves in the name of this republic: and when we descend to particulars, we shall return such answers as are most proper, and the nature of the thing proposed shall require.

Whitehall, March 21. 1652.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the most Serene Prince FREDERIC the Third, King of DENMARK, &c. Greeting.

Most Serene and Potent King,

WE have received your majesty's letters, dated from Copenhagen the twenty-first of December last, and delivered to the parliament of the commonwealth of England by the noble Henry Willemsen Rosenwyng de Lynsacker, and most gladly perused them, with that affection of mind which the matters therein propounded justly merit, and request your majesty to be fully persuaded of this, that the same inclinations, the same desires of continuing and preserving the ancient friendship, commerce, and alliance for so many years maintained between England and Denmark, which are in your majesty, are also in us. Not being ignorant, that though it has pleased Divine Providence, beholding this nation with such a benign and favourable aspect, to change for the better the received form of the former government among us; nevertheless, that the same interests on both sides, the same common advantages, the same mutual alliance and free traffic, which produced the former leagues and confederacies between both nations, still endure and obtain their former force and virtue, and oblige both to make it their common study by rendering those leagues the most beneficial that may be to each other, to establish also a nearer and sounder friendship for the time to come. And if your majesty shall be pleased to pursue those counsels which are manifested in your royal letters, the parliament will be ready to embrace the same with all alacrity and fidelity, and to contribute all those things to the utmost of their power, which they shall think may conduce to that end. And they persuade themselves that your majesty for this reason, will take those counsels in reference to this republic, which may facilitate the
good

good success of those things propounded by your majesty to ourselves so desirous of your amity. In the mean time, the parliament wishes all happiness and prosperity to your majesty and people.

Westminster, April ----
1652.

Under the seal of the parliament, and subscribed
in its name, and by the authority of it,
SPEAKER, &c.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the most Illustrious and Magnificent, the Proconsuls and Senators of the HANSE-TOWNS, Greeting.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Illustrious, our dearest Friends;

THE Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND has both received and perused your letters of the sixteenth of January last, delivered by your public minister Leo ab Aysma, and by their authority have given him an audience; at what time he declared the cordial and friendly inclinations of your cities toward this republic, and desired that the ancient friendship might still remain on both sides. The parliament therefore, for their parts, declare and assure your lordships, that they deem nothing more grateful to themselves, than that the same friendship and alliance which has hitherto been maintained between this nation and those cities, should be renewed, and firmly ratified; and that they will be ready upon all occasions fitly offered, what they promise in words, solemnly to perform in real deeds; and expect that their ancient friends and confederates should deal by them with the same truth and integrity. But as to those things which your resident has more particularly in charge, in regard they were by us referred entire to the Council of State, and his proposals were to be there considered, they transacted with him there, and gave him such answers, as seemed most consentaneous to equity and reason, of which your resident is able to give you an account; whose prudence and conspicuous probity proclaim him worthy the public character by you conferred upon him.

Westminster, April ---
1652.

Under the seal of the parliament, in the
name, and by the authority of it,
subscribed, SPEAKER, &c.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the Illustrious and Magnificent Senate of the City of HAMBOROUGH, Greeting.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Illustrious, our dearest Friends;

THE parliament of the commonwealth of England has received and perused your letters, dated from Hamborough the fifteenth of January last, and delivered by the noble Leo ab Aysma, yours and the rest of the Hanseatic cities resident, and by their own authority gave him audience; and as to what other particular commands he had from your city, they have referred them to the council of state, and gave them orders to receive his proposals, and to treat with him as soon as might be, concerning all such things as seemed to be just and equal: which was also done accordingly. And as the parliament has made it manifest, that they will have a due regard to what shall be
B b 2 proposed

propofed by your lordships, and have testified their fingular good-will toward your city, by fending their resident thither, and commanding his abode there ; fo on the other fide they expect, and defervedly require from your lordships, that the fame equity be returned to them, in things which are to the benefit of this republic, either already propofed, or hereafter to be propounded by our faid resident in their name to your city, anciently our friend and confederate.

Westminfter, April ----
1652.

Under the feal of the parliament, in the
name, and by the authority of it,
fubfcribed, SPEAKER, &c.

The Council of State of the Republic of ENGLAND, to the moft Serene Prince
FERDINAND the Second, Grand Duke of TUSCANY, Greeting.

THE Council of State being informed by letters from Charles Longland, who takes care of the affairs of the English in your highnefs's court of Leghorn, that lately fourteen men of war, belonging to the United Provinces, came into that harbour, and openly threatened to fink or burn the English fhips that were riding in your port ; but that your Serenity, whose protection and fuccour the English merchants implored, gave command to the governor of Leghorn, that he fhould affift and defend the English veffels : they deemed it their duty to certify to your highnefs how acceptable that kindnefs and protection which you fo favourably afforded the English nation, was to this republic ; and do promise your highnefs, that they will always keep in remembrance the merit of fo deferving a favour, and will be ready upon all occafions to make the fame returns of friendship and good offices to your people, and to do all things elfe which may conduce to the prefervation and continuance of the ufual amity and commerce between both nations. And whereas the Dutch men of war, even in the time of treaty offered by themfelves, were fo highly perfidious, as to fall upon our fleet in our own roads, (in which foul attempt, God, as moft juft arbiter, fhewed himfelf offended and oppofite to their design) but alfo in the ports of foreigners endeavoured to take or fink our merchant veffels ; we thought it alfo neceffary to fend this declaration alfo of the parliament of the commonwealth of England to your highnefs, the publishing of which was occafioned by the controversies at prefent arifen between this republic and the United Provinces. By which your highnefs may eafily perceive how unjuft and contrary to all the laws of God and of nations thofe people have acted againft this republic ; and how cordially the parliament laboured, for the fake of public tranquility, to have retained their priftine friendship and alliance.

Whitehall, July 29.
1652.

In the name, and by the authority of
the Council, fubfcribed, PRESIDENT.

To the SPANISH Ambaffador.

Moft Excellent Lord,

THE Council of State, upon mature deliberation of that paper which they received from your excellency, ^{27 May}_{6 June} 1652, as alfo upon that which your excellency at your audience the ⁶₁₇ of this month delivered to the council, return this answer to both thofe papers : that the parliament, &c. was always very defirous of pre-
ferving

serving the firm friendship and good peace settled at present between this republic and his royal majesty of Spain, from the time that first your excellency signified the tendency of his majesty's inclinations that way, and was always ready to ratify and confirm the same to the benefit and advantage of both nations. And this, the council of state in the name, and by command of the parliament, in their papers oft-times made known to your excellency; and particularly, according to your excellency's desire, made choice of commissioners to attend and receive from your excellency such proposals as might conduce to the same purpose. At which meeting, instead of making such proposals, it seemed good to your excellency only to propound some general matters, as it were previous to a future conference, concerning which it seemed to the council that the parliament had in former papers fully made known their sentiments. Nevertheless for more ample and accumulative satisfaction, and to remove all scruples from your excellency concerning those matters which they at that time proposed, the council in that paper, dated ^{31 March,}_{10 April,} declared themselves ready to come to a conference with your excellency, concerning those things which you had in charge from his royal majesty, as well in reference to the pristine amity, as to any farther negotiation; as also touching such matters as should be exhibited by us, in the name of this republic; and when we came to such particulars as were to the purpose, and the nature of the thing required, then to give convenient answers. To which it seemed good to your excellency to make no reply, nor to proceed any farther in that affair for almost two months. About that time the council received from your excellency your first paper, dated ^{27 May,}_{6 June,} wherein you only made this proposal, that the articles of peace and league between the late king Charles and your master, dated the $\frac{6}{11}$ of November 1630, might be reviewed, and that the several heads of it might be either enlarged or left out, according to the present condition of times and things, and the late Alteration of Government. Which being no more than what we ourselves briefly and clearly signified in our foresaid paper of the ^{31 March,}_{10 April,} the council expected that some particular articles would have been propounded out of that league, with those amplifications and alterations of which you made mention; since otherwise it is impossible for us to return any other answer concerning this matter than what we have already given. And whereas your excellency in your last paper seems to charge us with delay, the council therefore took a second review of the foresaid paper of the ^{27 May,}_{6 June,} and of what was therein propounded, and are still of opinion, that they have fully satisfied your excellency in that former paper: to which they can only farther add, that so soon as your excellency shall be pleased, either out of the leagues already made, or in any other manner, to frame such conditions as shall be accommodated to the present state of things and times, upon which you desire to have the foundations of friendship laid on your side, they will immediately return you such answers as by them shall be thought just and reasonable, and which shall be sufficient testimonials that the parliament still perseveres in the same desires, of preserving an untainted and firm amity with the king your master, and that on their parts they will omit no honest endeavours, and worthy of themselves, to advance it to the highest perfection.

Furthermore, the council deems it to be a part of their duty, that your excellency should be put in mind of that paper of ours, dated January 30, 1651, to which in regard your excellency has returned no answer as yet, we press and expect that satisfaction be given to the parliament, as to what is therein mentioned.

The Answer of the Council of State to the Reply of the Lords Ambassadors Extraordinary from the King of DENMARK and NORWAY, delivered to the Commissioners of the Council, to the Answer which the Council gave to their fourteen Demands.

TO the end that satisfaction may be given to the foresaid lords embassadors in reference to the answer of the council to the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth article, the council consents that this following clause shall be added at the end of their answers: that is to say, besides such colonies, islands, ports and places under the dominion of either party, to which it is by law provided that no body shall resort upon the account of trade or commerce, unless upon special leave first obtained of that party to which that colony, island, port or places belong.

The receiving of any person into any ship that shall be driven in by stress of weather into the rivers, ports or bays belonging to either party, shall not render that vessel liable to any trouble or search, by the answer of the council to the eleventh article, as the foresaid lords embassadors in their reply seem to have understood, unless it be where such a receiving shall be against the laws, statutes, or custom of that place where the vessel put in, wherein it seems to the council, that there is nothing of severity ordained, but what equally conduces to the security of both republics.

As to the proving the property of such ships and goods as shall be cast ashore by shipwreck, the council deems it necessary that an oath be administered in those courts which are already, or shall hereafter be constituted, where the claimers may be severally heard, and every body's right be determined and adjudged, which cannot be so clearly and strictly done by written certificates, whence many scruples and doubts may arise, and many frauds and deceits creep into that sort of proof, which it concerns both parties to prevent. The council also deems it just, that a certain time be prefixed, before which time, whoever does not prove himself the lawful owner of the said goods, shall be excluded, to avoid suits. But as to the manner of putting perishable goods to sale that are cast ashore by shipwreck, the council thinks it meet to propose the way of selling by inch of candle, as being the most probable means to procure the true value of the goods for the best advantage of the proprietors. Nevertheless, if the foresaid lords ambassadors shall propose any other method already found out, which may more properly conduce to this end, the council will be no hindrance, but that what is just may be put in practice. Neither is it to be understood, that the consideration of this matter shall put any stop to the treaty.

As to the punishment of those who shall violate the propounded treaty, the council has made that addition which is mentioned in their answer to the fourteenth article, for the greater force and efficacy of that article, and thereby to render the league itself more firm and lasting.

As to the last clause of the fourteenth article, we think it not proper to give our assent to those leagues and alliances, of which mention is made in the aforesaid answers, and which are only generally propounded, before it be more clearly apparent to us what they are. But when your excellencies shall be pleased to explain those matters more clearly to the council, we may be able to give a more express answer to those particulars.

A Reply of the Council of State to the Answer of the foresaid Lords Ambassadors; which was returned to the six Articles propounded by the Council aforesaid, in the Name of the Republic of ENGLAND.

THE council having viewed the commissions of the foresaid lords ambassadors, giving them power to transact with the parliament or their commissioners, concerning all things expedient to be transacted in order to the reviving the old leagues, or adding new ones, believed indeed the foresaid lords to have been furnished with that authority as to be able to return answers, and negotiate all things, as well such as should be propounded by this republic, as on the behalf of the king of Denmark and Norway, and so did not expect the replies which it has pleased the foresaid lords ambassadors to give to the first, second, third, and fifth demand of the council, whereby of necessity a stop will be put to this treaty, in regard it is but just in itself, and so resolved on in council to comprehend the whole league, and to treat at the same time as well concerning those things which regard this republic, as those other matters, which concern the king of Denmark and Norway. Wherefore it is the earnest desire of the council, that your excellencies would be pleased to return an answer to our first, second, third and fifth demand.

As to the fourth article concerning the customs of Gluckstadt, in regard they are now abolished, as your excellencies have mentioned in your answer, the council presses that their abrogation may be ratified by this treaty, lest they should be re-imposed hereafter.

As to the sixth article concerning piracy, the council inserted it, as equally appertaining to the benefit of both, and to the establishing of trade in common, which is much disturbed by pirates and sea-robbers. And whereas the answer of the lords ambassadors, as to this article, relates only to enemies, but makes no mention of pirates, the council therefore desires a more distinct reply to it.

And whereas the foresaid lords ambassadors in their reply to the answer of the council have passed over both their tenth article, and the answer of the council to it; the council have thought it necessary to add this following article to their following demands.

That the people and inhabitants of the republic of England trading into any kingdoms, regions or territories of the king of Denmark and Norway, shall not for the future pay any more customs, tribute, taxes, duties or stipends, or in any other manner than the people of the United Provinces, or any other foreign nation that pays the least, coming in or going out of harbour; and shall enjoy the same, and as equally ample freedom, privileges and immunities, both coming and going, and so long as they shall reside in the country, as also in fishing, trading, or in any other manner which any other people of a foreign nation enjoys, or may enjoy in the foresaid kingdoms, and throughout the whole dominions of the said king of Denmark and Norway: which privileges also the subjects of the king of Denmark and Norway shall equally enjoy throughout all the territories and dominions of the Republic of England.

The Council of State of the Republic of ENGLAND, to the most Serene Prince,
FERDINAND the Second, Grand Duke of TUSCANY, Greeting.

Most Serene Prince, our dearest Friend,

THE Council of State understanding, as well by your highness's agent here residing, as by Charles Longland, chief factor for the English at Leghorn, with what affection and fidelity your highness undertook the protection of the English vessels putting into the port of Leghorn for shelter, against the Dutch men of war threatening them with nothing but ransack and destruction, by their letters of the twenty-ninth of July (which they hope are by this time come to your highness's hands) have made known to your highness how grateful and how acceptable it was to them; and at the same time sent to your Serenity a declaration of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, concerning the present differences between this Republic and the United Provinces. And whereas the council has again been informed by the same Charles Longland, what further commands your highness gave for the security and defence of the English vessels, notwithstanding the opposite endeavours of the Dutch, they deemed this opportunity not to be passed over, to let your highness understand once more, how highly they esteem your justice and singular constancy in defending their vessels, and how acceptable they took so great a piece of service. Which being no mean testimony of your solid friendship and affection to this republic, your highness may assure yourself, that the same offices of kindness and good-will towards your highness, shall never be wanting in us; such as may be able to demonstrate how firmly we are resolved to cultivate both long and constantly, to the utmost of our power, that friendship which is between your Serenity and this republic. In the mean time, we have expressly commanded all our ships upon their entrance into your ports, not to fail of paying the accustomed salutes by firing their guns, and to give all other due honours to your highness.

Whitehall, Sept.—1652.

Sealed with the Council-Seal,
and subscribed, President.

To the SPANISH Ambassador, ALPHONSO DE CARDENAS.

Most Excellent Lord,

YOUR excellency's letters of the $\frac{1}{11}$ of November 1652, delivered by your secretary, together with two petitions inclosed, concerning the ships, the Sampson and San Salvadore, were read in council. To which the council returns this answer, That the English man of war meeting with the aforesaid ships, not in the Downs, as your excellency writes, but in the open sea, brought them into port as enemies ships, and therefore lawful prize; and the court of admiralty, to which it properly belongs to take cognizance of all causes of this nature, have undertaken to determine the right in dispute; where all parties concerned on both sides shall be fully and freely heard, and you may be assured that right shall take place. We have also sent your excellency's request to the judges of that court, to the end we may more certainly understand what progress they have made in their proceeding to judgment. Of which, so soon as we are rightly informed, we shall take care that such orders shall be given in this matter, as shall correspond with justice, and become the friendship that is between this republic and your king. Nor are we less confident, that his royal majesty will by no means

means permit the goods of the enemies of this Commonwealth to be concealed, and escape due confiscation under the shelter of being owned by his subjects.

Sealed with the Council-Seal, and subscribed,

Whitehall, Nov. 11.
1652.

William Masham, President.

To the SPANISH Ambassador.

Most Excellent Lord,

BUT lately the council has been informed by captain Badiley, admiral of the fleet of this Republic in the Streights, that after he himself, together with three other men of war, had for two days together engaged eleven of the Dutch, put into Porto Longone, as well to repair the damages he had received in the fight, as also to supply himself with warlike ammunition; where the governor of the place performed all the good offices of a most just and courteous person, as well towards his own, as the rest of the men of war under his conduct. Now in regard that that same place is under the dominion of the most serene king of Spain, the Council cannot but look upon the singular civility of that garison to be the copious fruit of that stricter mutual amity so auspiciously commenced; and therefore deem it to be a part of their duty to return their thanks to his majesty for a kindness so opportunely received, and desire your excellency to signify this to your most serene king, and to assure him that the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England will be always ready to make the same returns of friendship and civility upon all occasions offered.

Sealed with the Council-Seal, and subscribed,

Westminster, Nov. 11.
1652.

William Masham, President.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the most Serene Prince, Ferdinand the Second, Grand Duke of TUSCANY, Greeting.

Most Serene Prince, our dearest Friend;

THE Parliament of the Commonwealth of England has received your letters dated from Florence, August 17. concerning the restitution of a certain ship laden with rice, which ship is claimed by captain Cardi of Leghorn. And though the judges of our admiralty have already pronounced sentence in that cause against the foresaid Cardi, and that there be an appeal depending before the delegates; yet upon your highness's request, the parliament, to testify how much they value the good will and alliance of a prince so much their friend, have given order to those who are entrusted with this affair, that the said ship, together with the rice, or at least the full price of it, be restored to the foresaid captain Cardi; the fruit of which command his proctor here has effectually already reaped. And as your highness by favourably affording your patronage and protection to the ships of the English in your port of Leghorn, has in a more especial manner tied the parliament to your serenity; so will they, on the other side, take care, as often as opportunity offers, that all their offices of sincere friendship and good-will towards your highness may be solidly effectual and

permanent; withal recommending your highness to the divine benignity; and protection of the Almighty.

Westminster, Nov. 1652.

Sealed with the seal of the common-
wealth, and subscribed,
Speaker, &c.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the most Serene and Potent Prince, King of DENMARK, &c.

Most Serene and Potent King,

THE Parliament of the Commonwealth of England have received information from their admiral of that fleet so lately sent to Copenhagen, your majesty's port, to convoy our merchants homeward bound, that the foresaid ships are not permitted to return along with him, as being detained by your majesty's command; and upon his producing your royal letters, declaring your justifications of the matter of fact, the parliament denies that the reasons laid down in those letters for the detaining of those ships are any way satisfactory to them. Therefore that some speedy remedy may be applied in a matter of so great moment, and so highly conducing to the prosperity of both nations, for preventing a greater perhaps ensuing mischief, the parliament have sent their Resident at Hambrough, Richard Bradshaw Esquire, a person of great worth and known fidelity, with express commands to treat with your majesty, as their agent also in Denmark, concerning this affair: and therefore we entreat your majesty to give him a favourable audience and ample credit in whatever he shall propose to your majesty on our behalf, in reference to this matter; in the mean time recommending your majesty to the protection of Divine Providence.

Westminster, Nov. 6. 1652.

Under the Seal of the Parliament, and
in their Name, and by their Au-
thority, subscribed,
Speaker, &c.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the most Serene Prince the Duke of VENICE, Greeting.

THE Parliament of the Commonwealth of England has received your highness's letters, dated June 1. 1652. and delivered by Lorenzo Pallutio, wherein they not only gladly perceive both yours, and the cordial inclination of the senate toward this Republic, but have willingly laid hold of this opportunity to declare their singular affection and good-will towards the most serene Republic of Venice; which they shall be always ready to make manifest both really and sincerely, as often as opportunity offers. To whom also all the ways and means that shall be propounded to them for the preserving or increasing mutual friendship and alliance, shall be ever most acceptable. In the mean time we heartily pray that all things prosperous, all things favourable, may befall your highness and the most serene Republic.

Westminster, December, 1652.

Sealed with the Parliament-Seal,
and subscribed,
Speaker, &c.

The

The Parliament of the Republic of ENGLAND, to the most Serene Prince,
FERDINAND the Second, Grand Duke of TUSCANY, Greeting.

ALthough the parliament of the Republic of England some time since redoubled their commands to all the chief captains and masters of ships arriving in the ports belonging to your highness, to carry themselves peacefully and civilly, and with becoming observance and duty to a most serene prince, whose friendship this Republic so earnestly endeavours to preserve, as having been obliged by so many great kindnesses; an accident altogether unexpected has fallen out, through the insolence, as they hear, of captain Appleton in the port of Leghorn, who offered violence to the sentinel then doing his duty upon the mole, against the faith and duty which he owes this Republic, and in contempt of the reverence and honour which is justly owing to your highness: the relation of which action, as it was really committed, the parliament has understood by your letters of the seventh and ninth of December, dated from Florence; as also more at large by the most worthy Almeric Salvetti, your resident here. And they have so sincerely laid to heart your highness's honour, which is the main concern of this complaint, that they have referred it to the Council of State, to take care that letters be sent to capt. Appleton, to come away without stop or stay by land, in order to his giving an account of this unwonted and extraordinary act (a copy of which letters is sent herewith inclosed) who so soon as he shall arrive, and be accused of the fact, we promise that such a course shall be taken with him, as may sufficiently testify that we no less heinously brook the violation of your right than the infringement of our own authority. Moreover, upon mature debate concerning the recovered ship, called the Phoenix of Leghorn, which affair is also related and pressed by your highness, and your resident here, to have been done by captain Appleton, contrary to promise given, whereby he was obliged not to fall upon even the Hollanders themselves within sight of the Lanthorn; and that your highness, trusting to that faith, promised security to the Hollanders upon your word; and therefore that we ought to take care for the satisfaction of those who suffer damage under the protection of your promise; the parliament begs of your excellency to be assured, That this fact, as it was committed without their advice or command, so it is most remote from their will and intention, that your highness should undergo any detriment or diminution of your honour by it. Rather they will make it their business that some expedient may be found out for your satisfaction, according to the nature of the fact, upon examination of the whole matter. Which that they may so much the more fully understand, they deem it necessary that captain Appleton himself should be heard, who was bound by the same faith, and is thought by your excellency at least to have consented to the violation of it; especially since he is so suddenly to return home. And so soon as the parliament has heard him, and have more at large conferred with your resident concerning this matter of no small moment, they will pronounce that sentence that shall be just, and consentaneous to that extreme good-will which they bear to your highness, and no way unworthy the favours by you conferred upon them. Of which, that your highness might not make the least question in the mean time, we were willing to certify your highness by this express on purpose sent, that we shall omit no opportunity to testify how greatly we value your friendship.

Westminster, Decemb. 14.

1652.

Scaled with the Parliament-Seal,
and subscribed,

Speaker, &c.

The Council of State of the Republic of ENGLAND, to the most Serene Prince
FREDERIC, Heir of NORWAY, Duke of SLESWICK, HOLSATIA, STORMA-
RIA, DITMARSH, Count in OLDENBURGH and DELMENHORST, Greeting.

THough it has pleased the most wise God, and most merciful Moderator of all things, besides the burden which he laid upon us in common with our ancestors, to wage most just wars in defence of our liberty against tyrannical usurpation, signally also to succour us with those auspices and that divine assistance, beyond what he afforded to our predecessors, that we have been able not only to extinguish a civil war, but to extirpate the causes of it for the future, as also to repel the unexpected violences of foreign enemies; nevertheless, with grateful minds, as much as in us lies, acknowledging the same favour and benignity of the Supreme Deity towards us, we are not so puffed up with the success of our affairs, but that rather instructed in the singular justice and providence of God, and having had long experience of ourselves, we abominate the thoughts of war, if possible to be avoided, and most eagerly embrace peace with all men. Therefore, as hitherto we never were the first that violated or desired the violation of that friendship, or those ancient privileges of leagues that have been ratified between us and any princes or people whatever; so your highness, in consideration of your ancient amity with the English, left us by our ancestors, may, with a most certain assurance, promise both yourself and your people all things equitable, and all things friendly from us. Lastly, as we highly value, which is no more than what is just and reasonable, the testimonies of your affection and good offices offered us, so we shall make it our business that you may not at any time be sensible of the want of ours, either to yourself or yours. And so we most heartily recommend your highness to the omnipotent protection of the Almighty God.

Whitehall, July ----
1653.

Sealed with the Council-Seal, and
subscribed, President.

To the Count of OLDENBURGH.

Most Illustrious Lord,

THE Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND have received an extraordinary congratulation from your excellency, most kindly and courteously delivered to us by word of mouth by Herman Mylius, your counsellor and doctor of laws; who wished all things lucky and prosperous, in your name, to the parliament and English interest, and desired that the friendship of this republic might remain inviolable within your territories. He also desired letters of safe-conduct, to the end your subjects may the more securely trade and sail from place to place; together with our orders to our public ministers abroad, to be aiding and assisting to your excellency and your interests with their good offices and counsels. To which requests of his we willingly consented, and granted both our friendship, the letters desired, and our orders to our public ministers under the seal of the parliament. And though it be some months ago, since your public minister first came to us, however that delay neither arose from any unwillingness on our part to assent to the request made in your excellency's name, or that your deputy was at any time wanting in his sedulity (whose solicitations were daily and earnest with all the diligence and importunity that became him, to the end he might be dispatched) but only it happened so, that at that time the greatest and most weighty
affairs

affairs of the republic were under debate and serious negotiation. Of which we thought meet to certify your illustrious lordship, lest any body, through a false construction of this delay, should think those favours unwillingly or hardly obtained, which were most gladly granted by the parliament of the commonwealth of England. In whose name these are commanded to be signed,

HENRY SCOBEL, clerk of the parliament.

To the most Illustrious and Noble Senators, SCULTETS, LANDAM, and Senators of the Evangelic Cantons of SWITZERLAND, ZURICK, BERN, GLARIS, BASEL, SCHAFFHUSEN, APPENZEL, also the Confederates of the same Religion in the Country of the GRISONS, of GENEVA, St. GALL, MALHAUSEN and BIELLE; our dearest Friends,

YOUR letters, most Illustrious Lords and dearest confederates, dated December twenty-four, full of civility, good-will, and singular affection towards us and our Republic, and what ought always to be greater and more sacred to us, breathing fraternal and truly christian charity, we have received. And in the first place, we return thanks to Almighty God, who has raised and established both you and so many noble Cities, not so much intrenched and fortified with those inclosures of mountains, as with your innate fortitude, piety, most prudent and just administration of government, and the faith of mutual confederacies, to be a firm and inaccessible shelter for all the truly orthodox. Now then that you, who over all Europe were the first of mortals, who after deluges of barbarous tyrants from the north, heaven prospering your valour, recovered your liberty, and being obtained, for so many years have preserved it untainted, with no less prudence and moderation; that you should have such noble sentiments of our liberty recovered; that you, such sincere worshippers of the gospel, should be so constantly persuaded of our love and affection for the orthodox faith, is that which is most acceptable and welcome to us. But as to your exhorting us to peace, with a pious and affectionate intent, as we are fully assured, certainly such an admonition ought to be of great weight with us, as well in respect of the thing itself which you persuade, and which of all things is chiefly to be desired, as also for the great authority which is to be allowed your lordships above others in this particular, who in the midst of loud tumultuous wars on every side, enjoy the sweets of peace both at home and abroad, and have approved yourselves the best example to all others of embracing and improving peace; and lastly, for that you persuade us to the very thing which we ourselves of our own accords, and that more than once, consulting as well our own, as the interest of the whole evangelical communion, have begged by ambassadors, and other public ministers, namely, friendship and a most strict league with the United Provinces. But how they treated our ambassadors sent to them to negotiate, not a bare peace, but a brotherly amity and most strict league; what provocations to war they afterwards gave us, how they fell upon us in our own roads in the midst of their ambassadors negotiations for peace and allegiance, little dreaming any such violence, you will abundantly understand by our declaration set forth upon this subject, and sent you together with these our letters. But as for our parts, we are wholly intent upon this, by God's assistance, though prosperous hitherto, so to carry ourselves, that we may neither attribute any thing to our own strength or forces, but all things to God alone, nor be insolently puffed up with our success; and we still retain the same ready inclinations to embrace all occasions of making a just and honest peace. In the mean time yourselves, Illustrious and most Excellent Lords, in whom this noble and pious sedulity, out of meer evangelical affection, exerts itself to reconcile and pacify contending brethren,

as

as ye are worthy of all applause among men, so doubtless will ye obtain the celestial reward of peace-makers with God ; to whose supreme benignity and favour, we heartily recommend in our prayers both you and yours, no less ready to make returns of all good offices both of friends and brethren, if in any thing we may be serviceable to your lordships.

Westminster,
Octob. 1653.

Sealed with the Parliament-Seal, and subscribed,
Speaker, &c.

To the SPANISH Ambassador.

Most Illustrious Lord,

UPON grievous complaints brought before us by Philip Noel, John Godal, and the society of merchants of Foy, in England, that a certain ship of theirs called the Ann of Foy, an English ship by them fitted out, and laden with their own goods, in her return home to the port of Foy about Michaelmas last, was unjustly, and without any cause set upon and taken by a certain privateer of Ostend, Erasmus Bruer commander, and the seamen unworthily and barbarously used : the council of state wrote to the marquis of Leda concerning it (a copy of which letter we also send inclosed to your excellency) and expected from him, that without delay orders would have been given for the doing of justice in this matter. Nevertheless after all this, the foresaid Noel, together with the said company, make further heavy complaint, that altho' our letters were delivered to the marquis, and that those merchants from that time forward betook themselves to Bruges to the court there held for maritime causes, and there asserted and proved their right, and the verity of their cause, yet that justice was denied them ; and that they were so hardly dealt with, that though the cause had been ripe for trial above three months, nevertheless they could obtain no sentence from that court, but that their ship and goods are still detained, notwithstanding the great expences they have been at in prosecuting their claim. Now your excellency well knows it to be contrary to the law of nations, of traffic, and that friendship which is at present settled between the English and Flemings, that any Ostender should take any English vessel, if bound for England with English goods ; and that whatever was inhumanly and barbarously done to the English seamen by that commander, deserves a rigorous punishment. The council therefore recommends the whole matter to your excellency, and makes it their request that you would write into Flanders concerning it, and take such speedy care that this business may no longer be delayed, but that justice may be done in such a manner that the foresaid ship, together with the damages, costs, and interest, which the English have sustained and been out of purse, by reason of that illegal seizure, may be restored and made good to them by the authority of the court, or in some other way ; and that care be taken that hereafter no such violence be committed, but that the amity between our people and the Flemings may be preserved without any infringement.

Signed in the name, and by the command of the council
of state, appointed by authority of parliament.

To

To the Marquis of LEDA.

GREAT complaints are brought before us by Philip Noel, John Godal, and the company of Foy merchants, concerning a ship of theirs, called the Ann of Foy, which being an English vessel by them fitted out, and laden with their own goods, in her return home to her own port about Michaelmas last, was taken unawares by a freebooter of Ostend, Erasmus Bruer commander. It is also further related, that the Ostenders, when the ship was in their power, used the seamen too inhumanly, by setting lighted match to their fingers, and plunging the master of the ship in the sea till they had almost drowned him, on purpose to extort a false confession from him, that the ship and goods belonged to the French. Which though the master and the rest of the ship's crew resolutely denied, nevertheless the Ostenders carried away the ship and goods to their own port. These things, upon strict enquiry and examination of witnesses, have been made manifest in the Admiralty Court in England, as will appear by the copies of the Affidavits herewith sent your lordship. Now in regard that that same ship, called the Ann of Foy, and all her lading of merchandize and goods belong truly and properly to English, so that there is no apparent reason why the Ostender should seize by force either the one or the other, much less carry away the master of the ship, and use the seamen so unmercifully : and whereas according to the law of nations, and in respect of the friendship between the Flemings and the English, that ship and goods ought to be restored, we make it our earnest request to your excellency, that the English may have speedy justice done, and that satisfaction may be given for their losses, to the end the traffic and friendship which is between the English and Flemings may be long and inviolably preserved.

To the SPANISH Ambassador.

THE parliament of the commonwealth of England, understanding that several of the people of this city daily resort to the house of your excellency, and other ambassadors and public ministers from foreign nations here residing, meerly to hear mass, gave order to the Council of State, to let your excellency understand, that whereas such resort is prohibited by the laws of the nation, and of very evil example in this our Republic, and extremely scandalous; that they deem it their duty to take care that no such thing be permitted henceforward, and to prohibit all such assemblies for the future. Concerning which, 'tis our desire that your excellency should have a fair advertisement, to the end that henceforth your excellency may be more careful of admitting any of the people of this Republic to hear mass in your house. And as the parliament will diligently provide that your excellency's rights and privileges shall be preserved inviolable, so they persuade themselves that your excellency, during your abode here, would by no means that the laws of this Republic should be violated by yourself or your attendants.

A

A Summary of the particular real Damages sustained by the ENGLISH Company, in many Places of the EAST-INDIES, from the DUTCH Company in HOLLAND.

1. **T**HE damages comprehended in the sixteen articles, and formerly exhibited, amounting to 298555 royals $\frac{1}{2}$, which is of our money 74638 l. 15 s. 00 d.
 2. We demand satisfaction to be given for the incomes of the island of Pularon, from the year sixteen hundred and twenty-two, to this time, of two hundred thousand royals $\frac{1}{2}$, besides the future expence, till the right of jurisdiction over that island be restored in the same condition as when it was wrested out of our hands, as was by league agreed to, amounting of our money to ———— 50000 l. 00 s. 00 d.
 3. We demand satisfaction for all the merchandize, provision and furniture taken away by the agents of the Dutch company in the Indies, or to them delivered, or to any of their ships bound thither, or returning home; which sum amounts to 80635 royals, of our money ———— 20158 l. 00 s. 00 d.
 4. We demand satisfaction for the customs of Dutch merchandize laden on board their ships in Persia, or landed there from the year sixteen hundred and twenty-four, as was granted us by the king of Persia, which we cannot value at less than fourscore thousand royals, ———— 2000 l. 00 s. 00 d.
 5. We demand satisfaction for four houses maliciously and unjustly burnt at Jocatra, together with the warehouses, magazines and furniture, occasioned by the Dutch governor there, of all which we have information from the place itself, after we had exhibited our first complaints; the total of which damage we value at 50000 l. 00 s. 00 d.
- We demand satisfaction for thirty-two thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine pound of pepper taken out of the ship Endymion in sixteen hundred and forty-nine, the total of which damage amounts to ———— 6000 l. 00 s. 00 d.
- 220796 l. 15 s. 00 d.

A Summary of some particular Damages sustained also from the DUTCH EAST-INDIA Company.

1. **F**OR damages sustained by those who besieged Bantam, whence it came to pass that for six years together we were excluded from that trade, and consequently from an opportunity of laying out in pepper six hundred thousand royals, with which we might have laden our homeward-bound ships; for want of which lading they rotted upon the coast of India. In the mean time our stock in India was wasted and consumed in mariners wages, provision and other furniture; so that they could not value their loss at less than twenty hundred and four thousand royals ———— 600000 l. 00 s. 00 d.
2. More for damages by reason of our due part lost of the fruits in the Molucca islands, Banda and Amboyna, from the time that by the slaughter of our men we were thence expelled, till the time that we shall be satisfied for our loss and expences; which space of time, from the year sixteen hundred and twenty-two, to this present year sixteen hundred and fifty, for the yearly revenue of 250000 lib. amounts in twenty-eight years to ———— 700000 l. 00 s. 00 d.
3. We demand satisfaction for one hundred and two thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine royals, taken from us by the Mogul's people, whom the Dutch protected in such a manner, that we never could repair our losses out of the money or goods of that people

people which lay in their Junks, which we endeavoured to do, and was in our power, had not the Dutch unjustly defended them. Which lost money we could have trebled in Europe, and value at ———— 77020 l. 00 s. 00 d.

4. For the customs of Persia, the half part of which was by the king of Persia granted to the English, Anno sixteen hundred and twenty-four. Which to the year sixteen hundred and twenty-nine, is valued at eight thousand royals; to which add the four thousand Lib. which they are bound to pay since sixteen hundred and twenty-nine, which is now one and twenty years, and it makes up the sum of 84000 l. 00 s. 00 d.

From the first account ————— 220796 l. 15 s. 00 d.

Sum Total ————— 1681996 l. 15 s. 00 d.

The interest from that time will far exceed the principal.

L E T T E R S

WRITTEN IN THE NAME OF

O L I V E R the P R O T E C T O R.

To the Count of OLDENBURGH.

Most Illustrious Lord,

BY your letters dated January twenty, sixteen hundred and fifty-four, I have been given to understand, that the noble Frederic Matthias Wolifog, and Christopher Griphander were sent with certain commands from your illustrious lordship into England; who when they came to us, not only in your name congratulated our having taken upon us the government of the English republic, but also desired that you and your territories might be comprehended in the peace which we are about to make with the Low-Countries, and that we would confirm by our present authority the letters of safe-conduct lately granted your lordship by the parliament. Therefore in the first place we return your lordship our hearty thanks for your friendly congratulation, as it becomes us; and these will let you know that we have readily granted your two requests. Nor shall you find us wanting upon any opportunity, which may at any time make manifest our affection to your lordship. And this we are apt to believe you will understand more at large from your agents, whose fidelity and diligence in this affair of yours, in our court, has been eminently conspicuous. As to what remains, we most heartily wish the blessings of prosperity and peace, both upon you and your affairs.

Your illustrious lordship's most affectionate, OLIVER,
protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.

To the Count of OLDENBURGH.

Most Illustrious Lord,

WE received your letters, dated May the second, from Oldenburgh, most welcome upon more than one account; as well for that they were full of singular civility and good-will towards us, as because they were delivered by the hand of the most illustrious count Antony, your beloved son; which we look upon as so much the greater honour, as not having trusted to report, but with our own eyes, and by our own observation discerned his virtues becoming such an illustrious extraction, his noble manners and inclinations, and lastly, his extraordinary affection toward ourselves. Nor is it to be questioned but he displays to his own people the same fair hopes at home, that he will approve himself the son of a most worthy and most excellent father, whose signal virtue and prudence has all along so managed affairs, that the whole territory of Oldenburgh for many years has enjoyed a profound peace, and all the blessings of tranquillity in the midst of the raging confusions of war thundering on every side.

What

What reason therefore why we should not value such a friendship that can so wisely and providentially shun the enmity of all men? Lastly, most illustrious lord, 'tis for your magnificent * present that we return you thanks; but 'tis of right, and your merits claim that we are cordially,

Your illustrious lordship's most affectionate,

Westminster,
June 29, 1654.

O L I V E R, &c.

Superscribed, To the most Illustrious Lord, ANTHONY GUNTHER, count in Oldenburgh, and Delmenhorst, lord in Jehvern and Kniphausen.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND, &c. To the most Serene Prince CHARLES GUSTAVUS King of the SWEDES, GOTHs, and VANDALS, Great Prince of FINLAND, Duke of ESTHONIA, CARELIA, BREME, VERDEN, STETTIN in POMERANIA, CASSUBIA, and VANDALIA; Prince of RUGIA, Lord of INGRIA, WISMARIA, as also Count PALATINE of the RHINE, and Duke of BAVARIA, CLEVES, and MONTS, &c. Greeting.

Most Serene King,

THough it be already divulged over all the world, that the kingdom of the Swedes is translated to your majesty with the extraordinary applause and desires of the people, and the free suffrages of all the orders of the realm; yet that your majesty should rather chuse that we should understand the welcome news by your most friendly letters, than by the common voice of fame, we thought no small argument both of your good-will towards us, and of the honour done us among the first. Voluntarily therefore, and of right we congratulate this accession of dignity to your egregious merits, and the most worthy guerdon of so much virtue. And that it may be lucky and prosperous to your majesty, to the nation of the Swedes, and the true christian interest, which is also what you chiefly wish, with joint supplications we implore of God. And whereas your majesty assures us, that the preserving entire the league and alliance lately concluded between this republic and the kingdom of Sweden shall be so far your care, that the present amity may not only continue firm and inviolable, but if possible, every day increase and grow to a higher perfection, to call it into question, would be a piece of impiety, after the word of so great a prince once interposed, whose surpassing fortitude has not only purchased your majesty a hereditary kingdom in a foreign land, but also could so far prevail, that the most august queen, the daughter of Gustavus, and a heroes so matchless in all degrees of praise and masculine renown, that many ages backward have not produced her equal, surrendered the most just possession of her empire to your majesty, neither expecting nor willing to accept it. Now therefore 'tis our main desire, your majesty should be every way assured, that your so singular affection toward us, and so eminent a signification of your mind can be no other than most dear and welcome to us; and that no combat can offer itself to us more glorious, than such a one wherein we may, if possible, prove victorious in outdoing your majesty's civility by our kind offices that never shall be wanting.

Westminster,
July 4. 1654.

Your Majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth of
England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.

* The horses which threw him out of the coach-box.

To the most Illustrious Lord, LEWIS MENDEZ de HARO.

WHAT we have understood by your letters, most illustrious lord, that there is an ambassador already nominated and appointed by the most serene king of Spain, on purpose to come and congratulate our having undertaken the government of the republic, is not only deservedly acceptable of itself, but rendered much more welcome and pleasing to us by your singular affection, and the speed of your civility, as being desirous we should understand it first of all from yourself. For, to be so beloved and approved by your lordship, who by your virtue and prudence have obtained so great authority with your prince, as to preside, his equal in mind, over all the most important affairs of that kingdom, ought to be so much the more pleasing to us, as well understanding that the judgment of a surpassing person cannot but be much to our honour and ornament. Now as to our cordial inclinations toward the king of Spain, and ready propensity to hold friendship with that kingdom, and increase it to a stricter perfection, we hope we have already satisfied the present ambassador, and shall more amply satisfy the other so soon as he arrives. As to what remains, Most Illustrious Lord, we heartily wish the dignity and favour wherein you now flourish with your prince, perpetual to your lordship; and whatever affairs you carry on for the public good, may prosperously and happily succeed.

Whitehall, Sept.
1654.

Your illustrious lordship's most affectionate,

O L I V E R, &c.

To the most Serene Prince CHARLES GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, King, of the
SWEDES, GOTHs, and VANDALS, &c.

BEING so well assured of your majesty's good-will towards me by your last letters, in answer to which I wrote back with the same affection, methinks I should do no more than what our mutual amity requires, if as I communicate my grateful tidings to reciprocal joy, so when contrary accidents fall out, that I should lay open the sense and grief of my mind to your majesty, as my dearest friend. For my part, this is my opinion of myself, that I am now advanced to this degree in the commonwealth, to the end I should consult in the first place, and as much as in me lies, for the common peace of the protestants. Which is the reason, that of necessity it behoves me more grievously to lay to heart what we are sorry to hear concerning the bloody conflicts and mutual slaughters of the Bremeners and Swedes. But this I chiefly bewail, that being both our friends, they should so despitefully combat one against another, and with so much danger to the interests of the protestants; and that the peace of Munster, which it was thought would have proved an asylum and safeguard to all the protestants, should be the occasion of such an unfortunate war, that now the arms of the Swedes are turned upon those whom but a little before, among the rest, they most stoutly defended for religion's sake; and that this should be done more especially at this time, when the papists are said to persecute the reformed all over Germany, and to return to their intermitted for some time oppressions, and their pristine violences. Hearing therefore that a truce for some days was made at Breme, I could not forbear signifying to your majesty, upon this opportunity offered, how cordially I desire, and how earnestly I implore the God of peace, that this truce may prove successfully happy for the good

of

of both parties, and that it may conclude in a most firm peace, by a commodious accommodation on both sides. To which purpose, if your majesty judges that my assistance may any ways conduce, I most willingly offer and promise it, as in a thing, without question, most acceptable to the most holy God. In the mean time, from the bottom of my heart, I beseech the Almighty to direct and govern all your counsels for the common welfare of the christian interest, which I make no doubt but that your majesty chiefly desires.

Whitehall,
Octob. 26. 1654.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

O L I V E R, &c.

To the Magnificent and most Noble, the Consuls and Senators of the City
of BREME.

BY your letters delivered to us by your resident Henry Oldenburgh, that there is a difference kindled between your city and a most potent neighbour, and to what streights you are thereby reduced, with so much the more trouble and grief we understand, by how much the more we love and embrace the city of Breme, so eminent above others, for their profession of the orthodox faith. Neither is there any thing which we account more sacred in our wishes, than that the whole protestant name would knit and grow together in brotherly unity and concord. In the mean time, most certain it is, that the common enemy of the reformed rejoices at these our dissensions, and more haughtily every where exerts his fury. But in regard the controversy which at present exercises your contending arms, is not within the power of our decision, we implore the Almighty God, that the truce begun may obtain a happy issue. Assuredly, as to what you desired, we have written to the king of the Swedes, exhorting him to peace and agreement, as being most chiefly grateful to heaven, and have offered our assistance in so pious a work. On the other side, we likewise exhort yourselves to bear an equal mind, and by no means to refuse any honest conditions of reconciliation. And so we recommend your city to Divine Protection and Providence.

Whitehall,
Octob. 26. 1654.

Your lordship's most affectionate,

OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Republic of ENGLAND, to the most Illustrious
Prince of TARENTUM.

YOUR love of religion apparently made known in your letters to us delivered, and your excelling piety and singular affection to the reformed churches, more especially considering the nobility and splendor of your character, and in a kingdom too, wherein there are so many and such abounding hopes proposed to all of eminent quality that revolt from the orthodox faith, so many miseries to be undergone by the resolute and constant, gave us an occasion of great joy and consolation of mind. Nor was it less grateful to us, that we had gained your good opinion, upon the same account of religion, which ought to render your highness most chiefly beloved and dear to ourselves. We call God to witness, that whatever hopes or expectations the churches, according to your relation, had of us, we may be able one day to give them satisfaction.

tion, if need require, or at least to demonstrate to all men, how much it is our desire never to fail them. Nor should we think any fruit of our labours, or of this dignity or supreme employment which we hold in our Republic, greater than that we might be in a condition to be serviceable to the enlargement, or the welfare, or which is more sacred, to the peace of the reformed church. In the mean time, we exhort and beseech your lordship to remain stedfast to the last minute in the orthodox religion, with the same resolution and constancy, as you profess it received from your ancestors with piety and zeal. Nor indeed can there be any thing more worthy yourself, or your religious parents, nor in consideration of what you have deserved of us, though we wish all things for your own sake, that we can wish more noble or advantageous to your lordship, than that you would take such methods, and apply yourself to such studies, that the churches, especially of your native country, under the discipline of which your birth and genius have rendered you illustriously happy, may be sensible of so much the more assured security in your protection, by how much you excell others in lustre and ability.

Whitehall, April --- 1654.

OLIVER the Protector, &c. To the most Serene Prince, IMMANUEL Duke of SAVOY, Prince of Piemont, Greeting.

Most Serene Prince,

LETters have been sent us from Geneva, as also from the Dauphinate, and many other places bordering upon your territories, wherein we are given to understand, that such of your royal highness's subjects as profess the reformed religion, are commanded by your edict, and by your authority, within three days after the promulgation of your edict, to depart their native seats and habitations, upon pain of capital punishment, and forfeiture of all their fortunes and estates, unless they will give security to relinquish their religion within twenty days, and embrace the Roman catholic faith. And that when they applied themselves to your royal highness in a most suppliant manner, imploring a revocation of the said edict, and that being received into pristine favour, they might be restored to the liberty granted them by your predecessors, a part of your army fell upon them, most cruelly slew several, put others in chains, and compelled the rest to fly into desert places, and to the mountains covered with snow, where some hundreds of families are reduced to such distress, that 'tis greatly to be feared, they will in a short time all miserably perish through cold and hunger. These things, when they were related to us, we could not chuse but be touched with extreme grief and compassion for the sufferings and calamities of this afflicted people. Now in regard we must acknowledge ourselves linked together not only by the same tie of humanity, but by joint communion of the same religion, we thought it impossible for us so satisfy our duty to God, to brotherly charity, or our profession of the same religion, if we should only be affected with a bare sorrow for the misery and calamity of our brethren, and not contribute all our endeavours to relieve and succour them in their unexpected adversity, as much as in us lies. Therefore in a greater measure we most earnestly beseech and conjure your royal highness, that you would call back to your thoughts the moderation of your most serene predecessors, and the liberty by them granted and confirmed from time to time to their subjects the Vaudois. In granting and confirming which, as they did that which without all question was most grateful to God, who has been pleased to reserve the jurisdiction and power over the conscience to himself alone,

so there is no doubt but that they had a due consideration of their subjects also, whom they found stout and most faithful in war, and always obedient in peace. And as your royal Serenity in other things most laudably follows the foot-steps of your immortal ancestors, so we again and again beseech your royal highness not to swerve from the path wherein they trod in this particular; but that you would vouchsafe to abrogate both this edict, and whatsoever else may be decreed to the disturbance of your subjects upon the account of the reformed religion; that you would ratify to them their conceded privileges and pristine liberty, and command their losses to be repaired, and that an end be put to their oppressions. Which if your royal highness shall be pleased to see performed, you will do a thing most acceptable to God, revive and comfort the miserable in dire calamity, and most highly oblige all your neighbours that profess the reformed religion, but more especially ourselves, who shall be bound to look upon your clemency and benignity toward your subjects, as the fruit of our earnest solicitation. Which will both engage us to a reciprocal return of all good offices, and lay the solid foundations not only of establishing, but increasing alliance and friendship between this Republic and your dominions. Nor do we less promise this to ourselves from your justice and moderation; to which we beseech Almighty God to incline your mind and thoughts. And so we cordially implore just heaven to bestow upon your highness and your people the blessings of peace and truth, and prosperous success in all your affairs.

Whitehall, May ---- 1655.

OLIVER, Protector of the Republic of ENGLAND, to the most Serene Prince of TRANSILVANIA, Greeting.

Most Serene Prince,

BY your letters of the sixteenth of November, sixteen hundred and fifty-four, you have made us sensible of your singular good-will and affection towards us; and your Envoy, who delivered those letters to us, more amply declared your desire of contracting alliance and friendship with us. Certainly for our parts, we do not a little rejoice at this opportunity offered us to declare and make manifest our affection to your highness, and how great a value we justly set upon your person. But after some had reported to us your egregious merits and labours undertaken in behalf of the christian republic, when you were pleased that all these things, and what you have farther in your thoughts to do in the defence and for promoting the Christian interest, should be in friendly manner imparted to us by letters from yourself, this afforded us a more plentiful occasion of joy and satisfaction, to hear that God, in those remoter regions, had raised up to himself so potent and renowned a minister of his glory and providence: and that this great minister of heaven, so famed for his courage and success, should be desirous to associate with us in the common defence of the protestant religion, at this time wickedly assailed by words and deeds. Nor is it to be questioned but that God, who has infused into us both, though separated by such a spacious interval of many climates, the same desires and thoughts of defending the orthodox religion, will be our instructor and author of the ways and means whereby we may be assistant and useful to ourselves and the rest of the reformed cities; provided we watch all opportunities that God shall put into our hands, and be not wanting to lay hold of them. In the mean time we cannot without an extreme and penetrating sorrow forbear putting your highness in mind how unmercifully the duke of Savoy has persecuted his own subjects, professing the orthodox faith, in certain valleys, at the feet of the Alps: whom he has
not

not only constrained by a most severe edict, as many as refuse to embrace the catholic religion, to forsake their native habitations, goods and estates, but has fallen upon them with his army, put several most cruelly to the sword, others more barbarously tormented to death, and driven the greatest number to the mountains, there to be consumed with cold and hunger, exposing their houses to the fury, and their goods to the plunder of his executioners. These things, as they have already been related to your highness, so we readily assure ourselves, that so much cruelty cannot but be grievously displeasing to your ears, and that you will not be wanting to afford your aid and succour to those miserable wretches, if there be any that survive so many slaughters and calamities. For our parts, we have written to the duke of Savoy, beseeching him to remove his incensed anger from his subjects; as also to the king of France, that he would vouchsafe to do the same; and lastly, to the princes of the reformed religion, to the end they might understand our sentiments concerning so fell and savage a piece of cruelty. Which though first begun upon those poor and helpless people, however threatens all that profess the same religion, and therefore imposes upon all a greater necessity of providing for themselves in general, and consulting the common safety; which is the course that we shall always follow, as God shall be pleased to direct us. Of which your highness may be assured, as also of our sincerity and affection to your serenity, whereby we are engaged to wish all prosperous success to your affairs, and a happy issue of all your enterprizes and endeavours, in asserting the liberty of the gospel, and the worshippers of it.

Whitehall, May----, 1655.

OLIVER, Protector, to the most Serene Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS,
King of the SWEDES, Greeting.

WE make no question but that the fame of that most rigid edict has reached your dominions; whereby the duke of Savoy has totally ruined his protestant subjects inhabiting the Alpine valleys, and commanded them to be exterminated from their native seats and habitations, unless they will give security to renounce their religion received from their forefathers, in exchange for the Roman catholic superstition, and that within twenty days at farthest; so that many being killed, the rest stript to their skins, and exposed to most certain destruction, are now forced to wander over desert mountains, and through perpetual winter, together with their wives and children, half dead with cold and hunger: and that your majesty has laid it to heart, with a pious sorrow and compassionate consideration, we as little doubt. For that the protestant name and cause, although they differ among themselves in some things of little consequence, is nevertheless the same in general, and united in one common interest; the hatred of our adversaries, alike incensed against protestants, very easily demonstrates. Now there is no body can be ignorant, that the kings of the Swedes have always joined with the reformed, carrying their victorious arms into Germany in defence of the protestants without distinction. Therefore we make it our chief request, and that in a more especial manner to your majesty, that you would solicit the duke of Savoy by letters, and by interposing your intermediating authority, endeavour to avert the horrid cruelty of this edict, if possible, from people no less innocent than religious. For we think it superfluous to admonish your majesty whither these rigorous beginnings tend, and what they threaten to all the protestants in general. But if he rather chuse to listen to his anger, than to our joint intreaties and intercessions; if there be any tie, any charity or communion of religion to be believed and worshipped,
upon

upon consultations duly first communicated to your majesty, and the chief of the protestant princes, some other course is to be speedily taken, that such a numerous multitude of our innocent brethren may not miserably perish for want of succour and assistance. Which, in regard we make no question but that it is your majesty's opinion and determination, there can be nothing in our opinion more prudently resolved, than to join our reputation, authority, counsels, forces, and whatever else is needful, with all the speed that may be, in pursuance of so pious a design. In the mean time, we beseech Almighty God to bless your majesty.

OLIVER Protector, &c. to the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the UNITED PROVINCES.

WE make no question but that you have already been informed of the duke of Savoy's edict, set forth against his subjects inhabiting the valleys at the feet of the Alps, ancient professors of the orthodox faith; by which edict, they are commanded to abandon their native habitations, stripped of all their fortunes, unless within twenty days they embrace the Roman faith; and with what cruelty the authority of this edict has raged against a needy and harmless people, many being slain by the soldiers, the rest plundered and driven from their houses, together with their wives and children, to combat cold and hunger among desert mountains, and perpetual snow. These things with what commotion of mind you heard related, what a fellow-feeling of the calamities of brethren pierced your breasts, we readily conjectured from the depth of our own sorrow, which certainly is most heavy and afflictive. For being engaged together by the same tie of religion, no wonder we should be so deeply moved with the same affections upon the dreadful and undeserved sufferings of our brethren. Besides, that your conspicuous piety and charity toward the orthodox, wherever over-borne and oppressed, has been frequently experienced in the most urging straits and calamities of the churches. For my own part, unless my thoughts deceive me, there is nothing wherein I should desire more willingly to be overcome, than in good-will and charity toward brethren of the same religion, afflicted and wronged in their quiet enjoyments; as being one that would be accounted always ready to prefer the peace and safety of the churches before my particular interests. So far therefore as hitherto lay in our power, we have written to the duke of Savoy, even almost to supplication, beseeching him that he would admit into his breast more placid thoughts and kinder effects of his favour toward his most innocent subjects and suppliants; that he would restore the miserable to their habitations and estates, and grant them their pristine freedom in the exercise of their religion. Moreover, we wrote to the chiefest princes and magistrates of the protestants, whom we thought most nearly concerned in these matters, that they would lend us their assistance to intreat and pacify the duke of Savoy in their behalf. And we make no doubt now but you have done the same, and perhaps much more. For this so dangerous a precedent, and lately renewed severity of utmost cruelty, toward the reformed, if the authors of it meet with prosperous success, to what apparent dangers it reduces our religion, we need not admonish your prudence. On the other side, if the duke shall once but permit himself to be attoned and won by our united applications, not only our afflicted brethren, but we ourselves shall reap the noble and abounding harvest and reward of this laborious undertaking. But if he still persist in the same obstinate resolutions of reducing to utmost extremity those people, (among whom our religion was either disseminated by the first doctors of the gospel, and preserved from the defilement of superstition, or else restored to its pristine sincerity long before other nations obtained that felicity,) and determines their utter extirpation and destruction; we are ready to take such other course and councils with your-

selves, in common with the rest of our reformed friends and confederates, as may be most necessary for the preservation of just and good men, upon the brink of inevitable ruin; and to make the duke himself sensible, that we can no longer neglect the heavy oppressions and calamities of our orthodox brethren. Farewel.

To the Evangelic Cities of SWITZERLAND.

WE make no question but the late calamity of the Piedmontois, professing our religion, reached your ears before the unwelcome news of it arrived with us: who being a people under the protection and jurisdiction of the duke of Savoy, and by a severe edict of their prince commanded to depart their native habitations, unless within three days they gave security to embrace the Roman religion, soon after were assailed by armed violence, that turned their dwellings into slaughter-houses, while others, without number, were terrified into banishment, where now naked and afflicted, without house or home, or any covering from the weather, and ready to perish through hunger and cold, they miserably wander thorough desert mountains, and depths of snow, together with their wives and children. And far less reason have we to doubt, but that so soon as they came to your knowledge, you laid these things to heart, with a compassion no less sensible of their multiplied miseries, than ourselves; the more deeply imprinted perhaps in your minds, as being next neighbours to the sufferers. Besides, that we have abundant proof of your singular love and affection for the orthodox faith, of your constancy in retaining it, and your fortitude in defending it. Seeing then, by the most strict communion of religion, that you, together with ourselves, are all brethren alike, or rather one body with those unfortunate people, of which no member can be afflicted without the feeling, without pain, without the detriment and hazard of the rest; we thought it convenient to write to your lordships concerning this matter, and let you understand how much we believe it to be the general interest of us all, as much as in us lies, with our common aid and succour, to relieve our exterminated and indigent brethren; and not only to take care for removing their miseries and afflictions, but also to provide that the mischief spread no farther, nor incroach upon ourselves in general, encouraged by example and success. We have written letters to the duke of Savoy, wherein we have most earnestly besought him, out of his wonted clemency, to deal more gently and mildly with his most faithful subjects, and to restore them, almost ruined as they are, to their goods and habitations. And we are in hopes, that by these our intreaties, or rather by the united intercessions of us all, the most serene prince at length will be attoned, and grant what we have requested with so much importunity. But if his mind be obstinately bent to other determinations, we are ready to communicate our consultations with yours, by what most prevalent means to relieve and re-establish most innocent men, and our most dearly beloved brethren in Christ, tormented and overlaid with so many wrongs and oppressions; and preserve them from inevitable and undeserved ruin. Of whose welfare and safety, as I am assured, that you, according to your wonted piety, are most cordially tender; so, for our own parts, we cannot but in our opinion prefer their preservation before our most important interests, even the safeguard of our own life. Farewel.

Westminster, May 19.
1655.

O. P.

Superscribed, To the most Illustrious and Potent Lords, the Consuls and Senators of the Protestant Cantons and Confederate Cities of Switzerland, Greeting.

To

To the most Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS King of FRANCE.

Most Serene and Potent King;

BY your majesty's letters, which you wrote in answer to ours of the twenty-fifth of May; we readily understand, that we failed not in our judgment, that the inhuman slaughter, and barbarous massacres of those men who profess the reformed religion in Savoy, perpetrated by some of your regiments, were the effects neither of your orders nor commands. And it afforded us a singular occasion of joy, to hear that your majesty had so timely signified to your colonels and officers, whose violent precipitancy engaged them in those inhuman butcheries, without the encouragement of lawful allowance, how displeasing they were to your majesty; that you had admonished the duke himself to forbear such acts of cruelty; and that you had interposed with so much fidelity and humanity, all the high veneration paid you in that court, your near alliance and authority, for restoring to their ancient abodes those unfortunate exiles. And it was our hopes, That that prince would in some measure have condescended to the good pleasure and intercessions of your majesty. But finding not any thing obtained, either by your own, nor the intreaties and importunities of other princes in the cause of the distressed, we deemed it not foreign from our duty to send this noble person, under the character of our extraordinary envoy, to the duke of Savoy, more amply and fully to lay before him, how deeply sensible we are of such exasperated cruelties inflicted upon the professors of the same religion with ourselves, and all this too out of a hatred of the same worship. And we have reason to hope a success of this negotiation so much the more prosperous, if your majesty would vouchsafe to employ your authority and assistance once again with so much the more urgent importunity; and as you have undertaken for those indigent people, that they will be faithful and obedient to their prince, so you would be graciously pleased to take care of their welfare and safety, that no farther oppressions of this nature, no more such dismal calamities may be the portion of the innocent and peaceful. This being truly royal and just in itself, and highly agreeable to your benignity and clemency, which every where protects in soft security so many of your subjects professing the same religion, we cannot but expect, as it behoves us, from your majesty. Which act of yours, as it will more closely bind to your subjection all the Protestants throughout your spacious dominions, whose affection and fidelity to your predecessors and yourself in most important distresses have been often conspicuously made known: so will it fully convince all foreign princes, that the advice or intention of your majesty were no way contributory to this prodigious violence, whatever inflamed your ministers and officers to promote it. More especially, if your majesty shall inflict deserved punishment upon those captains and ministers, who of their own authority, and to gratify their own wills, adventured the perpetrating such dreadful acts of inhumanity. In the mean while, since your majesty has assured us of your justly merited aversion to these most inhuman and cruel proceedings, we doubt not but you will afford a secure sanctuary and shelter within your kingdom to all those miserable exiles that shall fly to your majesty for protection; and that you will not give permission to any of your subjects to assist the duke of Savoy to their prejudice. It remains that we make known to your majesty, how highly we esteem and value your friendship: in testimony of which, we farther affirm, there shall never be wanting upon all occasions the real assurances and effects of our protestation.

Whitehall, July 29, 1655.

Your majesty's most affectionate, Oliver
Protector of the commonwealth of
England, &c.

To the most Eminent Lord, Cardinal MAZARINE.

Most Eminent Lord Cardinal,

HAVING deemed it necessary to send this noble person to the king with letters, a copy of which is here enclosed, we gave him also farther in charge to salute your excellency in our name, as having entrusted to his fidelity certain other matters to be communicated to your eminency. In reference to which affairs, I intreat your eminency to give him entire credit, as being a person in whom I have reposed a more than ordinary confidence.

Whitehall, July 29. 1655.

Your Eminency's most affectionate,
Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England.

OLIVER Protector of the Commonwealth of England, to the most Serene Prince, FREDERIC III. King of DENMARK, NORWAY, &c.

WITH what a severe and unmerciful edict, Immanuel duke of Savoy has expelled from their native seats his subjects inhabiting the valleys of Piedmont, men otherwise harmless, only for many years remarkably famous for embracing the purity of religion; and after a dreadful slaughter of some numbers, how he has exposed the rest to the hardships of those desert mountains, stripped to their skins, and barred from all relief, we believe your majesty has long since heard, and doubt not but your majesty is touched with a real commiseration of their sufferings, as becomes so puissant a defender and prince of the reformed faith: for indeed the institutions of christian religion require, that whatever mischiefs and miseries any part of us undergo, it should behove us all to be deeply sensible of the same: nor does any man better than your majesty foresee, if we may be thought able to give a right conjecture of your piety and prudence, what dangers the success and example of this fact portend to ourselves in particular, and to the whole protestant name in general. We have written the more willingly to yourself, to the end we might assure your majesty, that the same sorrow which we hope you have conceived for the calamity of our most innocent brethren, the same opinion, the same judgment you have of the whole matter, is plainly and sincerely our own. We have therefore sent our letters to the duke of Savoy, wherein we have most importunately besought him to spare those miserable people that implore his mercy, and that he would no longer suffer that dreadful edict to be in force: which if your majesty and the rest of the reformed princes would vouchsafe to do, as we are apt to believe they have already done, there is some hope that the anger of the most serene duke may be assuaged, and that his indignation will relent upon the intercession and importunities of his neighbour princes. Or if he persist in his determinations, we protest ourselves ready, together with your majesty, and the rest of our confederates of the reformed religion, to take such speedy methods as may enable us, as far as in us lies, to relieve the distresses of so many miserable creatures, and provide for their liberty and safety: In the mean time we beseech Almighty God to bless your majesty with all prosperity.

Whitehall, May---1655.

Oliver

OLIVER Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. to the most Noble
the Consuls and Senators of the City of GENEVA.

WE had before made known to your lordships our excessive sorrow for the heavy and unheard of calamities of the protestants, inhabiting the valleys of Piedmont, whom the Duke of Savoy persecutes with so much cruelty; but that we made it our business that you should at the same time understand, that we are not only affected with the multitude of their sufferings, but are using the utmost of our endeavours to relieve and comfort them in their distresses. To that purpose we have taken care for a gathering of alms to be made throughout this whole republic; which upon good grounds we expect will be such, as will demonstrate the affection of this nation toward their brethren, labouring under the burden of such horrid inhumanities; and that as the communion of religion is the same between both people, so the sense of their calamities is no less the same. In the mean time, while the collections of the money go forward, which in regard they will require some time to accomplish, and for that the wants and necessities of those deplorable people will admit of no delay, we thought it requisite to remit before-hand two thousand pounds of the value of England with all possible speed, to be distributed among such as shall be judged to be most in present need of comfort and succour. Now in regard we are not ignorant how deeply the miseries and wrongs of those most innocent people have affected yourselves, and that you will not think amiss of any labour or pains where you can be assisting to their relief, we made no scruple to commit the paying and distributing this sum of money to your care; and to give ye this farther trouble, that according to your wonted piety and prudence, you would take care that the said money may be distributed equally to the most necessitous, to the end that though the sum be small, yet there may be something to refresh and revive the most poor and needy, till we can afford them a more plentiful supply. And thus, not making any doubt but you will take in good part the trouble imposed upon ye, we beseech Almighty God to stir up the hearts of all his people professing the orthodox religion, to resolve upon the common defence of themselves, and the mutual assistance of each other against their embittered and most implacable enemies: in the prosecution of which, we should rejoice that our helping hand might be any way serviceable to the church. Farewel.

Fifteen hundred pounds of the foresaid two thousand will be remitted by Gerard Hench from Paris, and the other five hundred pounds will be taken care of by letters from the lord Stoup.

June 8, 1655.

OLIVER Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. to the most Serene Prince, the Duke of VENICE.

Most Serene Prince,

AS it has been always a great occasion of rejoicing to us when ever any prosperous success attended your arms, but more especially against the common enemy of the christian name; so neither are we sorry for the late advantage gained by your fleet, though as we understand, it happened not a little to the detriment of our people: for certain of our merchants, William and Daniel Williams, and Edward Beale, have set forth in a petition presented to us, that a ship of theirs, called the Great Prince, was lately

lately sent by them with goods and merchandize to Constantinople, where the said ship was detained by the ministers of the Port, to carry soldiers and provisions to Crete; and that the said ship being constrained to sail along with the same fleet of the Turks, which was set upon and vanquished by the galleys of the Venetians, was taken, carried away to Venice, and there adjudged lawful prize by the judges of the admiralty. Now therefore in regard the said ship was pressed by the Turks, and forced into their service without the knowledge or consent of the owners directly or indirectly obtained, and that it was impossible for her, being shipped with soldiers, to withdraw from the engagement, we most earnestly request your serenity, that you will remit that sentence of your admiralty, as a present to our friendship, and take such care that the ship may be restored to the owners, no way deserving the displeasure of your Republic by any act of theirs. In the obtaining of which request, more especially upon our intercession, while we find the merchants themselves so well assured of your clemency, it behoves us not to question it. And so we beseech the Almighty God to continue his prosperous blessings upon your noble designs, and the Venetian Republic.

Westminster, Decemb.----1655.

Your Serenity's and the Venetian Republic's
most Affectionate, Oliver Protector of the
Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. to the most Serene
Prince, LEWIS King of FRANCE.

Most Serene King,

Certain of our merchants, by name Samuel Mico, William Cockain, George Poyner, and several others, in a petition to us have set forth, That in the year 1650, they laded a ship of theirs, called the Unicorn, with goods of a very considerable value; and that the said ship being thus laden with silk, oil, and other merchandize, amounting to above thirty-four thousand of our pounds, was taken by the admiral and vice-admiral of your majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean sea. Now it appears to us, that our people who were then in the ship, by reason there was at that time a peace between the French and us, that never had been violated in the least, were not willing to make any defence against your majesty's royal ships, and therefore over-ruled besides by the fair promises of the captains Paul and Terrery, who faithfully engaged to dismiss our people, they paid their obedience to the maritime laws, and produced their bills of lading. Moreover, we find that the merchants aforesaid sent their agent into France to demand restitution of the said ship and goods: and then it was, that after above three years slipt away, when the suit was brought so far, that sentence of restitution or condemnation was to have been given, that his eminency cardinal Mazarine acknowledged to their factor Hugh Morel, the wrong that had been done the merchants, and undertook that satisfaction should be given, so soon as the league between the two nations, which was then under negotiation, should be ratified and confirmed. Nay, since that, his excellency M. de Bourdeaux, your majesty's ambassador, assured us in express words, by the command of your majesty and your council, That care should be taken of that ship and goods in a particular exception, apart from those controversies, for the decision of which a general provision was made by the league; of which promise, the ambassador, now opportunely arrived here to solicit some business of his own, is a testimony no way to be questioned. Which being true, and the right of the merchants in re-demanding their ship and goods so undeniably apparent, we most earnestly request your majesty, that they

they may meet with no delay in obtaining what is justly their due, but that your majesty will admit the grant of this favour, as the first fruits of our revived amity, and the lately renewed league between us. The refusal of which, as we have no reason to doubt, so we beseech Almighty God to bless with all prosperity both your majesty and your kingdom.

Westminster,
Dec.---1655.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.

To the Evangelic Cities of SWITZERLAND:

IN what condition your affairs are, which is not the best, we are abundantly informed, as well by your public acts transmitted to us by our agent at Geneva, as also by your letters from Zurich, bearing date the twenty-seventh of December. Whereby, altho' we are sorry to find your peace, and such a lasting league of confederacy broken; nevertheless since it appears to have happened through no fault of yours, we are in hopes that the iniquity and perverseness of your adversaries are contriving new occasions for ye to make known your long-ago experienced fortitude and resolution in defence of the Evangelic faith. For as for those of the canton of Schwits, who account it a capital crime for any person to embrace our religion, what they are might and main designing, and whose instigations have incensed them to resolutions of hostility against the orthodox religion, no body can be ignorant, who has not yet forgot that most detestable slaughter of our brethren in Piedmont. Wherefore, most beloved friends, what you were always wont to be, with God's assistance still continue, magnanimous and resolute; suffer not your privileges, your confederacies, the liberty of your consciences, your religion itself to be trampled under foot by the worshippers of idols; and so prepare yourselves, that you may not seem to be the defenders only of your own freedom and safety, but be ready likewise to aid and succour, as far as in you lies, your neighbouring brethren, more especially those most deplorable Piedmontois; as being certainly convinced of this, that a passage was lately intended to have been opened over their slaughtered bodies to your sides. As for our part be assured, that we are no less anxious and solicitous for your welfare and prosperity, than if this conflagration had broken forth in our Republic; or as if the axes of the Schwits Canton had been sharpened for our necks, or that their swords had been drawn against our breasts, as indeed they were against the bosoms of all the reformed. Therefore so soon as we were informed of the condition of your affairs, and the obstinate animosities of your enemies, advising with some sincere and honest persons, together with some ministers of the church most eminent for their piety, about sending to your assistance such succour as the present posture of our affairs would permit, we came to those results which our envoy Pell will impart to your consideration. In the meantime we cease not to implore the blessing of the Almighty upon all your counsels, and the protection of your most just cause, as well in war as in peace.

Westminster,
Jan.---1655.

Your Lordships and Worships most Affectionate, Oliver
Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. to the most Serene Prince CHARLES GUSTAVUS, by the Grace of God King of the SWEDES, GOTHS and VANDALS, Great Prince of FINLAND, &c.

Most Serene King,

SEEING it is a thing well known to all men, that there ought to be a communication of concerns among friends, whether in prosperity or adversity; it cannot but be most grateful to us, that your majesty should vouchsafe to impart unto us by your letters the most pleasing and delightful part of your friendship, which is your joy. In regard it is a mark of singular civility, and truly royal, as not to live only to a man's self, so neither to rejoice alone, unless he be sensible that his friends and confederates partake of his gladness. Certainly then, we have reason to rejoice for the birth of the young prince born to such an excellent king, and sent into the world to be the heir of his father's glory and virtue; and this at such a lucky season, that we have no less cause to congratulate the royal parent with the memorable omen that befell the famous Philip of Macedon, who at the same time received the tidings of Alexander's birth, and the conquest of the Illyrians. For we make no question, but the wresting of the kingdom of Poland from papal subjection, as it were a horn dismembred from the head of the beast, and the peace so much desired by all good men, concluded with the duke of Brandenburg, will be most highly conducing to the tranquillity and advantage of the church. Heaven grant a conclusion correspondent to such signal beginnings; and may the son be like the father in virtue, piety, and renown, obtained by great achievements. Which is that we wish may luckily come to pass, and which we beg of the Almighty, so propitious hitherto to your affairs.

Westminster,
Feb.---1655.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate, Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

To the King of DENMARK.

Most Serene and Potent Prince,

JOHN Freeman and Philip Travels, citizens of this Republic, by a petition presented to us, in their own and the name of several other merchants of London, have made a complaint, That whereas about the month of March in the year 1653, they freighted a certain ship of Sunderburg, called the Saviour, Nicolas Weinskinks master, with woollen cloth, and other commodities to the value of above three thousand pound, with orders to the master that he should sail directly up the Baltic for Dantzic, paying the usual tribute at Elsenore, to which purpose in particular they gave him money; nevertheless that the said master, perfidiously and contrary to the orders of the said merchants, slipping by Elsenore without paying the usual duty, thought to have proceeded in his voyage, but that the ship for this reason was immediately seized and detained with all her lading. After due consideration of which complaints, we wrote in favour of the merchants to your majesty's ambassador residing at London, who promised, as they say, that as soon as he returned to your majesty, he would take care that the merchants should be taken into consideration. But he being sent to negotiate your majesty's affairs in other countries, the merchants attended upon him in vain, both before and after his departure; so that they were forced to send their agent to prosecute

prosecute their right and claim at Copenhagen, and demand restitution of the ship and goods ; but all the benefit they reaped by it, was only to add more expences to their former damages, and a great deal of labour and pains thrown away ; the goods being condemned to confiscation, and still detained : whereas by the law of Denmark, as they set forth in their petition, the master is to be punished for his offence, and the ship to be condemned, but not the goods. And they look upon this misfortune to lie the more heavy upon them, in regard the duty which is to be paid at Elsenore, as they tell us, is but very small. Wherefore seeing our merchants seem to have given no cause of proscription, and for that the master confessed before his death, that this damage befel them only through his neglect ; and the father of the master deceased, by his petition to your majesty, as we are given to understand, by laying all the blame on his son, has acquitted the merchants, we could not but believe the detaining of the said ship and goods to be most unjust ; and therefore we are confident, that so soon as your majesty shall be rightly informed of the whole matter, you will not only disapprove of these oppressions of your ministers, but give command that they be called to an account, that the goods be restored to the owners or their factors, and reparation made them for the losses they have sustained. All which we most earnestly request of your majesty, as being no more than what is so just and consentaneous to reason, that a more equitable demand, or more legal satisfaction cannot well be made, considering the justice of our merchants cause, and which your own subjects would think but fair and honest upon the like occasions.

To the most Serene Prince, JOHN the Fourth, King of PORTUGAL, &c.

Most Serene King,

THE peace and friendship which your majesty desired, by your noble and splendid embassy sent to us some time since, after certain negotiations begun by the parliament, in whom the supreme power was vested at that time, as it was always most affectionately wished for by us, with the assistance of God, and that we might not be wanting in the administration of the government which we have now taken upon us, at length we brought to a happy conclusion, and as we hope, as a sacred act, have ratified it to perpetuity. And therefore we send back to your majesty your extraordinary ambassador, the lord John Roderigo de Sita Meneses, count of Pennaguiada, a person both approved by your majesty's judgment, and by us experienced to excel in civility, ingenuity, prudence and fidelity, besides the merited applause which he has justly gained by accomplishing the ends of his embassy, which is the peace which he carries along with him to his country. But as to what we perceive by your letters dated from Lisbon the second of April, that is to say, how highly your majesty esteems our amity, how cordially you favour our advancement, and rejoice at our having taken the government of the republic upon us, which you are pleased to manifest by singular testimonies of kindness and affection, we shall make it our business, that all the world may understand, by our readiness at all times to serve your majesty, that there could be nothing more acceptable or grateful to us. Nor are we less earnest in our prayers to God for your majesty's safety, the welfare of your kingdom, and the prosperous success of your affairs.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

O L I V E R, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the High and Mighty States of the UNITED PROVINCES.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends;

Certain merchants, our countrymen, Thomas Bassel, Richard Beare, and others their co-partners, have made their complaints before us, that a certain ship of theirs, the Edmund and John, in her voyage from the coast of Brasil to Lisbon, was set upon by a privateer of Flushing, called the Red-Lyon, commanded by Lambert Bartelson, but upon this condition, which the writing signed by Lambert himself testifies, that the ship and whatsoever goods belonged to the English should be restored at Flushing: where when the vessel arrived, the ship indeed with what peculiarly belonged to the seamen was restored, but the English merchants goods were detained and put forthwith to sale: for the merchants who had received the damage, when they had sued for their goods in the court of Flushing, after great expences for five years together, lost their suit by the pronouncing of a most unjust sentence against them by those judges, of which some being interested in the privateer, were both judges and adversaries, and no less criminal altogether. So that now they have no other hopes but only in your equity and uncorrupted faith, to which at last they fly for succour; and which they believed they should find the more inclinable to do them justice, if assisted by our commendation. And men are surely to be pardoned, if, afraid of all things in so great a struggle for their estates, they rather call to mind what they have reason to fear from your authority and high power, than what they have to hope well of their cause, especially before sincere and upright judges: though for our parts we make no question, but that induced by your religion, your justice, your integrity, rather than by our intreaties, you will give that judgment which is just and equal, and truly becoming yourselves. God preserve both you and your republic to his own glory, and the defence and succour of his church.

OLIVER, Protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c.

Westm. April 1. 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND, &c. To the most Serene Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHs, and VANDALS, Great Prince of FINLAND, Duke of ESTHONIA, CARELIA, BREME, VERDEN, STETTIN, POMERANIA, CASSUBIA and VANDALIA, Prince of RUGIA, Lord of INGRIA and WISMARIA, Count PALATINE of the RHINE, Duke of BAVARIA, JULIERS, CLEVES and MONTS.

Most Serene Prince,

Peter Julius Coict having accomplished the affairs of his embassy with us, and so acquitted himself, that he is not by us to be dismissed without the ornament of his deserved praises, is now returning to your majesty. For he was most acceptable to us, as well and chiefly for your own sake, which ought with us to be of high consideration, as for his own deserts in the diligent acquittal of his trust. The recommendation therefore which we received from you in his behalf, we freely testify to have been made good by him, and deservedly given by yourself; as he on the other side is able with the same fidelity and integrity to relate and most truly to declare our singular affection and obse-

vance

vance toward your majesty. It remains for us to beseech the most merciful and all-powerful God to bless your majesty with all felicity, and a perpetual course of victory over all the enemies of his church.

Westminster,
April 17. 1656.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the commonwealth of
England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most
Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS King of FRANCE.

Most Serene Prince,

JOHN DETHIC, mayor of the city of London for this year, and William Wakefield merchant, have made their addresses to us by way of petition, complaining, that about the middle of October, sixteen hundred and forty-nine, they freighted a certain ship called the Jonas of London, Jonas Lightfoot master, with goods that were to be sent to Ostend; which vessel was taken in the mouth of the river Thames, by one White of Barking, a pyrate, robbing upon the seas by virtue of a commission from the son of king Charles deceased, and carried to Dunkirk, then under the jurisdiction of the French. Now in regard that by your majesty's edict in the year sixteen hundred and forty-seven, renewed in sixteen hundred and forty-nine, and by some other decrees in favour of the parliament of England, as they find it recorded, it was enacted, that no vessel or goods taken from the English, in the time of that war, should be carried into any of your majesty's ports to be there put to sale; they presently sent their factor Hugh Morel to Dunkirk, to demand restitution of the said ship and goods from M. Lestrade then governor of the town; more especially finding them in the place for the most part untouched, and neither exchanged or sold. To which the governor made answer, that the king had bestowed that government upon him of his free gift for service done the king in his wars, and therefore he would take care to make the best of the reward of his labour. So that having little to hope from an answer so unkind and unjust, after a great expence of time and money, the factor returned home. So that all the remaining hopes which the petitioners have, seem wholly to depend upon your majesty's justice and clemency, to which they thought they might have the more easy access by means of our letters; and therefore that neither your clemency nor your justice may be wanting, to people despoiled against all law and reason, and contrary to your repeated prohibitions, we make it our request. Wherein, if your majesty vouchsafe to gratify us, since there is nothing required but what is most just and equitable, we shall deem it as obtained rather from your innate integrity, than any intreaty of ours.

Westminster,
May —, 1656.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the High and
Mighty Lords, the States of the UNITED PROVINCES.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends;

JOHN BROWN, Nicholas Williams, and others, citizens of London, have set forth in their petitions to us, that when they had every one brought in their proportions, and freighted a certain ship called the Good-hope of London, bound for the East-Indies, they gave orders to their factor to take up at Amsterdam two thousand

four hundred Dutch pounds, to insure the said ship; that afterwards this ship in her voyage to the coast of India was taken by a ship belonging to the East-India company; upon which they who had engaged to insure the said vessel refused to pay the money, and have for this six years by various delays eluded our merchants, who with extraordinary diligence, and at vast expences, endeavoured the recovery of their just right. Which in regard it is an unjust grievance that lies so heavy upon the petitioners, for that some of those who obliged themselves are dead or become insolvent; therefore that no farther losses may accrue to their former damages, we make it our earnest request to your lordships, that you will vouchsafe your integrity to be the harbour and refuge for people tossed so many years, and almost shipwrecked in your courts of justice, and that speedy judgment may be given according to the rules of equity and honesty in their cause, which they believe to be most just. In the mean time we wish you all prosperity to the glory of God, and the welfare of his church.

Westminster,
May ----, 1656.

Your high and mighty lordships most affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the High and
Mighty Lords, the States of the UNITED PROVINCES.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends;

THE same persons in whose behalf we wrote to your lordships in September the last year, Thomas and William Lower, the lawful heirs of Nicholas Lower deceased, make grievous complaints before us, that they are oppressed either by the favour or wealth of their adversaries, notwithstanding the justice of their cause; and when that would not suffice, although our letters were often pleaded in their behalf, they have not been able hitherto to obtain possession of the inheritance left them by their father's will. From the court of Holland, where the suit was first commenced, they were sent to your court, and from thence hurried away into Zealand, (to which three places they carried our letters) and now they are remanded, not unwillingly, back again to your supreme judicature; for where the supreme power is, there they expect supreme justice. If that hope fail them, eluded and frustrated, after being so long tossed from post to pillar for the recovery of their right, where at length to find a resting place they know not. For as for our letters, if they find no benefit of these the fourth time written, they can never promise themselves any advantage for the future from slighted papers. However, it would be most acceptable to us; if yet at length, after so many contempts, the injured heirs might meet with some relief by a speedy and just judgment, if not out of respect to any reputation we have among ye, yet out of a regard to your own equity and justice. Of the last of which we make no question, and confidently presume you will allow the other to our friendship.

Westminster,
May —, 1656.

Your high and mighty lordships most affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene Prince, JOHN King of PORTUGAL.

Most Serene King,

WHereas there is a considerable sum of money owing from certain Portugal merchants of the Brasile company to several English merchants, upon the account of freightage and demorage, in the years sixteen hundred and forty-nine and sixteen hundred and fifty, which money is detained by the said company by your majesty's command, the merchants before-mentioned expected that the said money should have been paid long since according to the articles of the last league, but now they are afraid of being debarred all hopes and means of recovering their debts; understanding your majesty has ordered, that what money is owing to them by the Brasile company, shall be carried into your treasury, and that no more than one half of the duty of freightage shall be expended toward the payment of their debts; by which means the merchants will receive no more than the bare interest of their money, while at the same time they utterly lose their principal. Which we considering to be very severe and heavy upon them, and being overcome by their most reasonable supplications, have granted them these our letters to your majesty; chiefly requesting this at your hands, to take care that the aforefaid Brasile company may give speedy satisfaction to the merchants of this republic, and pay them not only the principal money which is owing to them, but the five years interest; as being both just in itself, and conformable to the league so lately concluded between us; which on their behalf in most friendly manner we request from your majesty,

Your majesty's most affectionate,

From our palace at Westminster, July ----, 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the commonwealth, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHs, and VANDALS, &c.

Most Serene King,

AS it is but just that we should highly value the friendship of your majesty, a prince so potent and so renowned for great achievements; so is it but equally reasonable that your extraordinary ambassador, the most illustrious lord Christiern Bond, by whose sedulity and care a strict alliance is most sacredly and solemnly ratified between us, should be most acceptable to us, and no less deeply fixed in our esteem. Him therefore, having now most worthily accomplished his embassy, we thought it became us to send back to your majesty, though not without the high applause which the rest of his singular virtues merit; to the end, that he who was before conspicuous in your esteem and respect, may now be sensible of his having reaped still more abundant fruits of his sedulity and prudence from our recommendation. As for those things which yet remain to be transacted, we have determined in a short time to send an embassy to your majesty for the settling of those affairs. In the mean time, Almighty God preserve in safety so great a pillar of his church, and of Swedland's welfare.

From our palace at Westminster, July —, 1656.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene Prince, LEWIS King of FRANCE.

Most Serene King, our most dear Friend and Confederate ;

Certain merchants of London, Richard Baker and others, have made their complaint in a petition to us, that a certain hired ship of theirs, called the Endeavour, William Jop master, laden at Teneriff with three hundred pipes of rich Canary, and bound from thence for London, in her voyage between Palma and that island, upon the twenty-first of November, in the year sixteen hundred and fifty-five, was taken by four French vessels, seeming ships of burden, but fitted and manned like privateers, under the command of Giles de la Roche their admiral, and carried with all her freight, and the greatest part of the seamen to the East-Indies, whither he pretended to be bound, (fourteen excepted, who were put ashore upon the coast of Guiney) which the said Giles affirmed he did with that intent, that none of them might escape from so remote and barbarous a country, to do him any harm by their testimony. For he confessed he had neither any commission to take the English vessels, neither had he taken any, as he might have done before, well knowing there was a firm peace at that time between the French and our republic : but in regard he had designed to revictual in Portugal, from whence he was driven by contrary winds, he was constrained to supply his necessities with what he found in that vessel ; and believed the owners of his ships would satisfy the merchants for their loss. Now the loss of our merchants amounts to sixteen thousand English pounds, as will easily be made appear by witnesses upon oath. But if it shall be lawful, upon such trivial excuses as these, for pyrates to violate the most religious acts of princes, and make a sport of merchants for their particular benefits, certainly the sanctity of leagues must fall to the ground, all faith and authority of princes will grow out of date, and be trampled under foot. Wherefore we not only request your majesty, but believe it mainly to concern your honour, that they who have adventured upon so flight a pretence to violate the league and most sacred oath of their sovereign, should suffer the punishment due to such perfidiousness and daring insolence ; and that in the mean time the owners of those ships, though to their loss, should be bound to satisfy our merchants for the vast detriment which they have so wrongfully sustained. So may the Almighty long preserve your majesty, and support the interest of France against the common enemy of us both.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

From our palace at Westminster, Aug. ----, 1656.

[OLIVER, Protector, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, To his Eminency Cardinal MAZARINE.

Most Eminent Lord,

HAVING an occasion to send letters to the king, we thought it likewise an offered opportunity to write to your eminency. For we could not think it proper to conceal the subject of our writing from the sole and only person, whose singular prudence governs the most important interests of the French nation, and the most weighty affairs of the kingdom with equal fidelity, counsel and vigilance. Not without reason we complain, in short, to find that league by yourself, as it were a crime to doubt, most sacredly concluded, almost the very same day contemned and violated by one Giles a French-man,

French-man, a petty admiral of four ships, and his associates equally concerned, as your eminency will readily find by our letters to the king, and the demands themselves of our merchants. Nor is it unknown to your excellency, how much it concerns not only inferior magistrates, but even royal majesty itself, that those first violaters of solemn alliances should be severely punished. But they, perhaps, by this time being arrived in the East-Indies, whither they pretended to be bound, enjoy in undisturbed possession the goods of our people as lawful prize won from an enemy, which they robbed and pillaged from the owners, contrary to all law, and the pledged faith of our late sacred league. However, this is that which we request from your eminency, that whatever goods were taken from our merchants by the admiral of those ships, as necessary for his voyage, may be restored by the owners of the same vessels, which was no more than what the rovers themselves thought just and equal; which, as we understand, it lies within your power to do, considering the authority and sway you bear in the kingdom.

From our palace at Westminster, Aug. ----, 1656.

Your eminency's most affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the commonwealth, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most High and Mighty Lords, the States of the UNITED PROVINCES.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends and Confederates ;

WE make no doubt but that all men will bear us this testimony, that no considerations, in contracting foreign alliances, ever swayed us beyond those of defending the truth of religion, or that we accounted any thing more sacred, than to unite the minds of all the friends and protectors of the Protestants, and of all others who at least were not their enemies. Whence it comes to pass, that we are touched with so much the more grief of mind, to hear that the protestant princes and cities, whom it so much behoves to live in friendship and concord together, should begin to be so jealous of each other, and so ill disposed to mutual affection ; more especially, that your lordships and the king of Sweden, than whom the orthodox faith has not more magnanimous and courageous defenders, nor our republic confederates more strictly conjoined in interests, should seem to remit of your confidence in each other ; or rather, that there should appear some too apparent signs of tottering friendship and growing discord between ye. What the causes are, and what progress this alienation of your affection has made, we protest ourselves to be altogether ignorant. However, we cannot but conceive an extraordinary trouble of mind for these beginnings of the least dissension arisen among brethren, which infallibly must greatly endanger the protestant interests. Which if they should gather strength, how prejudicial it would prove to protestant churches, what an occasion of triumph it would afford our enemies, and more especially the Spaniards, cannot be unknown to your prudence, and most industrious experience of affairs. As for the Spaniards, it has already so enlivened their confidence, and raised their courage, that they made no scruple by their ambassador residing in your territories, boldly to obtrude their counsels upon your lordships, and that in reference to the highest concerns of your republic ; presuming partly with threats of renewing the war, to terrify ; and partly with a false prospect of advantage to solicit your lordships to forsake your ancient and most faithful friends, the English, French and Danes, and enter into a strict confederacy with your old enemy, and once your domineering tyrant, now seemingly atoned ; but, what is most to be feared, only at present treacherously fawning to advance his own designs. Certainly he, who of an inveterate enemy, lays hold of so

flight an occasion of a sudden to become your counsellor, what is it that he would not take upon him? Where would his insolency stop, if once he could but see with his eyes, what now he only ruminates and labours in his thoughts; that is to say, division and a civil war among the protestants? We are not ignorant that your lordships, out of your deep wisdom, frequently revolve in your minds what the posture of all Europe is, and what more especially the condition of the protestants: that the cantons of Switzerland adhering to the orthodox faith, are in daily expectation of new troubles to be raised by their country-men embracing the Popish ceremonies; scarcely recovered from that war, which for the sake of religion was kindled and blown up by the Spaniards, who supplied their enemies both with commanders and money: that the councils of the Spaniards are still contriving to continue the slaughter and destruction of the Piedmontois, which was cruelly put in execution the last year: that the protestants under the jurisdiction of the emperor, are most grievously harassed, having much ado to keep possession of their native homes: that the king of Sweden, whom God, as we hope, has raised up to be a most stout defender of the orthodox faith, is at present waging with all the force of his kingdom, a doubtful and bloody war with the most potent enemies of the reformed religion: that your own provinces are threatned with hostile confederacies of the princes your neighbours, headed by the Spaniards; and lastly, that we ourselves are busied in a war proclaimed against the king of Spain. In this posture of affairs, if any contest should happen between your lordships and the king of Sweden, how miserable would be the condition of all the reformed churches over all Europe, exposed to the cruelty and fury of un sanctified enemies? These cares not slightly seize us; and we hope your sentiments to be the same; and that out of your continued zeal for the common cause of the protestants, and to the end the present peace between brethren professing the same faith, the same hope of eternity, may be preserved inviolable, your lordships will accommodate your counsels to those considerations, which are to be preferred before all others; and that you will leave nothing neglected that may conduce to the establishing tranquillity and union between your lordships and the king of Sweden. Wherein if we can any way be useful, as far as our authority, and the favour you bear us will sway with your lordships, we freely offer our utmost assistance, prepared in like manner to be no less serviceable to the king of Sweden, to whom we design a speedy embassy, to the end we may declare our sentiments at large concerning these matters. We hope moreover, that God will bend your minds on both sides to moderate counsels, and so restrain your animosities, that no provocation may be given, either by the one or the other, to tester your differences to extremity: but that on the other side both parties will remove whatever may give offence or occasion of jealousy to the other. Which if you shall vouchsafe to do, you will disappoint your enemies, prove the consolation of your friends, and in the best manner provide for the welfare of your republic. And this we beseech you to be fully convinced of, that we shall use our utmost care to make appear, upon all occasions, our extraordinary affection and good-will to the states of the United Provinces. And so we most earnestly implore the Almighty God to perpetuate his blessings of peace, wealth and liberty, upon your republic; but above all things to preserve it always flourishing in the love of the christian faith, and the true worship of his name.

Your high and mightinesses most affectionate,

From our palace at Westminster, Aug. ----, 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the most Serene Prince, JOHN King of PORTUGAL.

Most Serene Prince,

UPON the eleventh of July last, Old Stile, we received by Thomas Maynard the ratification of the peace negotiated at London by your extraordinary ambassador; as also of the private and preliminary articles, all now confirmed by your majesty: and by our letters from Philip Meadows, our agent at Lisbon, dated the same time, we understand that our ratification also of the same peace and articles, was by him, according to our orders sent him, delivered to your majesty: and thus the instruments of the forementioned ratification being mutually interchanged on both sides in the beginning of June last, there is now a firm and settled peace between both nations. And this pacification has given us no small occasion of joy and satisfaction, as believing it will prove to the common benefit of both nations, and to the no slight detriment of our common enemies, who as they found out a means to disturb the former league, so they left nothing neglected to have hindered the renewing of this. Nor do we question in the least, that they will omit any occasion of creating new matter for scandals and jealousies between us. Which we however have constantly determined, as much as in us lies, to remove at a remote distance from our thoughts; rather we so earnestly desire, that this our alliance may beget a mutual confidence, greater every day than other, that we shall take them for our enemies, who shall by any artifices endeavour to molest the friendship by this peace established between ourselves and both our people. And we readily persuade ourselves, that your majesty's thoughts and intentions are the same. And whereas it has pleased your majesty, by your letters dated the twenty-fourth of June, and some days after the delivery by our agent of the interchanged instrument of confirmed peace, to mention certain clauses of the league, of which you desired some little alteration, being of small moment to this republic, as your majesty believes, but of great importance to the kingdom of Portugal; we shall be ready to enter into a particular treaty in order to those proposals made by your majesty, or whatever else may conduce, in the judgment of both parties, to the farther establishment and more strongly fastening of the league: wherein we shall have those due considerations of your majesty and your subjects, as also of our own people, that all may be satisfied; and it shall be in your own choice, whether these things shall be negotiated at Lisbon, or at London. However, the league being now confirmed, and duly sealed with the seals of both nations, to alter any part of it, would be the same thing as to annul the whole; which we are certainly assured your majesty by no means desires to do. We heartily wish all things lucky, all things prosperous to your majesty. From our palace at Westminster, Aug. ----, 1656.

Your majesty's most affectionate, OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene Prince, JOHN King of PORTUGAL.

Most Serene King,

WE have received the unwelcome news of a wicked and inhuman attempt to have murdered our agent Philip Meadows, residing with your majesty, and by us sent upon the blessed errand of peace; the heinousness of which was such, that his preservation is only to be attributed to the protection of heaven. And we are given to

understand, by your letters dated the twenty-sixth of May last, and delivered to us by Thomas Maynard, that your majesty, justly incensed at the horridness of the fact, has commanded enquiry to be made after the criminals, to the end they may be brought to condign punishment : but we do not hear that any of the ruffians are yet apprehended, or that your commands have wrought any effect in this particular. Wherefore we thought it our duty openly to declare, how deeply we resent this barbarous outrage in part attempted, and in part committed : and therefore we make it our request to your majesty, that due punishment may be inflicted upon the authors, associates, and encouragers of this abominable fact. And to the end that this may be the more speedily accomplished, we farther demand, that persons of honesty and sincerity, well-wishers to the peace of both nations, may be entrusted with the examination of this business, that so a due scrutiny may be made into the bottom of this malicious contrivance, to the end both authors and assistants may be the more severely punished. Unless this be done, neither your majesty's justice, nor the honour of this republic can be vindicated ; neither can there be any stable assurance of peace between both nations. We wish your majesty all things fortunate and prosperous. From our palace at Whitehall, August ----, 1656.

Your majesty's most affectionate, OLIVER, Protector of the
commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most
Illustrious Lord, the CONDE D'ODEMIRA.

Most Illustrious Lord,

YOUR singular good-will towards us and this republic, has laid no mean obligation upon us, nor slightly tied us to acknowledgment. We readily perceived it by your letters of the twenty-fifth of June last, as also by those which we received from our agent Philip Meadows, sent into Portugal to conclude the peace in agitation, wherein he informed us of your extraordinary zeal and diligence to promote the pacification, of which we most joyfully received the last ratification ; and we persuade ourselves, that your lordship will have no cause to repent either of your pains and diligence in procuring this peace, or of your good-will to the English, or your fidelity towards the king, your sovereign ; more especially considering the great hopes we have that this peace will be of high advantage to both nations, and not a little inconvenient to our enemies. The only accident that fell out unfortunate and mournful in this negotiation, was that unhallowed villany nefariously attempted upon the person of our agent, Philip Meadows : the concealed authors of which intended piece of inhumanity, ought no less diligently to be sought after, and made examples to posterity, than the vilest of most openly detected assassins. Nor can we doubt in the least of your king's severity and justice in the punishment of a crime so horrid, nor of your care and sedulity to see that there be no remissness of prosecution, as being a person bearing due veneration to the laws of God, and sanctity among men, and no less zealous to maintain the peace between both nations, which never can subsist if such inhuman barbarities as these escape unpunished and unrevenged. But your abhorrence and detestation of the fact is so well known, that there is no need of insisting any more at present upon this displeasing subject. Therefore, having thus declared our good-will and affection to your lordship, of which we shall be always ready to give apparent demonstrations, there nothing remains, but to implore the blessings of Divine Favour and Protection upon you, and all yours. From our palace at Westminster, Aug. ---, 1656.

Your lordship's most affectionate, OLIVER, Protector of the
commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER,

OLIVER Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene Prince CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHs and VANDALS, &c.

Most Serene King, our dearest Friend and Confederate ;

BEING assured of your majesty's concurrence both in thoughts and counsels, for the defence of the protestant faith against the enemies of it, if ever, now at this time most dangerously vexatious ; though we cannot but rejoice at your prosperous successes, and the daily tidings of your victories, yet on the other side we cannot but be as deeply afflicted to meet with one thing that disturbs and interrupts our joy ; we mean the bad news intermixed with so many welcome tidings, that the ancient friendship between your majesty and the States of the United Provinces, looks with a dubious aspect, and that the mischief is exasperated to that height, especially in the Baltic sea, as seems to bode an unhappy rupture. We confess ourselves ignorant of the causes ; but we too easily foresee that the events, which God avert, will be fatal to the interests of the protestants. And therefore, as well in respect to that most strict alliance between us and your majesty, as out of that affection and love to the reformed religion, by which we all of us ought chiefly to be swayed, we thought it our duty, as we have most earnestly exhorted the States of the United Provinces to peace and moderation, so now to persuade your majesty to the same. The protestants have enemies every where enow and to spare, inflamed with inexorable revenge ; they never were known to have conspired more perniciously to our destruction, witness the valleys of Piedmont, still reaking with the blood and slaughter of the miserable ; witness Austria, lately turmoiled with the emperor's edicts and proscriptions ; witness Switzerland. But to what purpose is it in many words to call back the bitter lamentations and remembrance of so many calamities ? Who so ignorant, as not to know that the counsels of the Spaniards, and the Roman Pontiff, for these two years have filled all these places with conflagrations, slaughter, and vexation of the Orthodox ? If to these mischiefs there should happen an access of dissension among protestant brethren, more especially between two potent states, upon whose courage, wealth and fortitude, so far as human strength may be relied upon, the support and hopes of all the reformed churches depend, of necessity the protestant religion must be in great jeopardy, if not upon the brink of destruction. On the other side, if the whole protestant name would but observe perpetual peace among themselves with that same brotherly union as becomes their profession, there would be no occasion to fear what all the artifices or puissance of our enemies could do to hurt us, which our fraternal concord and harmony alone would easily repel and frustrate. And therefore we most earnestly request and beseech your majesty to harbour in your mind propitious thoughts of peace, and inclinations ready bent to repair the breaches of your pristine friendship with the United Provinces, if in any part it may have accidentally suffered the decays of mistakes or misconstruction. If there be any thing wherein our labour, our fidelity and diligence may be useful toward this composure, we offer and devote all to your service. And may the God of Heaven favour and prosper your noble and pious resolutions, which together with all felicity, and a perpetual course of victory we cordially wish to your majesty.

From our palace at
Westminster,
Aug.--1656.

Your majesty's most affectionate, OLIVER,
Protector of the Commonwealth of
England, &c.

G g 2

OLIVER,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the States of
HOLLAND.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends ;

IT has been represented to us, by William Cooper, a minister of London, and our country-man, that John le Maire of Amsterdam, his father-in-law, about three and thirty years ago devised a project, by which the revenues of your Republic might be very much advanced without any burden to the people, and made an agreement with John Vandebrook to share between them the reward which they should obtain for their invention ; which was the settling of a little Seal to be made use of in all the provinces of your territories, and for which your High and Mightinesses promised to pay the said Vandebrook and his heirs the yearly sum of three thousand Guilders, or three hundred English pounds. Now although the use and method of this little Seal has been found very easy and expeditious, and that ever since great incomes have thereby accrued to your High and Mightinesses, and some of your Provinces, nevertheless nothing of the said reward, tho' with much importunity demanded, has been paid to this day ; so that the said Vandebrook and le Maire being tired out with long delays, the right of the said grant is devolved to the foresaid William Cooper our country-man ; who desirous to reap the fruit of his father-in-law's industry, has petitioned us, that we would recommend his just demands to your High and Mightinesses, which we thought not reasonable to deny him. Wherefore, in most friendly wise, we request your High and Mightinesses favourably to hear the petition of the said William Cooper, and to take such care that the reward and stipend, so well deserved, and by contract agreed and granted, may be paid him annually from this time forward, together with the arrears of the years already passed. Which not doubting but your High and Mightinesses will vouchsafe to perform, as what is no more than just and becoming your magnificence, we shall be ready to shew the same favour to the petitions of your country-men upon any occasions of the same nature, whenever presented to us.

From our palace at
Whitehall, Sep-
tember---1656.

Your High and Mightinesses most
affectionate, Oliver Protector of
the Commonwealth, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene
Prince, LEWIS King of FRANCE.

Most Serene King, our dearest Friend and Confederate ;

AGainst our will it is that we so often trouble your majesty with the wrongs done by your subjects after a peace so lately renewed. But as we are fully persuaded that your majesty disapproves their being committed, so neither can we be wanting to the complaints of our people. That the ship Anthony of Dieppe was legally taken before the league, manifestly appears by the sentence of the judges of our admiralty-court. Part of the lading, that is to say, four thousand hides, Robert Brown, a merchant of London, fairly bought of those who were entrusted with the sale, as they themselves testify. The same merchant, after the peace was confirmed, carried to Dieppe about two hundred of the same hides, and there having sold them to a currier, thought

thought to have received his money, but found it stopt and attached in the hands of his factor; and a suit being commenced against him, he could obtain no favour in that court: wherefore, we thought it proper to request your majesty, that the whole matter may be referred to your council, that so the said money may be discharged from an unjust and vexatious action. For if acts done and adjudged before the peace, shall after peace renewed be called into question and controversy, we must look upon assurance of treaties to be a thing of little moment. Nor will there be any end of these complaints, if some of these violators of leagues be not made severe and timely examples to others. Which we hope your majesty will speedily take into your care. To whom God Almighty in the mean time vouchsafe his most holy protection.

From our palace at
Whitehall, Sep-
tember---1656.

Your majesty's most Affectionate, Oliver
Protector of the Commonwealth of
England, &c.

OLIVER Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene
Prince, JOHN King of PORTUGAL.

Most Serene King,

THE peace being happily concluded between this Republic and the kingdom of Portugal, and what refers to trade being duly provided for and ratified, we deemed it necessary to send to your majesty Thomas Maynard, from whom you will receive these letters, to reside in your Dominions, under the character and employment of a Consul, and to take care of the estates and interests of our merchants. Now, in regard it may frequently so fall out, that he may be enforced to desire the privilege of free admission to your majesty, as well in matters of trade, as upon other occasions for the interest of our Republic, we make it our request to your majesty, that you will vouchsafe him favourable access and audience, which we shall acknowledge as a singular demonstration and testimony of your majesty's good-will towards us. In the mean time we beseech Almighty God to bless your majesty with all prosperity. From our Court at Westminster, Octob.---1656.

Your majesty's most Affectionate, Oliver Protector of the
Commonwealth of England, &c.

To the King of the SWEDES.

Most Serene and Potent King,

ALTHOUGH your majesty's wonted and spontaneous favour and good-will toward all deserving men be such, that all recommendations in their behalf may seem superfluous, yet we were unwilling to dismiss without our letters to your majesty, this noble person, William Vavassour knight, serving under your banners, and now returning to your majesty: which we have done so much the more willingly, being informed, that formerly following your majesty's fortunate conduct, he had lost his blood in several combats to assert the noble cause for which you fight. Insomuch, that the succeeding kings of Swedeland in remuneration of his military skill, and bold achievements in war, rewarded him with lands and annual pensions, as the guerdons of his prowess. Nor do we question but that he may be of great use to
your

your majesty in your present wars, who has been so long conspicuous for his fidelity and experience in military affairs. 'Tis our desire therefore that he may be recommended to your majesty according to his merits; and we also farther request, That he may be paid the arrears due to him. This, as it will be most acceptable to us, so we shall be ready upon the like occasion, whenever offered, to gratify your majesty, to whom we wish all happiness and prosperity.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate, Oliver Protector of
the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene
Prince JOHN King of PORTUGAL.

Most Serene King, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

THomas Evans, a master of a ship, and our country-man, has presented a petition to us, wherein he sets forth, that in the years 1649, and 1650, he served the Brasile company with his ship the Scipio, being a vessel of four hundred tuns, and of which he was master: that the said ship was taken from him, with all the lading and furniture, by your majesty's command; by which he has received great damage, besides the loss of six years gain arising out of such a stock. The commissioners by the league appointed on both sides for the deciding controversies, valued the whole at seven thousand of our pounds, or twice as many Milreys of Portugal money, as they made their report to us. Which loss falling so heavy upon the foresaid Thomas, and being constrained to make a voyage to Lisbon for the recovery of his estate, he humbly besought us that we would grant him our letters to your majesty in favour of his demands. We therefore, (although we wrote the last year in behalf of our merchants in general to whom the Brasile company was indebted, nevertheless that we may not be wanting to any that implore our aid,) request your majesty, in regard to that friendship which is between us, that consideration may be had of this man in particular, and that your majesty would give such orders to all your ministers and officers, that no obstacle may hinder him from demanding and recovering without delay, what is owing to him from the Brasile company, or any other persons. God Almighty bless your majesty with perpetual felicity, and grant that our friendship may long endure.

From our palace at Westminster, Octob.---1656.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate, Oliver Protector of
the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the Illustrious
and Magnificent Senate of HAMBOROUGH.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worshipful;

JAMES and Patrick Hays, subjects of this commonwealth, have made grievous complaint before us, That they being lawful heirs of their brother Alexander, who died intestate, were so declared by a sentence of your court pronounced in their behalf against their brother's widow; and the estates of their deceased brother, together

ther with the profits, only the widow's dowry excepted, being adjudged to them by virtue of that sentence; nevertheless, to this very day they could never reap any benefit of their pains and expences in obtaining the said judgment, notwithstanding their own declared right, and letters formerly written by king Charles in their behalf; for that the great power and wealth of Albert van Eyzen, one of your chief magistrates, and with whom the greatest part of the goods was deposited, was an opposition too potent for them to surmount, while he strove all that in him lay that the goods might not be restored to the heirs. Thus disappointed and tired out with delays, and at length reduced to utmost poverty, they are become suppliants to us that we would not forsake them, wronged and oppressed as they are in a confederated city. We therefore believing it to be a chief part of our duty, not to suffer any country-man of ours in vain to desire our patronage and succour in distress, make this request to your lordships, which we are apt to think we may easily obtain from your city, That the sentence pronounced in behalf of the two brothers may be ratified and duly executed according to the intents and purposes for which it was given; and that you will not suffer any longer delay of justice, by an appeal to the chamber of Spire, upon any pretence whatever: for we have required the opinions of our lawyers, which we have sent to your lordships fairly written and signed. But if intreaty and fair means will nothing avail, of necessity (and which is no more than according to the customary law of nations, though we are unwilling to come to that extremity) the severity of retaliation must take its course; which we hope your prudence will take care to prevent. From our palace at Westminster, Octob. 16. 1656.

Your Lordship's most Affectionate, Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene and Potent LEWIS, King of FRANCE.

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

WE are apt to believe that your majesty received our letters dated the 14th of May, of the last year, wherein we wrote that John Dethic, Mayor of London that year, and William Waterford, merchant, had by their petition set forth, That a certain vessel called the Jonas, freighted with goods upon their account, and bound for Dunkirk, then under the jurisdiction of the French, was taken at the very mouth of the Thames, by a Sea-Rover, pretending a commission from the son of the late king Charles: which being directly contrary to your edicts and the decrees of your council, That no English ship taken by the enemies of the Parliament, should be admitted into any of your ports, and there put to sale, they demanded restitution of the said ship and goods from M. Lestrade, then governor of the town, who returned them an answer no way becoming a person of his quality, or who pretended obedience to his sovereign; That the government was conferred upon him for his good service in the wars, and therefore he would make his best advantage of it, that is to say, by right or wrong; for that he seemed to drive at: as if he had received that government of your majesty's free gift, to authorize him in the robbing your confederates, and contemning your edicts set forth in their favour. For what the king of France forbids his subjects any way to have a hand in, that the king's governor has not only suffered to be committed in your ports, but he himself becomes the pirate, seizes the prey, and openly avouches the fact. With this answer therefore the merchants departed, altogether baffled and disappointed; and this we signified

signified by our letters to your majesty the last year with little better success; for as yet we have received no reply to those letters. Of which we are apt to believe the reason was, because the governor was with the army in Flanders; but now he resides at Paris, or rather flutters unpunished about the city, and at court, enriched with the spoils of our merchants. Once more therefore, we make it our request to your majesty, which it is your majesty's interest in the first place to take care of, That no person whatever may dare to justify the wrongs done to your majesty's confederates by the contempt of your royal edicts. Nor can this cause be properly referred to the commissioners appointed for deciding common controversies on both sides; since in this case, not only the rights of confederates, but your authority itself, and the veneration due to the royal name, are chiefly in dispute. And it would be a wonder, that merchants should be more troubled for their losses, than your majesty provoked at incroachments upon your honour. Which while you disdain to brook, with the same labour you will demonstrate that you neither repent of your friendly edicts in favour of our Republic, nor connived at the injuries done by your subjects, nor neglected to give due respect to our demands. From our court at Westminster, Novemb.---1656.

Your Majesty's most bounden by Good-will, by Friendship and solemn league, Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, FREDERIC III. King of DENMARK, NORWAY, the VANDALS and GOTHs; Duke of SLESWIC HOLSATIA, STORMATIA and DITHMARSH; Count in OLDENBURGH and DELMENHORST, &c.

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

WE received your majesty's letters dated the 16th of February, from Copenhagen, by the most worthy Simon de Pitkum, your majesty's agent here residing. Which when we had perused, the demonstrations of your majesty's good-will towards us, and the importance of the matter concerning which you write, affected us to that degree, that we designed forthwith to send to your majesty some person, who being furnished with ample instructions from us, might more at large declare to your majesty our counsels in that affair. And tho' we have still the same resolutions, yet hitherto we have not been at leisure to think of a person proper to be entrusted with those commands which the weight of the matter requires; tho' in a short time we hope to be more at liberty. In the mean while we thought it not convenient any longer to delay the letting your majesty understand, that the present condition of affairs in Europe has employed the greatest part of our care and thoughts; while for some years, to our great grief, we have beheld the protestant princes, and supreme magistrates of the reformed republics, (whom it rather behoves, as being engaged by the common tie of religion and safety, to combine and study all the ways imaginable conducing to mutual defence) more and more at weakning variance among themselves, and jealous of each other's actions and designs; putting their friends in fear, their enemies in hope, that the posture of affairs bodes rather enmity and discord, than a firm agreement of mind to defend and assist each other. And this solicitude has fixed itself so much the deeper in our thoughts, in regard there seems to appear some sparks of jealousy between your majesty and the king of Sweden; at least, that there is not that conjunction of affections, which our love and good-will in general toward the orthodox religion so importunately requires: your majesty, perhaps, suspecting

ing that the trade of your dominions will be prejudiced by the king of Sweden ; and on the other side, the king of Sweden being jealous, that by your means the war which he now wages, is made more difficult, and that you oppose him in his contracting those alliances which he seeks. 'Tis not unknown to your majesty, so eminent for your profound wisdom, how great the danger is that threatens the protestant religion, should such suspicions long continue between two such potent monarchs ; more especially, which God avert, if any symptom of hostility should break forth. However it be, for our parts, as we have earnestly exhorted the king of Sweden, and the states of the United Provinces to peace, and moderate counsels, (and are beyond expression glad to behold peace and concord renewed between them, for that the heads of that league are transmitted to us by their lordships the states-general) so we thought it our duty, and chiefly becoming our friendship not to conceal from your majesty what our sentiments are concerning these matters, (more especially being affectionately invited so to do by your majesty's most friendly letters, which we look upon, and embrace, as a most singular testimony of your good-will towards us) but to lay before your eyes how great a necessity Divine Providence has imposed upon us all that profess the protestant religion, to study peace among ourselves, and that chiefly at this time, when our most embittered enemies seem to have on every side conspired our destruction. There's no necessity of calling to remembrance the valleys of Piedmont still besmeared with the blood and slaughter of the miserable inhabitants ; nor Austria, tormented at the same time with the emperor's decrees and proscriptions ; nor the impetuous onsets of the popish upon the protestant Switzers. Who can be ignorant that the artifices and machinations of the Spaniards, for some years last past, have filled all these places with the confused and blended havoc of fire and sword ? To which unfortunate pile of miseries, if once the reformed brethren should come to add their own dissensions among themselves, and more especially two such potent monarchs, the chiefest part of our strength, and among whom so large a provision of the protestant security and puissance lies stored and hoarded up against times of danger, most certainly the interests of the protestants must go to ruin, and suffer a total and irrecoverable eclipse. On the other side, if peace continue firmly fixed between two such powerful neighbours, and the rest of the orthodox princes ; if we would but make it our main study to abide in brotherly concord, there would be no cause, by God's assistance, to fear neither the force nor subtilty of our enemies ; all whose endeavours and laborious toils our union alone would be able to dissipate and frustrate. Nor do we question but that your majesty, as you are freely willing, so your willingness will be constant in contributing your utmost assistance to procure this blessed peace. To which purpose we shall be most ready to communicate and join our counsels with your majesty ; professing a real and cordial friendship, and not only determined inviolably to observe the amity so auspiciously contracted between us, but, as God shall enable us, to bind our present alliance with a more strict and fraternal bond. In the mean time, the same eternal God grant all things prosperous and successful to your majesty.

From our court at Whitehall,
Decemb.—1656.

Your Majesty's most closely united by Friend-
ship, Alliance, and Good-will,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene and Illustrious Prince and Lord, the Lord WILLIAM, Landgrave of HESSE, Prince of HEREFELDT, Count in CUTZENILLEBOGEN, Decia LINGENHAIN, WIDDA and SCHAUNBURG, &c.

Most Serene Prince,

WE had returned an answer to your letters sent us now near a twelvemonth since, for which we beg your highness's pardon, had not many, and those the most important affairs of the Republic under our care, constrained us to this unwilling silence. For what letters could be more grateful to us, than those which are written from a most religious prince, descended from religious ancestors, in order to settle the peace of religion, and the harmony of the church? which letters attribute to us the same inclinations, the same zeal to promote the peace of christendom, not only in your own, but in the opinion and judgment of almost all the christian world, and which we are most highly glad to find so universally ascribed to ourselves. And how far our endeavours have been signal formerly throughout these three kingdoms, and what we have effected by our exhortations, by our sufferings, by our conduct, but chiefly by divine assistance, the greatest part of our people both well know, and are sensible of, in a deep tranquillity of their consciences. The same peace we have wished to the churches of Germany, whose dissensions have been too sharp, and of too long endurance; and by our agent Dury, for many years in vain endeavouring the same reconciliation, we have cordially offered whatever might conduce on our part to the same purpose. We still persevere in the same determinations, and with the same fraternal charity one among another, to those churches. But how difficult a task it is to settle peace among those sons of peace, as they give out themselves to be, to our extreme grief we more than abundantly understand. For that the reformed, and those of the Augustan confession, should cement together in a communion of one church, is hardly ever to be expected: 'Tis impossible by force to prohibit either from defending their opinions, whether in private disputes, or by public writings; for force can never consist with ecclesiastical tranquillity. This only were to be wished, that they who differ, would suffer themselves to be entreated, that they would disagree more civilly, and with more moderation; and notwithstanding their disputes, love one another; not embittered against each other as enemies, but as brethren, dissenting only in trifles, though in the fundamentals of faith most cordially agreeing. With inculcating and persuading these things, we shall never be wearied; beyond that, there is nothing allowed to human force or counsels: God will accomplish his own work in his own time. In the mean while, you, most serene prince, have left behind you a noble testimony of your affection to the churches, an eternal monument becoming the virtue of your ancestors, and an exemplar worthy to be followed by all princes. It only then remains for us to implore the merciful and great God to crown your highness with all the prosperity in other things which you can wish for; but not to change your mind, than which you cannot have a better, since a better cannot be, nor more piously devoted to his glory.

Westminster, March----1656.

OLIVER,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene Prince, the Duke of COURLAND.

Most Serene Prince,

WE have been abundantly satisfied of your affection to us, as well at other times, as when you kindly entertained our ambassador in his journey to the duke of Muscovy, for some days together making a stop in your territories: now we are no less confident that your highness will give us no less obliging testimonies of your justice and equity, as well out of your own good-nature, as at our request. For we are given to understand, That one John Johnson, a Scotsman, and master of a certain ship of yours, having faithfully discharged his duty for seven years together in the service of your highness, as to your highness is well known, at length delivered the said ship, called the Whale, in the mouth of the river, according as the custom is, to one of your pilots, by him to be carried safe into harbour. But it so fell out, that the pilot being ignorant of his duty, though frequently warned and admonished by the said Johnson, as he has proved by several witnesses, the said ship ran aground and split to pieces, not through any fault of the master, but through the want of skill, or obstinacy of the pilot. Which being so, we make it our earnest request to your highness, That neither the said shipwreck may be imputed to the fore-mentioned Johnson the master, nor that he may upon that account be deprived of the wages due to him; by the only enjoyment of which, he having lately suffered another misfortune at sea, he hopes however to support and comfort himself in the extremity of his wants.

From our court at Westminster,
March-----, 1657.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Noble the Consuls and Senators of the Republic of Dantzick.

Most Noble and Magnificent, our dearest Friends;

WE have always esteemed your city flourishing in industry, wealth, and studious care to promote all useful arts and sciences, fit to be compared with any the most noble cities of Europe. Now in regard that in this war that has been long hovering about your confines, you have rather chosen to side with the Poles, than with the Swedes; we are most heartily desirous, that for the sake of that religion which you embrace, and of your ancient commerce with the English, you would chiefly adhere to those counsels which may prove most agreeable to the glory of God, and the dignity and splendor of your city. Wherefore we entreat ye, for the sake of that friendship which has been long established between yourselves and the English nation, and if our reputation have obtained any favour or esteem among ye, to set at liberty count Conismark, conspicuous among the principal of the Swedish captains, and a person singularly famed for his conduct in war, but by the treachery of his own people surprised at sea; wherein you will do no more than what the laws of war, not yet exasperated to the height, allow; or if you think this is not so agreeable to your interests, that you will however deem him worthy a more easy and less severe confinement. Which of these two favours soever you shall determine

to grant us, you will certainly perform an act becoming the reputation of your city, and highly oblige besides the most famous warriors and most eminent captains of all parties : and lastly, lay upon ourselves an obligation not the meanest ; and perhaps it may be worth your interest to gratify us.

From our court at Westminster, April---, 1657.

Your Lordship's Affectionate,

OLIVER, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND and IRELAND, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince and Lord, Emperor and Great Duke of all RUSSIA ; sole Lord of VOLODOMARIA, MOSCOW and NOVOGRAGE ; King of CAZAN, ASTRACAN and SIBERIA ; Lord of VOBSCOW, Great Duke of SMOLENSKO, TUIRSCOY, and other Places ; Lord and Great Duke of NOVOGROD, and the Lower Provinces of CHERNIGOY, REZANSKO, and others ; Lord of all the NORTHERN CLIMES ; also Lord of EVERSICO, CARTALINSCA, and many other Places.

ALL men know how ancient the friendship, and how vast the trade has been for a long train of years between the English nation and the people of your empire : but that singular virtue, most August Emperor, which in your majesty far outshines the glory of your ancestors ; and the high opinion which all the neighbouring princes have of it, more especially moves us to pay a more than ordinary veneration and affection to your majesty, and to desire the imparting of some things to your consideration, which may conduce to the good of Christendom and your own interests. Wherefore, we have sent the most accomplished Richard Bradshaw, a person of whose fidelity, integrity, prudence, and experience in affairs, we are well assured, as having been employed by us in several other negotiations of this nature, under the character of our agent to your majesty ; to the end he may more at large make known to your majesty our singular good-will and high respect toward so puissant a monarch, and transact with your majesty concerning the matters above-mentioned. Him therefore we request your majesty favourably to receive in our name, and as often as shall be requisite to grant him free access to your person, and no less gracious audience ; and lastly, to give the same credit to him in all things which he shall propose or negotiate, as to ourselves, if we were personally present. And so we beseech Almighty God to bless your majesty and the Russian empire with all prosperity.

From our court at Westminster,
April---, 1657.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHES, and VANDALS, &c.

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest Friend and Confederate ;

THE most honourable William Jepson, colonel of horse, and a senator in our parliament, who will have the honour to deliver these letters to your majesty, will make known to your majesty, with what disturbance and grief of mind we received the news of the fatal war broke out between your majesty and the king of Denmark, and how much it is our cordial and real endeavour, not to neglect any labour or duty of ours, as far as God enables us, that some speedy remedy may be applied to this growing mischief, and those calamities averted, which of necessity this war will bring upon the common cause of religion; more especially at this time, now that our adversaries unite their forces and pernicious counsels against the profession and professors of the orthodox faith. These and some other considerations of great importance to the benefit and public interests of both nations, have induced us to send this gentleman to your majesty, under the character of our extraordinary envoy. Whom we therefore desire your majesty kindly to receive, and to give credit to him in all things which he shall have to impart to your majesty in our name; as being a person in whose fidelity and prudence we very much confide. We also farther request, That your majesty will be pleased fully to assure yourself of our good-will and most undoubted zeal, as well toward your majesty, as for the prosperity of your affairs. Of which we shall be readily prepared with all imaginable willingness of mind to give unquestionable testimonies upon all occasions. From our court at Westminster, August---1657.

Your Majesty's Friend, and most strictly co-united Confederate,
OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene Prince, the Lord FREDERIC WILLIAM, Marquess of BRANDENBURGH, High Chamberlain of the Imperial Empire, and Prince Elector, Duke of MAGDEBURG, PRUSSIA, JULIERS, CLEVES, MONTS, STETTIN, POMERANIA, of the CASSIUBIANS and VANDALS, as also of SILESIA, CROSNIA and CARNOVIA, Burgrave of NORRINBURG, Prince of HALBERSTADT and MINDA; Count of MARK and RAVENSBERGH, Lord in RAVENSTEIN..

Most Serene Prince, our dearest Friend and Confederate ;

SUCH is the fame of your highness's virtue and prudence both in peace and war, and so loudly spread through all the world, that all the princes round about are ambitious of your friendship; nor does any one desire a more faithful or constant friend and associate: therefore to the end your highness may know that we are also in the number of those that have the highest and most honourable thoughts of your person and merits, so well deserving of the commonwealth of Christendom; we have sent the most worthy col. William Jepson, a senator in our parliament, in our name to kiss your highness's hands; and withal to wish the continuance of all prosperity to your affairs, and in words at large to express our good-will and affection to your serenity; and therefore make it our request, That you will vouchsafe to give him credit in those matters concerning which he has instructions to treat with your highness, as if all things were attested and confirmed by our personal presence. From our court at Whitehall, August---1657.

OLIVER,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Noble the Consuls and Senators of the city of Hamborough.

Most Noble, most Magnificent, and Worthy,

THE most accomplished, colonel William Jepson, a senator in our parliament, being sent by us to the most serene king of Sweden, is to travel through your city; and therefore we have given him in command, not to pass by your lordships unsaluted in our name; and withal to make it our request, That you will be ready to assist him upon whatsoever occasion he shall think it requisite to crave the aid of your authority and counsel. Which the more willingly you shall do, the more you shall find you have acquired our favour.

From our court at Westminster,
Aug.----1657.

To the most Noble, the Consuls and Senators of the City of BREME.

HOW great our affection is toward your city, how particular our good-will, as well upon the account of your religion, as for the celebrated splendor of your city, as formerly you have found; so when occasion offers, you shall be further sensible. At present, in regard the most accomplished colonel William Jepson, a senator in our parliament, is to travel through Bremen with the character of our Envoy Extraordinary to the king of Sweden, 'tis our pleasure that he salute your lordships lovingly and friendly in our name; and that if any accident fall out, wherein your assistance and friendship may be serviceable to him, that he may have free admission to desire it, upon the score of our alliance. Wherein we are confident you will the less be wanting, by how much the more reason you will have to be assured of our singular love and kindness for your lordships. From our court at Whitehall, August---, 1657.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Noble the Senators and Consuls of the City of LUBECK.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worshipful, our dearest Friends;

Colonel William Jepson, a person of great honour, and a senator in our parliament, is to pass with the character of a public minister from your city to the king of Sweden, encamping not far from it. Wherefore we desire your lordships, that if occasion require, upon the account of the friendship and commerce between us, you will be assistant to him in his journey through your city, and the territories under your jurisdiction. As to what remains, it is our farther pleasure, that you be saluted in our name, and that you be assured of our good-will and ready inclinations to serve your lordships. From our court at Westminster, August---, 1657.

OLIVER,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the City of
HAMBOROUGH.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worshipful;

PHILIP Meadows, who brings these letters to your lordships, is to travel through your city with the character of our agent to the king of Denmark. Therefore we most earnestly recommend him to your lordships, that in any occasion should happen for him to desire it, you would be ready to aid him with your authority and assistance: and we desire that this our recommendation may have the same weight at present with your lordships as formerly it wont to have; nor shall we be wanting to your lordships upon the same opportunities. From our court at Whitehall, August ----, 1657.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. to the most Serene Prince FREDERIC Heir of NORWAY, Duke of SLESWIC, HOLSATIA, and DITMARSH, Count in OLDENBURGH and DELMENHORST.

Most Serene Prince, our dearest Friend;

Colonel William Jepson, a person truly noble in his country, and a senator in our parliament, is sent by us, as our envoy extraordinary to the most serene king of Sweden; and may it prove happy and prosperous for the common peace and interests of Christendom! We have given him instructions, among other things, that in his journey, after he has kissed your Serenity's hands in our name, and declared our former good-will and constant zeal for your welfare, to request of your Serenity also, that being guarded with your authority, he may travel with safety and convenience through your territories. By which kind act of civility, your highness will in a greater measure oblige us to returns of answerable kindness. From our court at Westminster, Aug. ----, 1657.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene Prince, FERDINAND Great Duke of TUSCANY.

Most Serene Great Duke, our dearest Friend;

THE company of our merchants trading to the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean sea, by their petition to us, have set forth, that William Ellis, master of a ship called the Little Lewis, being at Alexandria in Egypt, was hired by the Bascha of Memphis, to carry rice, sugar and coffee, either to Constantinople or Smyrna, for the use of the Grand Signior; but that contrary to his faith and promise given, he bore away privately from the Ottoman fleet, and brought his ship and lading to Leghorn, where now he lives in possession of his prey. Which villanous act being of dangerous example, as exposing the Christian name to scandal, and the fortunes of our merchants living under the Turks to violence and ranfac; we therefore make it our request to your highness, that you will give command that the said master be apprehended and imprisoned, and that the vessel and goods may remain under seizure, till we shall have given notice of our care for the restitution of those goods to the Sultan: assuring your highness of our readiness to make suitable returns of gratitude whenever opportunity presents itself. From our court at Westm. Septem. ———, 1657.

Your highness's most affectionate, OLIVER, Protector of the
commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene Prince, the Lord FREDERIC-WILLIAM, Marquis of BRANDENBURGH, &c.

Most Serene Prince, our most dear Friend and Confederate ;

BY our last letters to your highness, either already or shortly to be delivered by our ambassador William Jepson, we have imparted the substance of our embassy to your highness; which we could not do without some mention of your great virtues, and demonstration of our own good-will and affection. Nevertheless, that we may not seem too superficially to have gilded over your transcending deservings of the protestant interests; we thought it proper to resume the same subject, and pay our respect and veneration, not more willingly, or with a greater fervency of mind, but somewhat more at large to your highness: and truly most deservedly, when daily information reaches our ears, that your faith and conscience, by all manner of artifices tempted and assailed, by all manner of arts and devices solicited, yet cannot be shaken, or by any violence be rent from your friendship and alliance with a most magnanimous prince and your confederate: and this, when the affairs of the Swedes are now reduced to that condition, that in adhering to their alliance, 'tis manifest that your highness rather consults the common cause of the reformed religion, than your own advantage. And when your highness is almost surrounded and besieged by enemies either privately lurking, or almost at your gates; yet such is your constancy and resolution of mind, such your conduct and prowess becoming a great general, that the burden and massy bulk of the whole affair, and the event of this important war, seems to rest and depend upon your sole determination. Wherefore your highness has no reason to question but that you may rely upon our friendship and unfeigned affection; who should think ourselves worthy to be forsaken of all men's good word, should we seem careless in the least of your unblemished fidelity, your constancy, and the rest of your applauded virtues; or should we pay less respect to your highness upon the common score of religion. As to those matters propounded by the most accomplished John Frederic Schlever, your counsellor and agent here residing, if hitherto we could not return an answer, such as we desired to do, though with all assiduity and diligence laboured by your agent; we intreat your highness to impute it to the present condition of our affairs, and to be assured, that there is nothing which we account more sacred, or more earnestly desire, than to be serviceable and assisting to your interests, so bound up with the cause of religion. In the mean time we beseech the God of mercy and power, that so signal a prowess and fortitude may never languish or be oppressed, nor be deprived the fruit and due applause of all your pious undertakings. From our court at Westminster, September ———, 1657.

Your highness's most affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the commonwealth of
England, &c.

To

To the most Excellent Lord, M. DE BOURDEAUX, Extraordinary Ambassador
from the most Serene King of FRANCE.

Most Excellent Lord,

LUCAS LUCIE merchant of London, has made his complaint to the most serene lord protector, concerning a certain ship of his, called the Mary ; which in her voyage from Ireland to Bayonne, being driven by tempest into the port of St. John de Luz, was there detained by virtue of an arrest, at the suit of one Martin de Lazan : nor could she be discharged till the merchants had given security to stand a tryal for the property of the said ship and lading. For Martin pretended to have a great sum of money owing to him by the parliament for several goods of his, which in the year 1642, were seized by authority of parliament, in a certain ship called the Sancta Clara. But it is manifest, that Martin was not the owner of the said goods, only that he prosecuted the claim of the true owners Richald and Iriat, together with his partner, whose name was Antonio Fernandez ; and that upon the said Martin and Antonio's falling out among themselves, the parliament decreed that the said goods should be stopped till the law should decide to which of the two they were to be restored. Upon this, Anthony was desirous that the action should proceed ; on the other side, neither Martin, nor any body for him, has hitherto appeared in court : all which is evidently apparent by Lucas's petition hereto annexed. So that it seems most unreasonable, that he who refused to try his pretended title with Antonio, to other men's goods, in our own courts, should compel our people, and the true owners, to go to law for their own in a foreign dominion. And that the same is apparent to your excellency's equity and prudence, the most serene lord protector makes no question ; by whom I am therefore commanded in a particular manner to recommend this fair and honest cause of Lucas Lucie to your excellency's consideration ; to the end that Martin, who neglects to try his pretended right here, may not under that pretence have an opportunity in the French dominions to deprive others of their rightful claims. Westm. Oct. ---, 1657.

Your excellency's most affectionate.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most
Serene Duke, and Senate of the Republic of VENICE.

Most Serene Duke and Senate, our dearest friends ;

SO numerous are the tidings brought us from your fortunate successes against the Turks, that there is nothing wherein we have more frequent occasion to employ our pens, than in congratulating your Serenities for some signal victory. For this so recently obtained, we give ye joy, as being not only most auspicious and seasonable to your republic ; but which is more glorious, so greatly tending to the deliverance of all the Christians groaning under Turkish servitude. More particularly we recommend to your Serenity and the senate Thomas Galily, formerly master of the ship called the Relief, who for these five years together has been a slave ; though this be not the first time we have interceded in his behalf, yet now we do it the more freely, as in a time of more than ordinary exultation. He having received your commands, to serve your republic with his ship, and engaging alone with several of the enemies galleys, sunk some, and made a great havoc among the rest : but at length his ship being burnt, the brave commander, and so well deserving of the Venetian republic, was

taken, and ever since for five years together has endured a miserable bondage among the Barbarians. To redeem himself he had not wherewithal ; for whatsoever he had, that he makes out was owing to him by your highness and the senate, upon the account either of his ship, his goods, or for his wages. Now in regard he may not want relief, and for that the enemy refuses to discharge him upon any other condition, than by exchange of some other person of equal value and reputation to himself ; we most earnestly intreat your highness, and the most serene senate ; and the afflicted old man, father of the said Thomas, full of grief and tears, which not a little moved us, by our intercession begs, that in regard so many prosperous combats have made ye masters of so many Turkish prisoners, you will exchange some one of their number, whom the enemy will accept for so stout a seaman taken in your service, our countryman, and the only son of a most sorrowful father. Lastly, that whatsoever is due to him from the republic, upon the score of wages, or upon any other account, you will take care to see it paid to his father, or to whom he shall appoint to receive it. The effect of our first request, or rather of your equity, was this, that the whole matter was examined, and upon an exact stating of the accounts the debt was agreed ; but perhaps by reason of more important business intervening, no payment ensued upon it. Now the condition of the miserable creature admits of no longer delay ; and therefore some endeavour must be used, if it be worth your while to desire his welfare, that he may speedily be delivered from the noisome stench of imprisonment. Which, as you flourish no less in justice, moderation and prudence, than in military fame and victorious success, we are confident you will see done, of your own innate humanity and free-will, without any hesitation, without any incitement of ours. Now that you may long flourish, after a most potent enemy subdued, our daily prayers implore of the Almighty. From our court at Westminster, Octob. ----, 1657.

Your highness's most affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the commonwealth of
England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the High and
Mighty Lords, the States of the UNITED PROVINCES.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends and Confederates ;

THE most illustrious William Nuport, your extraordinary ambassador for some years residing with us, is now returning to your lordships ; but with this condition, that after this respite obtained from your lordships, he shall return again in a short time. For he has remained among us, in the discharge of his trust, with that fidelity, vigilance, prudence and equity, that neither you nor we could desire greater virtue and probity in an ambassador, and a person of unblemished reputation ; with those inclinations and endeavours to preserve peace and friendship between us, without any fraud or dissimulation, that while he officiates the duty of your ambassador, we do not find what occasion of scruple or offence can arise in either nation. And we should brook his departure with so much the more anxiety of mind, considering the present juncture of times and affairs, were we not assured, that no man can better or more faithfully declare and represent to your lordships, either the present condition of affairs, or our good-will and affection to your government. Being therefore every way so excellent a person, and so very deserving both of yours and our republic, we request your lordships to receive him returning, such as we unwillingly dismiss him, laden with the real testimonials of our applauses.

plauses. Almighty God grant all prosperity to your affairs, and perpetuate our friendship, to his glory, and the support of his orthodox church.

From our court at Westminster, Nov. ----, 1657.

Your high and mightinesses most devoted.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the UNITED PROVINCES.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends and confederates;

GEORGE Downing is a person of eminent quality, and after a long trial of his fidelity, probity and diligence, in several and various negotiations, well approved and valued by us. Him we have thought fitting to send to your lordships, dignified with the character of our agent, and amply furnished with our instructions. We therefore desire your lordships, to receive him kindly, and that so often as he shall signify that he has any thing to impart in our name to your lordships, you will admit him free audience, and give the same credit to him, and entrust him with whatsoever you have to communicate to us; which you may safely do, as if ourselves were personally present. And so we beseech Almighty God to bless your lordships, and your republic with all prosperity, to the glory of God and the support of his church.

From our court at Whitehall,
December, ----, 1657.

Your high and mightinesses most affectionate,

O L I V E R, &c.

To the States of HOLLAND.

TH E R E being an alliance between our republic and yours, and those affairs to be transacted on both sides, that without an agent and interpreter, sent either by yourselves, or from us, matters of such great moment can hardly be adjusted to the advantage of both nations, we thought it conducing to the common good of both republics to send George Downing, a person of eminent quality, and long in our knowledge and esteem for his undoubted fidelity, probity and diligence, in many and various negotiations, dignified with the character of our agent, to reside with your lordships, and chiefly to take care of those things, by which the peace between us may be preserved entire and diuturnal. Concerning which we have not only written to the States, but also thought it requisite to give notice also of the same to your lordships, supreme in the government of your province, and who make so considerable a part of the United Provinces; to the end you may give that reception to our resident which becomes him, and that whatever he transacts with your High and Mighty States, you may assure yourselves shall be as firm and irrevocable, as if ourselves had been present in the negotiation. Now the most merciful God direct all your counsels and actions to his glory, and the peace of his church.

Westm. Decemb. ----, 1657.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene Prince, FERDINAND Great Duke of TUSCANY.

Most Serene Great Duke, our much honoured Friend ;

YOUR highness's letters, bearing date from Florence the 10th of November, gave us no small occasion of content and satisfaction ; finding therein your goodwill towards us, so much the more conspicuous, by how much deeds than words, performances than promises, are the more certain marks of a cordial affection. For what we requested of your highness, that you would command the master of the Little Lewis, William Ellis, (who most ignominiously broke his faith with the Turks,) and the ship and goods to be seized and detained, till restitution should be made to the Turks, lest the Christian name should receive any blemish by thieveries of the like nature ; all those things, and that too with an extraordinary zeal, as we most gladly understood before, your highness writes that you have seen diligently performed. We therefore return our thanks for the kindness received, and make it our farther request, that when the merchants have given security to satisfy the Turks, the master may be discharged, and the ship, together with her lading, be forthwith dismissed, to the end we may not seem to have had more care perhaps of the Turks interest, than our own countrymen. In the mean time, we take so kindly this surpassing favour done us by your highness, and most acceptable to us, that we should not refuse to be branded with ingratitude, if we should not ardently desire a speedy opportunity, with the same promptitude of mind, to gratify your highness, whereby we might be enabled to demonstrate our readiness to return the same good offices to so noble a benefactor upon all occasions.

From our court at Westminster,
December ----, 1657.

Your highness's most affectionate,

O L I V E R, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHs and VANDALS, &c.

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our most Invincible Friend and Confederate ;

BY your majesty's letters, dated the 21st of February from your camp in Seland, we found many reasons to be affected with no small joy, as well for our own particular, as in regard of the whole Christian republic in general. In the first place, because the king of Denmark, being become an enemy, not induced thereto, as we are apt to believe, by his own Inclinations or interests, but deluded by the artifices of our common adversaries, is reduced to that condition by your sudden eruption into the very heart of his kingdom, with very little blood shed on either side, that what was really true, he will at length be persuaded that peace would have been more beneficial to him, than the war which he has entered into against your majesty. Then again, when he shall consider with himself, that he cannot obtain it by any more speedy means, than by making use of our assistance, long since offered him to procure a reconciliation, in regard your majesty so readily intreated by the letters only delivered by our agent, by such an easy concession of peace, most clearly made it apparent how highly you esteemed the intercession of our friendship, he will certainly apply himself to us ; and then our interposition in so pious a work, will chiefly require, that we should be the sole reconciler and almost author of that peace, so beneficial to the interests of the protestants ; which, as
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we hope, will suddenly be accomplished. For when the enemies of religion shall despair of breaking your united forces by any other means than setting both your majesties at variance, then their own fears will overtake them, lest this unexpected conjunction, which we ardently desire, of your arms and minds, should turn to the destruction of them that were the kindlers of the war. In the mean time, most magnanimous king, may your prowess go on and prosper; and the same felicity which the enemies of the church have admired in the progress of your achievements, and the steady career of your victories against a prince, now your confederate, the same by God's assistance, may you enforce them to behold once more in their subversion.

From our palace at Westminster, March 30, 1658.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince, FERDINAND Great Duke of TUSCANY.

Most Serene Prince,

THE answer which we have given to your agent here residing, we believe, will fully satisfy your highness as to our admiral, who but lately put into your ports. In the mean time, John Hosier, master of a ship, called the Owner, has set forth in a petition to us, that in April 1656, he hired out his ship by a charter-party agreement, to one Joseph Arman, an Italian, who manifestly broke all the covenants therein contained; so that he was enforced, lest he should lose his ship and lading, together with his whole principal stock, openly to set forth the fraud of his freighter, after the manner of merchants; and when he had caused it to be registered by a public notary, to sue him at Leghorn. Joseph, on the other side, that he might make good one fraud by another, combining with two other litigious traders, upon a feigned pretence, by perjury, seized upon six thousand Pieces of Eight, the money of one Thomas Clutterbuck. But as for his part, the said Hosier, after great expences and loss of time, could never obtain his right and due at Leghorn: nor durst he there appear in court, being threatened as he was, and way-layed by his adversaries. We therefore request your highness, that you would vouchsafe your assistance to this poor oppressed man, and according to your wonted justice, restrain the insolence of his adversary. For in vain are laws ordained for the government of cities by the authority of princes, if wrong and violence, when they cannot abrogate, shall be able by threats and terror to frustrate the refuge and sanctuary of the laws. However, we make no doubt, but that your highness will speedily take care to punish a daring boldness of this nature; beseeching Almighty God to bless your highness with peace and prosperity.

From our court at Westminster,
April 7, 1658.

To the most Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS King of FRANCE.

Most Serene and Potent King, and most August Friend and Confederate;

YOUR majesty may call to mind, that at the same time, when the renewing the league between us was in agitation, and no less auspiciously concluded, as the many advantages from thence accruing to both nations, and the many annoyances thence attending the common enemy, sufficiently testify; those dreadful butcheries befel the Piedmontois, and that we recommended with great fervency of mind and compassion, their cause on all sides forsaken and afflicted, to your commiseration and protection.

tection. Nor do we believe that your majesty, of yourself, was wanting in a duty so pious, that we may not say, befitting common humanity, as far as your authority, and the veneration due to your person, could prevail with the duke of Savoy. Certain we are, that neither ourselves, nor many other princes and cities were wanting in our performances, by the interposition of embassies, letters, and intreaties. After a most bloody butchery of both sexes, and all ages, at length peace was granted, or rather a certain clandestine hostility covered over with the name of peace. The conditions of peace were agreed in your town of Pignerol; severe and hard, but such as those miserable and indigent creatures, after they had suffered all that could be endured that was oppressive and barbarous, would have been glad of, had they been but observed, as hard and unjust as they were. But by false constructions, and various evasions, the assurances of all these articles are eluded and violated: many are thrust out from their ancient abodes; many are forbid the exercise of their religion, new tributes are exacted, a new citadel is imposed upon them; from whence the soldiers frequently making excursions, either plunder or murder all they meet. Add to all this, that new levies are privately preparing against them, and all that embrace the Protestant Religion are commanded to depart by a prefixed day; so that all things seem to threaten the utter extermination of those deplorable wretches, whom the former massacre spared. Which I most earnestly beseech and conjure ye, most Christian king, by that RIGHT HAND which signed the league and friendship between us, by that same goodly ornament of your title of MOST CHRISTIAN, by no means to suffer, nor to permit such liberty of rage and fury uncontrouled, we will not say, in any prince, (for certainly such barbarous severity could never enter the breast of any prince, much less so tender in years, nor into the female thoughts of his mother) but in those sanctified cut-throats, who professing themselves to be the servants and disciples of our Saviour Christ, who came into the world to save sinners, abuse his meek and peaceful name and precepts to the most cruel slaughter of the innocent. Rescue, you that are able in your towering station, worthy to be able, rescue so many suppliants prostrate at your feet, from the hands of ruffians, who lately drunk with blood, again thirst after it, and think it their safest way to throw the odium of their cruelty upon princes. But as for you, great prince, suffer not, while you reign, your titles, nor the confines of your kingdom, to be contaminated with this same heaven-offending scandal, nor the peaceful gospel of Christ to be defiled with such abominable cruelty. Remember that they submitted themselves to your grandfather Henry, most friendly to the protestants, when the victorious Lesdiguières pursued the retreating Savoyard over the Alps. There is also an instrument of that submission registered among the public acts of your kingdom, wherein it is excepted and provided among other things, that from that time forward the Piedmontois should not be delivered over into the power of any ruler, but upon the same condition upon which your invincible grandfather received them into his protection. This protection of your grandfather, these suppliants now implore from you as grandchild. 'Tis your majesty's part, to whom those people now belong, to give them that protection which they have chosen, by some exchange of habitation, if they desire it, and it may be done: or if that be a labour too difficult, at least to succour them with your patronage, your commiseration, and your admittance into sanctuary. And there are some reasons of state to encourage your majesty not to refuse the Piedmontois a safe Asylum in your kingdom: but I am unwilling that you so great a king, should be induced to the defence and succour of the miserable by any other arguments than those of your ancestor's pledged faith, your own piety, royal benignity and magnanimity. Thus the immaculate and intire glory of a most egregious act will be your own, and you will find the father of mercy, and his son King Christ, whose name and doctrine you have vindicated from nefarious inhumanity, so much the more favourable and propitious to your majesty, all your days. The God
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of mercy and power infuse into your majesty's heart a resolution to defend and save so many innocent christians, and maintain your own honour.

Westminster, May ---, 1658.

To the Evangelic Cities of the SWITZERS.

Illustrious and most Noble Lords, our dearest Friends ;

HOW heavy and intolerable the sufferings of the Piedmontois, your most afflicted neighbours, have been, and how unmercifully they have been dealt with by their own prince, for the sake of their religion, by reason of the fellness of the cruelties, we almost tremble to remember, and thought it superfluous to put you in mind of those things, which are much better known to your lordships. We have also seen copies of the letters which your ambassadors, promoters and witnesses of the peace concluded at Pignerol, wrote to the duke of Savoy, and the president of his council at Turin ; wherein they set forth, and make it out, that all the conditions of the said peace are broken, and were rather a snare than a security to those miserable people. Which violation continued from the conclusion of the peace till this very moment, and still growing more heavy every day than other ; unless they patiently endure, unless they lay themselves down to be trampled under foot, plashed like mortar, or abjure their religion, the same calamities, the same slaughters hang over their heads, which three years since made such a dreadful havoc of them, their wives and children ; and which, if it must be undergone once more, will certainly prove the utter extirpation of their whole race. What shall such miserable creatures do ? in whose behalf no intercession will avail, to whom no breathing time is allowed, nor any certain place of refuge. They have to do with wild beasts, or furies rather, upon whom the remembrance of their former murders has wrought no compassion upon their countrymen, no sense of humanity, nor satiated their ravenous thirst after blood. Most certainly these things are not to be endured, if we desire the safety of our brethren the Piedmontois, most ancient professors of the orthodox faith, or the welfare of our religion itself. As for ourselves so far remote, we have not been wanting to assist them as far as in us lay, nor shall we cease our future aid. But you, who not only lie so near adjoining, as to behold the butcheries, and hear the outcries and shrieks of the distressed, but are also next exposed to the fury of the same enemies ; consider for the sake of the immortal God, and that in time, what it behoves ye now to do : consult your prudence, your piety, and your fortitude ; what succour, what relief and safeguard you are able, and are bound to afford your neighbours and brethren, who must else undoubtedly and speedily perish. Certainly the same religion is the cause, why the same enemies also seek your perdition ; why, at the same time the last year, they meditated your ruin, by intestine broils among yourselves. It seems to be only in your power, next under God, to prevent the extirpation of this most ancient Scien of the purer religion, in those remainders of the primitive believers ; whose preservation, now reduced to the very brink of utter ruin, if you neglect, beware that the next turn be not your own. These admonitions, while we give ye freely, and out of brotherly love, we are not quite as yet cast down : for what lies only in our power so far distant, as we have hitherto, so shall we still employ our utmost endeavours, not only to procure the safety of our brethren upon the precipice of danger, but also to relieve their wants. May the Almighty God vouchsafe to both of us, that peace and tranquillity at home, that settlement of times and affairs, that we may be able to employ all our wealth and force, all our studies and counsels in the defence of his church against the rage and fury of her enemies. From our court at Whitehall, May---, 1658.

To

To his Eminency, Cardinal MAZARINE.

Most Eminent Lord,

THE late most grievous cruelties, and most bloody slaughters perpetrated upon the inhabitants of the valleys of Piedmont, within the duke of Savoy's dominions, occasioned the writing of the inclosed letters to his majesty, and these other to your Eminency. And as we make no doubt but that such tyranny, and inhumanities, so rigorously inflicted upon harmless and indigent people, are highly displeasing and offensive to the most serene king; so we readily persuade ourselves, that what we request from his majesty in behalf of those unfortunate creatures, your eminency will employ your endeavour, and your favour to obtain, as an accumulation to our intercessions. Seeing there is nothing which has acquired more good-will and affection to the French nation, among all the neighbouring professors of the reformed religion, than that liberty and those privileges, which by public acts and edicts are granted in that kingdom to the protestants. And this among others was one main reason, why this republic so ardently desired the friendship and alliance of the French people. For the settling of which we are now treating with the king's ambassador, and have made those progresses, that the treaty is almost brought to a conclusion. Besides that, your eminency's singular benignity and moderation, which in the management of the most important affairs of the kingdom you have always testified to the protestants of France, encourages us to expect what we promise to ourselves from your prudence and generosity; whereby you will not only lay the foundations of a stricter alliance between this republic and the kingdom of France, but oblige us in particular to returns of all good offices of civility and kindness: and of this we desire your eminency to rest assured.

Your eminency's most affectionate.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS King of FRANCE.

Most Serene and Mighty King, our most August Friend and Confederate;

IT being the intention of Thomas viscount Falconbridge, our son-in-law, to travel into France, and no less his desire, out of his profound respect and veneration to your majesty, to be admitted to kiss your royal hands; though by reason of his pleasing conversation we are unwilling to part with him, nevertheless not doubting but he will in a short time return from the court of so great a prince, celebrated for the resort of so many prudent and courageous persons, more nobly prepared for great performances, and fully accomplished in whatsoever may be thought most laudable and virtuous, we did not think it fit to put a stop to his generous resolutions. And though he be a person, who, unless we deceive ourselves, carries his own recommendations about him, where-soever he goes; yet if he shall find himself somewhat the more favoured by your majesty for our sake, we shall think ourselves honoured and obliged by the same kindness. God Almighty long preserve your majesty in safety, and continue a lasting peace between us, to the common good of the christian world.

From our court at Whitehall, May ----, 1658.

OLIVER,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Eminent Lord Cardinal MAZARINE.

Most Eminent Lord,

HAVING recommended to the most serene king, Thomas viscount Falconbridge our son-in-law, desirous to see France; we could not but acquaint your eminency with it, and recommend him in like manner to yourself, not ignorant of what moment and importance it will be to our recommendation first given him. For certainly, what benefit or advantage he shall reap by residing in your country, which he hopes will not be small, he cannot but be beholden for the greatest part of it to your favour and good-will; whose single prudence and vigilancy supports and manages the grand affairs of that kingdom. Whatever therefore grateful obligation your eminency shall lay upon him, you may be assured you lay upon ourselves, and that we shall number it among your many kindnesses and civilities already shewn us.

Westminster, May ----, 1658.

OLIVER, Protector, &c. To the most Eminent Lord Cardinal MAZARINE.

Most Eminent Lord,

HAVING sent the most illustrious Thomas Bellasis, viscount Falconbridge, our son-in-law, to congratulate the king upon his arrival in the camp at Dunkirk; I gave him order to attend and wish your eminency long life and health in our name, and to return thanks to your eminency, by whose fidelity, prudence and vigilancy, it chiefly comes to pass, that the affairs of France are carried on with such success in several parts, but more especially in near adjoining Flanders, against our common enemy the Spaniard; from whom we hope that open and armed courage now will soon exact a rigorous account of all his frauds and treacheries. Which that it may be speedily done, we shall not be wanting, either with our forces, as far as in us lies, or with our prayers to heaven.

From our court at Whitehall, May ----, 1658.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS King of FRANCE.

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our most August Friend and Confederate;

SO soon as the news was brought us, that your majesty was arrived in your camp, and was set down with so considerable an army before Dunkirk, that infamous nest of pyrates, and place of refuge for sea-robbers, we were greatly over-joyed, in certain assurance that in a short time now, with God's assistance, the seas will be more open and less infested by those plundering rovers; and that your majesty, by your military prowess, will now take speedy vengeance of the Spanish frauds; by whom one captain was by gold corrupted to the betraying of Hesden, another treacherously surprised at Ostend. We therefore send the most noble, Thomas viscount Falconbridge, our son-in-law, to congratulate your majesty's arrival in your camp so near us, and that your

majesty may understand from his own lips, with what affection we labour the prosperity of your atchievements, not only with our united forces, but our cordial prayers, that God would long preserve your majesty, and perpetuate our established friendship, to the common good of the christian world.

From our court at Westminster, May——, 1658.

To the most Serene Prince, FERDINAND Grand Duke of TUSCANY.

Most Serene Great Duke,

IN regard your highness in your letters has ever signified your extraordinary affection toward us, we are not a little grieved, that either it should be so obscurely imparted to your governors and ministers, or by them so ill interpreted, that we can reap no benefit or sign of it in your port of Leghorn, where your friendship towards us ought to be most clearly and truly understood: rather, that we should find the minds of your subjects daily more averse and hostile in their demeanour toward us. For how unkindly our fleet was lately treated at Leghorn, how little accommodated with necessary supplies, in what a hostile manner twice constrained to depart the harbour, we are sufficiently given to understand as well from undoubted witnesses upon the place, as from our admiral himself, to whose relation we cannot but give credit, when we have thought him worthy to command our fleet. Upon his first arrival in January, after he had caused our letters to be delivered to your highness, and all offices of civility had passed between our people and yours; when he desired the accommodation of Porto Ferraro; answer was made, it could not be granted, lest the king of Spain, that is to say our enemy, should be offended. And yet what is there which a prince in friendship more frequently allows to his confederate, than free entrance into his ports and harbours? Or what is there that we can expect from a friendship of this nature, more ready to do us unkindness than befriend us, or aid us with the smallest assistance, for fear of provoking the displeasure of our enemies? At first indeed, Prattic was allowed, though only to two or three of our seamen out of every ship, who had the favour to go ashore. But soon after, it being noised in the town, that our ships had taken a Dutch vessel laden with corn for Spain, that little Prattic we had was prohibited; Longland the English consul was not permitted to go aboard the fleet; the liberty of taking in fresh water, which is ever free to all that are not open enemies, was not suffered, but under armed guards, at a severe rate; and our merchants which reside in the town, to the vast emolument of your people, were forbid to visit their countrymen, or assist them in the least. Upon his last arrival, toward the latter end of March, nobody was suffered to come ashore. The fifth day after, when our admiral had taken a small Neapolitan vessel which fell into our hands by chance, above two hundred great shot were made at our fleet from the town, though without any damage to us. Which was an argument, that what provoked your governors without a cause, as if the rights of your harbour had been violated, was done out at sea, at a great distance from your town, or the jurisdiction of your castie. Presently our long-boats sent to take in fresh water, were assailed in the port, and one taken and detained; which being re-demanded, answer was made, that neither the skiff nor the seamen should be restored, unless the Neapolitan vessel were dismissed; though certain it is, that she was taken in the open sea, where it was lawful to seize her. So that ours, after many inconveniencies suffered, were forced at length to set sail, and leave behind them the provision, for which they had paid ready money. These things, if they were not done by your highness's consent and command, as we hope they were not, we desire you would make it appear by the punishment of the

the governor, who so easily presumed to violate his master's alliances ; but if they were done with your highness's approbation and order, we would have your highness understand, that as we always had a singular value for your friendship, so we have learnt to distinguish between injuries and acts of kindness.

From our court at White-
hall, May ----, 1658.

Your good friend, so far as we may.

OLIVER, Protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND; &c. To the most
Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS King of FRANCE.

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our most August Confederate and Friend ;

BY so speedily repaying our profound respect to your majesty, with an accumulation of honour, by such an illustrious embassy to our court ; you have not only made known to us, but to all the people of England, your singular benignity and generosity of mind, but also how much you favour our reputation and dignity : for which we return our most cordial thanks to your majesty, as justly you have merited from us. As for the victory which God has given, most fortunate, to our united forces against our enemies, we rejoice with your majesty for it ; and that our people in that battle were not wanting to your assistance, nor the military glory of their ancestors, nor their own pristine fortitude, is most grateful to us. As for Dunkirk, which, as your majesty wrote, you were in hopes was near surrender : 'tis a great addition to our joy to hear from your majesty such speedy tidings, that it is absolutely now in your victorious hands ; and we hope moreover, that the loss of one city will not suffice to repay the twofold treachery of the Spaniard, but that your majesty will in a short time write us the welcome news of the surrender also of the other town. As to your promise, that you will take care of our interests, we mistrust it not in the least, upon the word of a most excellent king, and our most assured friend, confirmed withal by your ambassador, the most accomplished duke of Crequi. Lastly, we beseech Almighty God to prosper your majesty and the affairs of France, both in peace and war.

Westminster, June —, 1658.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most
Eminent Lord, Cardinal MAZARINE.

Most Eminent Lord,

WHILE we are returning thanks to the most serene king, who to honour and congratulate us, as also to intermix his joy with ours for the late glorious victory, has sent a splendid embassy to our court ; we should be ungrateful, should we not also by our letters pay our due acknowledgments to your Eminency ; who to testify your good-will towards us, and how much you make it your study to do us all the honour which lies within your power, have sent your nephew to us, a most excellent and most accomplished young gentleman ; and if you had any nearer relation, or any person whom you valued more, would have sent him more especially to us, as you declare in your letters ; adding withal the reason, which coming from so great a personage, we deem no small advantage to our praise and ornament ; that is to say, to the

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end that they who are most nearly related to your eminency in blood, might learn to imitate your eminency, in shewing respect and honour to our person. And we would have it not to be their meanest strife to follow your example of civility, candour and friendship to us ; since there are not more conspicuous examples of extraordinary prudence and virtue to be imitated than in your eminency ; from whence they may learn with equal renown to govern kingdoms, and manage the most important affairs of the world. Which that your eminency may long and happily administer, to the prosperity of the whole realm of France, to the common good of the whole christian republic, and your own glory, we shall never be wanting in our prayers to implore.

From our court at Whitehall,

June —, 1658.

Your excellency's most affectionate.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHs and VANDALS, &c.

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our dearest Confederate and Friend ;

AS often as we behold the busy counsels, and various artifices of the common enemies of religion, so often do we revolve in our minds how necessary it would be, and how much for the safety of the christian world, that the protestant princes, and most especially your majesty, should be united with our republic in a most strict and solemn confederacy. Which how ardently and zealously it has been fought by ourselves, how acceptable it would have been to us, if ours, and the affairs of Swedeland, had been in that posture and condition, if the said league could have been sacredly concluded to the good liking of both, and that the one could have been a seasonable succour to the other, we declared to your ambassadors, when first they entered into treaty with us upon this subject. Nor were they wanting in their duty ; but the same prudence which they were wont to shew in other things, the same wisdom and sedulity they made known in this affair. But such was the perfidiousness of our wicked and restless countrymen at home, who being often received into our protection, ceased not however to machinate new disturbances, and to resume their formerly often frustrated and dissipated conspiracies with our enemies the Spaniards, that being altogether taken up with the preservation of ourselves from surrounding dangers, we could not bend our whole care, and our intire forces, as we wished we could have done, to defend the common cause of religion. Nevertheless what lay in our power, we have already zealously performed ; and whatever for the future may conduce to your majesty's interests, we shall not only shew ourselves willing, but industrious to carry on, in union with your majesty, upon all occasions. In the mean time we most gladly congratulate your majesty's victories, most prudently and courageously atchieved, and in our daily prayers implore Almighty God long to continue to your majesty a steady course of conquest and felicity, to the glory of his name.

From our court at Whitehall, June ----, 1658.

OLIVER,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene Prince, the King of PORTUGAL.

Most Serene King, our Friend and Confederate;

JOHN Buffield of London merchant, has set forth in a petition to us, that in the year 1649, he delivered certain goods to Anthony, John and Manuel Ferdinando Castaneo, merchants in Tamira, to the end that after they had sold them, they might give him a just account, according to the custom of merchants: after which, in his voyage for England, he fell into the hands of pirates; and being plundered by them, received no small damage. Upon this news, Anthony and Manuel, believing he had been killed, presently looked upon the goods as their own, and still detain them in their hands, refusing to come to any account; covering this fraud of theirs with a sequestration of English goods that soon after ensued. So that he was forced the last year, in the middle of winter, to return to Portugal and demand his goods, but all in vain. For that the said John and Anthony could by no fair means be persuaded, either to deliver the said goods, or come to any account; and which is more to be admired, justified their private detention of the goods, by the public attainder. Finding therefore that being a stranger, he should get nothing by contending with the inhabitants of Tamira in their own country, he betook himself for justice to your majesty: humbly demanded the judgment of the Conservator, appointed to determine the causes of the English; but was sent back to the cognizance of that court, from which he had appealed. Which though in itself not unjust, yet seeing it is evident that the merchants of Tamira make an ill use of your public edict to justify their own private cozenage, we make it our earnest request to your majesty, that according to your wonted clemency you would rather refer to the Conservator, being the proper judge in these cases, the cause of this poor man afflicted by many casualties, and reduced to utmost poverty; to the end he may recover the remainder of his fortunes from the faithless partnership of those people. Which when you rightly understand the business, we make no question, but will be no less pleasing to your majesty to see done, than to ourselves. From our court at Westminster, Aug. 1658.

To the most Serene Prince LEOPOLD, Arch-Duke of AUSTRIA, Governor of the Low-Countries under PHILIP King of SPAIN.

Most Serene Lord,

CHARLES Harbord knight, has set forth in his petition to us, that having sent certain goods and household-stuff out of Holland to Bruges under your jurisdiction, he is in great danger of having them arrested out of his hands by force and violence. For that those goods were sent him out of England in the year 1643, by the earl of Suffolk, for whom he stood bound in a great sum of money, to the end he might have wherewithal to satisfy himself, should he be compelled to pay the debt. Which goods are now in the possession of Richard Greenville knight, who broke open the doors of the place where they were in custody, and made a violent seizure of the same, under pretence of we know not what due to him from Theophilus earl of Suffolk, by virtue of a certain decree of our court of Chancery, to which those goods, as being the earl's, were justly liable; whereas by our laws, neither the earl now living, whose goods

goods they are, is bound by that decree, neither ought the goods to be seized or detained; which the sentence of that court, now sent to your serenity, together with these letters, positively declares and proves. Which letters the said Charles Harbord has desired of us, to the end we would make it our request to your highness, that the said goods may be forthwith discharged from the violent seizure, and no less unjust action of the said Richard Greenville, in regard it is apparently against the custom and law of nations, that any person should be allowed the liberties to sue in a foreign jurisdiction upon a plaint wherein he can have no relief in the country where the cause of action first arose. Therefore the reason of justice itself, and your far celebrated equanimity encouraged us to recommend this cause to your highness; assuring your highness, that whenever any dispute shall happen in our courts concerning the rights and properties of your people, you shall ever find us ready and quick in our returns of favour. Westminster —

Your Highness's most Affectionate, OLIVER, Protector of the
Commonwealth of England.

L E T T E R S

Written in the Name of

RICHARD, PROTECTOR.

RICHARD, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS King of FRANCE.

Most Serene and Potent King, our Friend and Confederate ;

SO soon as our most serene father, Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, by the will of God so ordaining, departed this life upon the third of September, we being lawfully declared his successor in the supreme magistracy, though in the extremity of tears and sadness, could do no less than with the first opportunity by these our letters make known a matter of this concernment to your majesty ; by whom, as you have been a most cordial friend to our father and this Republic, we are confident the mournful and unexpected tidings will be as sorrowfully received. Our business now is, to request your majesty, that you would have such an opinion of us, as of one who has determined nothing more religiously and constantly than to observe the friendship and confederacy contracted between your majesty and our renowned father ; and with the same zeal and good-will to confirm and establish the leagues by him concluded, and to carry on the same counsels and interests with your majesty. To which intent it is our pleasure that our ambassador residing at your court, be empowered by the same commission as formerly ; and that you will give the same credit to what he transacts in our name, as if it had been done by ourselves. In the mean time we wish your majesty all prosperity.

From our court at White-
hall, Sept. 5. 1658.

To the most Eminent Lord, Cardinal MAZARINE.

THOU' nothing could fall out more bitter and grievous to us, than to write the mournful news of our most serene and most renowned father's death ; nevertheless, in regard we cannot be ignorant of the high esteem which he had for your eminency, and the great value which you had for him ; nor have any reason to doubt, but that your eminency, upon whose care the prosperity of France depends, will no less bewail the loss of your constant friend, and most united confederate, we thought it of great moment, by these our letters, to make known this accident so deeply to be lamented, as well to your eminency as to the king ; and to assure your eminency, which is but reason, that we shall most religiously observe all those things which our father of most serene memory was bound by the league to see confirmed and ratified :
and

and shall make it our business, that in the midst of your mourning for a friend so faithful and flourishing in all virtuous applause, there may be nothing wanting to preserve the faith of our confederacy. For the conservation of which on your part also, to the good of both nations, may God Almighty long preserve your eminency.

Westminster, Sept. 1658.

RICHARD, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHs, and VANDALS, &c.

Most Serene and Potent King, our Friend and Confederate ;

WHEN we consider with ourselves that it will be a difficult matter for us to be imitators of our father's virtues, unless we should observe and endeavour to hold the same confederacies which he by his prowess acquired, and out of his singular judgment thought most worthy to be embraced and observed ; your majesty has no reason to doubt, but that it behoves us to pay the same tribute of affection and goodwill, which our father of most serene memory always paid to your majesty. Therefore, altho' in this beginning of our government and dignity I may not find our affairs in that condition as at present to answer to some particulars which your ambassadors have proposed, yet it is our resolution to continue the league concluded by our father with your majesty, and to enter ourselves into a stricter engagement ; and so soon as we shall rightly understand the state of affairs on both sides, we shall always be ready on our part, to treat of those things which shall be most chiefly for the united benefit of both republics. In the mean time, God long preserve your majesty to his glory, and the defence and safeguard of his orthodox church.

From our court at Westminster, Octob. 1658.

RICHARD, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHs and VANDALS, &c.

Most Serene and Potent King, our Friend and Confederate ;

WE have received two letters from your majesty, the one by your envoy, the other transmitted to us from our resident Philip Meadows, whereby we not only understood your majesty's unfeigned grief for the death of our most serene father, in expressions setting forth the real thoughts of your mind, and how highly your majesty esteemed his prowess and friendship, but also what great hopes your majesty conceived of ourselves advanced in his room. And certainly, as an accumulation of paternal honour in deeming us worthy to succeed him, nothing more noble, more illustrious, could befall us than the judgment of such a prince ; nothing more fortunately auspicious could happen to us, at our first entrance upon the government, than such a congratulator ; nothing, lastly, that could more vehemently incite us to take possession of our father's virtues, as our lawful inheritance, than the encouragement of so great a king. As to what concerns your majesty's interests, already under consideration between us, in reference to the common cause of the protestants, we would have

have your majesty have those thoughts of us, that since we came to the helm of this Republic, tho' the condition of our affairs be such at present, that they chiefly require our utmost diligence, care, and vigilancy at home, yet that we hold nothing more sacred, and that there is not any thing more determined by us, than as much as in us lies, never to be wanting to the league concluded by our father with your majesty. To that end, we have taken care to send a fleet into the Baltic sea, with those instructions which our agent, to that purpose empowered by us, will communicate to your majesty; whom God preserve in long safety, and prosper with success in the defence of his orthodox religion.

From our court at Westminster, Octob. 13. 1658.

RICHARD, Protector, To the most Serene and Potent Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHs and VANDALS, &c.

Most Serene and most Potent King, our Friend and Confederate;

WE send to your majesty, nor could we send a present more worthy or more excellent, the truly brave and truly noble Sir George Ascue knight, not only famed in war, and more especially for his experience in sea-affairs, approved and tried in many desperate engagements; but also endued with singular probity, modesty, ingenuity, learning, and for the sweetness of his disposition caressed by all men; and which is the sum of all, now desirous to serve under the banners of your majesty, so renowned o'er all the world for your military prowess. And we would have your majesty be fully assured, that whatsoever high employment you confer upon him, wherein fidelity, fortitude, experience, may shine forth in their true lustre, you cannot entrust a person more faithful, more courageous, nor easily more skilful. Moreover, as to those things we have given him in charge to communicate to your majesty, we request that he may have quick access, and favourable audience, and that you will vouchsafe the same credit to him as to ourselves, if personally present: Lastly, that you will give him that honour as you shall judge becoming a person dignified with his own merits and our recommendation. Now God Almighty prosper all your affairs with happy success, to his own glory, and the safeguard of his orthodox church.

From our court at Whitehall, October, 1658.

RICHARD, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHs and VANDALS, &c.

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

SAmuel Piggot of London merchant, in a petition delivered to us, sets forth, that he lately sent from London into France, upon the account of trade, two vessels, the one called the Post, Tiddie Jacob master, the other the Water-Dog, Garbrand Peters master. That from France, being laden with salt, they sailed for Amsterdam; at Amsterdam the one took in ballast only; the other laden with herrings, in copartnership with one Peter Heinbergh, sailed away for Stettin in Pomerania, which is under your jurisdiction, there to unlade her freight; but now he hears that both those

vessels are detained somewhere in the Baltic sea by your forces; notwithstanding that he took care to send a writing with both those ships, sealed with the seal of the admiralty-court, by which it appeared that he alone was the lawful owner of both the vessels and goods, that part excepted which belonged to Heinbergh. Of all which, in regard he has made full proof before us, we make it our request to your majesty (to prevent the ruin and utter shipwreck of the poor man's estate by the loss of two ships at one time) that you would command your officers to take care for the speedy discharge of the said vessels. God long preserve your majesty to his own glory, and the safeguard of his orthodox church.

RICHARD, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of WESTFRIEZLAND.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends and Confederates;

MARY Grinder widow, in a petition presented to us, has made a most grievous complaint, that whereas Thomas Killebrew, a commander in your service, has owed her for these eighteen years a considerable sum of money, she can by her agents neither bring him to pay the said money, nor to try his title at law to the same, if he has any. Which that he may not be compelled to do by the widow's attorney, he has petitioned your highnesses, that no body may be suffered to sue him for any money that he owes in England. But should we signify no more than only this to your highnesses, that she is a widow, that she is in great want, the mother of many small children, which her creditor endeavours to deprive of almost all that little support they have in this world, we cannot believe we need make use of any greater arguments to your lordships, so well acquainted with those divine precepts forbidding the oppression of the widow and the fatherless, to persuade ye not to grant any such privilege upon a bare petition, to the fraudulent subverter of the widow's right; and which for the same reason we assure ourselves you will never admit.

From our court at Westminster, Jan. 27, 1658.

RICHARD, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene Prince, LEWIS King of FRANCE.

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our most August Confederate and Friend;

WE have been given to understand, and that to our no small grief, That several protestant churches in Provence were so maliciously affronted and disturbed by a certain turbulent humourist, that the magistrates at Grenoble, who are the proper judges of such causes, thought him worthy of exemplary punishment: but that the convention of the clergy which was held not far from those places obtained of your majesty, that the whole matter should be removed up to Paris, there to be heard before your royal council. But they not having as yet made any determination in the business, those churches, and more especially that of Yvoire, are forbid to meet for the worship of God. Most earnestly therefore we request your majesty, That in the first place you would not prohibit those from preaching in public, whose prayers to God for your safety and the prosperity of your kingdom, you are so free to suffer; then that the sentence given against that impertinent disturber of divine service, by
the

the proper judges of those causes at Grenoble, may be duly put in execution. God long preserve your majesty in safety and prosperity; to the end that if you have any good opinion of our prayers, or think them prevalent with God, you may be speedily induced to suffer the same to be publicly put up to heaven by those churches, now forbid their wonted meetings.

Westminster, Feb. 18, 1658.

To the most Eminent Lord Cardinal MAZARINE.

Most Eminent Lord Cardinal,

THE most illustrious lady, late wife of the deceased duke of Richmond, is now going into France, together with the young duke her son, with an intention to reside there for some time. We therefore most earnestly request your eminency, That if any thing fall out, wherein your authority, favour and patronage may be assisting to them, as strangers, you would vouchsafe to protect their dignity, and to indulge the recommendation of it not the meanest, in such a manner, that if any addition can be made to your civility towards all people, especially of illustrious descent, we may be sensible our letters have obtained it. Withal, your excellency may assure yourself, your recommendation, whenever you require the like from us, shall be of equal force and value in our esteem and care.

Westminster, Feb. 29, 1658.

RICHARD, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene Prince, JOHN King of PORTUGAL.

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our Friend and Confederate;

ALthough there are many things which we are bound to impart by writing to a king our friend, and in strict confederacy with our republic, yet there is nothing which we ever did more willingly, than what we do at this present, by these our letters to congratulate this last victory, so glorious to the kingdom of Portugal, obtained against our common enemy the Spaniard. By which, how great an advantage will accrue not only to your own, but to the peace and repose of all Europe, and that perhaps for many years, there is no body but understands. But there is one thing more, wherein we must acknowledge your majesty's justice, the most certain pledge of victory: that satisfaction has been given by the commissioners appointed at London, according to the 24th article of the league, to our merchants, whose vessels were hired by the Brasile company. Only there is one among them still remaining, Alexander Bence of London merchant, whose ship called the Three Brothers, John Wilks master, being hired and laden, and having performed two voyages for the said company, yet still they refuse to pay him his wages according to their covenants; when the rest that only performed single voyages are already paid. Which why it should be done, we cannot understand, unless those people think, in their judgment, that person more worthy of his hire, who did them only single service, than he who earned his wages twice. We therefore earnestly request your majesty, that satisfaction may be given for his service truly performed, to this same single Alexander, to whom a double stipend is due; and that by virtue of your royal authority you would prefix

the Brasile company as short a day as may be, for the payment of his just due, and repairing his losses; seeing that their delays have been the occasion that the loss sustained by the merchant has very near exceeded the money itself which is owing for his wages. So God continue your majesty's prosperous successes against the common enemy.

From our court at Westminster, Feb. 23. 1658.

RICHARD, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Eminent Lord Cardinal MAZARINE.

Most Eminent Lord;

BY letters to your eminency, about eight months since, dated June 13, we recommended to your Eminency the cause of Peter Pet, a person of singular probity, and in all naval sciences most useful both to us and our republic. His ship called the Edward, in the year 1646, as we formerly wrote, was taken in the mouth of the Thames by one Bascon, and sold in the port of Boulogne; and though the king in his royal council the 4th of November, 1647, decreed, That what money the council should think fitting to be given in recompence of the loss, should be forthwith paid in satisfaction to the owner; nevertheless, as he sets forth, he could never reap the benefit of that order. Now in regard we make no question but that your eminency, at our desire, gave strict command for the speedy execution of that decree; we make it therefore our renewed request, that you would vouchsafe to examine where the impediment lies, or through whose neglect or contumacy it came to pass, that in ten years time the king's decree was not obeyed; and employ your authority so effectually, that the money then decreed, which we thought long since satisfied, may be speedily demanded and paid to our petitioner. Thus your eminency will perform an act most grateful to justice, and lay moreover a singular obligation upon ourselves.

From our court at Westminster,
Feb. 25. 1658.

The two following Letters, after the Deposal of RICHARD, were written in the Name of the Parliament Restored.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHES and VANDALS, &c.

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest Friend;

SINCE it has pleased the most merciful and omnipotent God, at whose disposal only the revolutions of all kingdoms and republics are, to restore us to our pristine authority, and the supreme administration of the English affairs, we thought it convenient in the first place to make it known to your majesty; and to signify moreover as well our extraordinary affection to your majesty, so potent a protestant prince,

as also our most fervent zeal to promote the peace between your majesty and the king of Denmark, another most powerful protestant king, not to be reconciled without our assistance and the good offices of our affection. Our pleasure therefore is, that our extraordinary envoy Philip Meadows be continued in the same employment with your majesty, with which he has been hitherto intrusted from this republic. To which end we empower him by these our letters to make proposals, act and negotiate with your majesty, in the same manner as was granted him by his last recommendations: and whatsoever he shall transact and conclude in our name, we faithfully promise and engage, by God's assistance, to confirm and ratify. The same God long support your majesty, the pillar and support of the protestant interests.

Westminster,
May 15, 1659.

WILLIAM LENTHAL, Speaker of the Parliament of
the Commonwealth of England.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene
Prince, FREDERIC King of DENMARK.

Most Serene King, and most dear Friend;

Seeing it now is come to pass, that by the will and pleasure of the most merciful and powerful God, the supreme moderator of all things, we are restored to our pristine place and dignity, in the administration of the public affairs, we thought it convenient in the first place, that a revolution of this government should not be concealed from your majesty's notice, a prince both our neighbour and confederate; and withal, to signify how much we lay to heart your ill success: which you will easily perceive by our zeal and diligence, that never shall be wanting in us to promote and accomplish a reconciliation between your majesty and the king of Sweden. And therefore we have commanded our extraordinary envoy with the most serene king of Sweden, Philip Meadows, to attend your majesty, in our name, in order to these matters, and to impart, propound, act and negotiate such things as we have given him in charge to communicate to your majesty: and what credit you shall give to him in this his employment, we request your majesty to believe it given to ourselves. God Almighty grant your majesty a happy and joyful deliverance out of all your difficulties and afflicting troubles, under which you stand so undauntedly supported by your fortitude and magnanimity.

Westminster,
May 15, 1659.

WILLIAM LENTHAL, Speaker of the Parliament of
the Commonwealth of England.

A M A N I F E S T O

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O F T H E
L O R D P R O T E C T O R
O F T H E

Commonwealth of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, IRELAND, &c.

Published by CONSENT and ADVICE of his COUNCIL.

Wherein is shewn

The Reasonableness of the Cause of this REPUBLIC against the Depredations
of the SPANIARDS.

Written in Latin by JOHN MILTON, and first printed in 1655; translated into English in 1738.

TH A T the motives whereby we have been lately induced to make an attack upon certain islands in the West-Indies, which have been now for some time in the hands of the Spaniards, are exceeding just and reasonable, every one will easily see, who considers in what a hostile manner that king and his subjects have all along, in those parts of America, treated the English nation; which behaviour of theirs, as it was very unjust at the beginning, so ever since, with the same injustice they have persevered in it, in a direct contrariety to the common law of nations, and to particular articles of alliance made betwixt the two kingdoms.

It must indeed be acknowledged, the English for some years past, have either patiently borne with these injuries, or only defended themselves; which may possibly give occasion to some to look upon that late expedition of our fleet to the West-Indies, as a war voluntarily begun by us, instead of considering that this war was first begun and raised by the Spaniards themselves, as in reality it will be found to be, and (though this republic have done all that lay in their power to establish peace and commerce in those parts) hitherto kept up and carried on by them with the greatest eagerness.

That the Spaniards themselves are the occasion of this war, will evidently appear to every one who considers how, as oft as they find opportunity, without any just cause, and without being provoked to it by any injury received, they are continually murdering, and sometimes even in cold blood butchering any of our countrymen in America they think fit; while in the mean time they seize upon their goods and fortunes, demolish their houses and plantations, take any of their ships they happen to meet with in those seas, and treat the sailors as enemies, nay, even as pirates. For they give that opprobrious name to all, except those of their own nation, who venture to sail in those seas. Nor do they pretend any other or better right for so doing, than a certain ridiculous gift of the pope, on which they rely, and because they were the first discoverers of some parts of that western region: by virtue of which name and title, which they arrogate to themselves, they maintain that the whole power and government of that western

western world, is lodged only in their hands. Of which very absurd title we shall have occasion to speak more fully when we come to consider the causes assigned by the Spaniards for their thinking themselves at liberty to exercise all sorts of hostilities against our countrymen in America, to such a degree, that whoever are driven upon those coasts by stress of weather or shipwreck, or any other accident, are not only clapt in chains by them as prisoners, but are even made slaves; while they, notwithstanding all this, are so unreasonable as to think, that the peace is broken, and very much violated by the English; and that even in Europe, if they attempt any thing against them in those parts, with a view to make reprisals, and to demand restitution of their goods.

But tho' the king of Spain's ambassadors in our country, depending on a Spanish faction which had always a very considerable influence in the last king's council, as well as his father's, did not scruple to make a great many unreasonable complaints and ridiculous demands upon the most trivial accounts, whenever the English did any thing of this kind; yet those princes, tho' too much attached to the Spaniards, would by no means have the hands of their subjects bound up, when the Spaniards thought they should have the free use of theirs. On the contrary, they allowed their subjects to repel force by force, and to consider such of the Spaniards as could not be brought at any rate to keep the peace in those parts, as enemies. So that about the year 1640, when this affair was debated in the last king's council, and when the Spanish ambassador desired that some ships bound for America, lying in the mouth of the river, and just ready to weigh anchor, should be stopt, as being capable of doing mischief to the Spaniards in that part of the world; and when at the same time he refused the English, who asked it of him by some members of the council appointed for that purpose, the privilege of trading to the West-Indies, it was nevertheless resolved upon, that these ships should pursue their intended voyage, which accordingly they did.

Thus far the foresaid princes were not wanting to their subjects when they made war in those places privately for their own interest, tho' by reason of the power of the above mentioned Spanish faction they would not espouse their cause publickly, in the way they ought to have done, and in a manner suitable to the ancient glory of the English nation. And certainly, it would have been the most unbecoming and disgraceful thing in the world for us, who by the kind providence of God, had in our possession so many ships equiped and furnished with every thing requisite to a war by sea, to have suffered these ships rather to have grown worm-eaten and rot at home for want of use; than to have been employed in avenging the blood of the English, as well as that of the poor Indians, which in those places has been so unjustly, so cruelly, and so often shed by the hands of the Spaniards: since God has made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, having determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation. And surely God will one time or other take vengeance on the Spaniards, who have shed so much innocent blood, who have made such terrible havoc among the poor Indians, slain so many thousands of them with the utmost barbarity, done them so many injuries, and harassed and persecuted them in such a miserable manner, whatever time that may happen, and by whose hand soever it may be executed.

But in order to justify our conduct, there is no need of having recourse to the common relation that men have to one another, which is no other than that of brethren, whereby all great and extraordinary wrongs done to particular persons, ought to be considered as in a manner done to all the rest of the human race; since their having so often robbed and murdered our own countrymen was cause sufficient of itself, for our having undertaken that late expedition, and has given us abundant reason to avenge ourselves on that people; to pass by at present a great many other reasons, and to take into consideration our own safety for the future, and likewise that of our allies, especially those among them who are of the orthodox religion; and to omit several other causes, whereby

whereby we were prompted to this expedition, of which we have no need at present to give a particular enumeration, since our principal design at this time, is to declare and shew to the world, the justice and equity of the thing itself, and not to reckon up all the particular causes of it. And that we may do this with the greater perspicuity, and explain generals by particulars, we must cast our eyes back a little upon things that are past, and strictly examine all the transactions betwixt the English and Spaniards, consider what has been the state of affairs on both sides, so far as may respect the mutual relation of the two kingdoms, both since the first discovery of America, and since the reformation : which two great events, as they happened much about the same time, so they produced every where vast changes and revolutions, especially amongst the English and Spaniards, who since that time have conducted and managed their affairs in a very different, if not quite contrary way to what they did formerly. For tho' the last king and his father, against the will of almost all their subjects, patched up any way two leagues with the Spaniards ; yet the different turns of the two nations proceeding from the difference of their religious principles, and the perpetual dissensions that were in the West-Indies, together with the jealousies and suspicions which the Spaniards had all along of the English (being always mightily afraid of losing their treasures in America) have not only frustrated all the late attempts made by this commonwealth to obtain a peace upon reasonable and honourable terms, but were likewise the principal reasons why Philip II. in queen Elizabeth's reign, broke that ancient league, that had subsisted so long without any violation betwixt this nation and his ancestors of the house of Burgundy and Castile ; and having made war upon that queen, proposed to subdue this whole nation : which very thing in the year 1588 he attempted with all his might, while in the mean time he was treating about the establishment of a peace ; which certainly can't but be still deeply rooted in the minds of the English, and will not easily be extirpated. And though after that, there was some kind of peace and commerce in Europe (and it was of such sort, that no Englishman durst profess his own religion within any part of the Spanish dominions, or have the holy bible in his house, or even aboard a ship) yet in the West-Indies the Spaniard from that time has never allowed them either to enjoy peace, or to have the privilege of trading ; contrary to what was expressly stipulated concerning both these things in that league of the year 1542, concluded between Henry VIII. king of England, and the emperor Charles V. in which, peace, and free commerce were expressly established between these two princes and their people through every part of their respective dominions, through all their ports and territories, without any exception of the West-Indies, which was then subject to that emperor.

But as to that article, Of a peace to be maintained on the part of both nations thro' all the countries of the world ; this is indeed plainly contained in all the treaties of peace that were ever betwixt them, nor is there any exception relating to commerce in any of these treaties, till that which was made in the year 1604, with which that in the year 1630 does perfectly agree. In which two last treaties it was resolved upon, that both nations should have a privilege of trading in every part of one another's dominions, in all those places where, before the war between Philip II. king of Spain, and Elizabeth queen of England, there was any commerce, according to what was usual and customary in ancient alliances and treaties made before that time. These are the very individual words of those treaties, which do plainly leave the matter dubious and uncertain, and so king James was satisfied to make peace with Spain any how, since he only renewed the very same treaty which had been concluded a little before the death of queen Elizabeth, who charged her deputies when it was in agitation, among other things to insist warmly on having a privilege of trading to the West-Indies.

But king James, who was mightily desirous of making peace with the Spaniards, was content to leave that clause so expressed, as both parties might explain it in their own way,

way, and as they judged would be most for their own advantage ; though these words, " According to what is usual and customary in ancient alliances and treaties," are so to be understood as it is reasonable they should, according to what in justice ought to be done, and not according to what has been done on the part of the Spaniards, to their manifest violation (which has afforded perpetual matter of complaint to the English, and has been an occasion of continual quarrels betwixt the two nations) 'tis most evident from the express words of ancient treaties, that the English had a privilege both of peace and commerce, through all the Spanish dominions.

Moreover, if the way of observing ancient treaties and agreements, is to be taken from their manifest violation, the Spaniards have some pretence for explaining that clause, in the last treaties, as debarring the English from all manner of commerce in these parts. And for all that, during one half the time that intervened betwixt the fore-said treaty in the year 1542, and the beginning of the war betwixt Philip II. and Elizabeth, so far as we can judge from the manner in which things were carried on, it would appear, that trading in these places was as much allowed as prohibited. But when the Spaniards would permit no commerce at all, they and the English came from the exchange of goods to that of blows and wounds ; and this not only before the war broke out betwixt Philip and Elizabeth, but likewise after a peace was made in the year 1604 by king James, and another by his son in 1630, and yet so as not to stop the course of trade through Europe. However, the king of Spain, after this late interruption of our trade, has now judged that the contests in America may be extended to Europe itself.

But we neither insist on the interpretation of treaties, nor the right of commerce by virtue of these treaties, or on any other account, as if this contest of ours with Spain were necessarily to be founded on these. This is built on the clearest and most evident reasons in the world, as will presently appear. Nevertheless, there are some things of such a nature, that tho' it be not so necessary to found a war upon them, yet they may very justly be obstacles to the establishing of a peace, or at least to the renewing of an alliance, in which these things are not granted, which have either been granted in former pactions, or may reasonably be expected. And this may serve as an answer to that question, Why, since we have renewed the ancient treaties we had formerly made with all other nations, we have not done the same with Spain ? And may serve to convince the world, that in the articles of alliance, we have not, as is objected, demanded his right eye, far less both eyes, by our refusing to be liable to the cruel and bloody inquisition, in those places where we have been allowed to traffic, but have only insisted upon having such a privilege of carrying on trade as we were not to be deprived of, either by ancient treaties, or the law of nature. For though the king of Spain has assumed to himself a power of prescribing us the laws and bounds of commerce, by authority of a law made by the pope, whereby he discharges all traffic with Turks, Jews, and other infidels * : and though under this pretence, even in time of peace, his ships of war, in other places besides the West-Indies, have taken and plundered our ships ; and though by the same authority of the pope, and under pretence of a certain gift he has from him, he claims the Indians for his subjects, as if forsooth they also were subject unto him, who are neither under his authority nor protection ; yet we maintain, that neither the pope nor the king of Spain is invested with any such power, as either to rob them of their liberty, or us of the privilege of conversing and trading with them,

* William Stephens of Bristol and some other London merchants in the years 1606 and 1607 trading with those people who live on the coast of Morocco with three vessels, some ships belonging to the king of Spain that were pirating along these coasts, having come upon them in the bay of Saffia and the harbour of Santa Cruz, while they were lying at anchor, plundered them, without giving any other reason for their doing it than this, that the king their master would not allow of any commerce with infidels ; and the loss these merchants sustained at that time was computed at more than 2000 l.

which we have by the law of nature and nations, but especially with those who, as we formerly observed, are not under the power and government of the king of Spain.

Another obstacle to our renewing an alliance with Spain is sufficiently manifest, and at the same time very remarkable; which is this, that any of our ambassadors and public ministers who are sent into that kingdom, either for the sake of cultivating a good understanding, or about any other business, betwixt the two commonwealths, are altogether uncertain of their lives, the king being tied down to such opinions, as hinder him from providing for their safety against murderers, so as they may not be always in the most imminent danger, whose privileges, in order to keep up and preserve friendship between princes and commonwealths, have by the law of nations been always considered as inviolable; and as a thing much more sacred than those altars of refuge, whose privileges built on the authority of the pope and the church of Rome, have been hitherto applied to elude the force of laws and justice which we demanded should be put in execution against the murderers of Mr. Anthony Ascham, who was sent by this republic into Spain, to procure and establish friendship betwixt the two nations. For which barbarous murder, there has never as yet been any satisfaction made, nor punishment inflicted on the authors of it, nor could this ever be obtained, tho' it was demanded by the parliament*; and in their name several times urged with the greatest warmth by the council of state. And this has been hitherto one continued obstacle, and a very just one too, to the renewing of an alliance betwixt the two nations; nay, if we consider how other nations have frequently acted in like cases, it may be considered as a very just cause for a war.

But as to the disputes that have arisen in the West-Indies, tho' we, both in the continent itself, and in the islands, have plantations as well as they, and have as good, nay, a better right to possess them, than the Spaniards have to possess theirs; and tho' we have a right to trade in those seas, equally good with theirs, yet without any reason, or any damage sustained; and that when there was not the least dispute about commerce, they have been continually invading our colonies in a hostile way, killing our men, taking our ships, robbing us of our goods, laying waste our houses and fields, imprisoning and enslaving our people: this they have been doing all along till these present times, wherein they have of late engaged in an expedition against them.

For which reason, contrary to what used to be done formerly in the like case, they have detained our ships and merchants, and confiscated their goods almost every where thro' the Spanish dominions; so that whether we turn our eyes to America or Europe, they alone are undoubtedly to be considered as the authors of the war, and the cause of all the inconveniences and all the bloodshed with which it may possibly be attended.

There are a great many instances of the most cruel and barbarous treatment the English have perpetually met with from the Spaniards in the West-Indies; and that even in time of peace, both since the year 1604, when the peace was patched up by king James, till the time that the war broke out again, and since that last peace,

* This is evident from the parliament's letter, signed by the hand of the Speaker, to the king of Spain, in the month of January, 1650, the words whereof are as follow. 'We demand of your majesty, and insist upon it, that public justice be at length satisfied for the barbarous murder of Anthony Ascham our resident at your court, and the rather, that after we have seen condign punishment inflicted on the authors of such a detestable crime, we may be in no fear hereafter to send our ambassador to your royal court, to lay before you such things as may be equally advantageous to your majesty and our commonwealth. On the contrary, if we should suffer that blood, the shedding whereof was a thing in many respects so remarkably horrible, to pass unrevenge, we must of necessity be partakers in that detestable crime in the sight of God our only deliverer and the eternal fountain of our mercies, and in the eye of the whole English nation; especially if ever we should send any other of our countrymen into that kingdom, where murder is allowed to go quite unpunished. But we have so great an opinion of your majesty, that we will not easily be brought to believe that your royal authority is subjected to any other power superior to it within your own dominions'

which

which was concluded in the year 1630, to this very day. We shall only mention a few of them *.

After a peace was concluded in the year 1605, a ship called the Mary, Ambrose Birch commander, was trading on the north coast of Hispaniola: the master being allured with promises of a safe and free commerce by one father John and six of his accomplices, to go ashore to see some goods, twelve Spaniards in the mean while going aboard to see the English goods, while the English suspecting no frauds were showing them their wares, the priest giving a signal from the shore, the Spaniards every man drew his dagger, and stabbed all the English that were in the ship, except two who leaped into the sea, and the rest ashore were put to death with an unparalleled cruelty; the master himself stript of his cloaths, and fastened to a tree, was exposed naked to be bit by the flies and vermin. And after he had continued in this miserable case for the space of twenty hours, a negro hearing his groans came to the place, and as he was just on the point of expiring, stabbed him with a spear. This ship with her goods was valued at 5400 l.

Another ship called the Archer was taken at St. Domingo, and all the sailors put to death. She was reckoned worth 1300 l.

Another ship called the Friendship of London with her loading, was taken by Lodowic Fajard, admiral of the Spanish fleet, all her goods confiscated, and the merchants and mariners thrown into the sea, except one boy who was reserved for a slave. This ship with her loading was estimated at 1500 l.

The sailors going ashore out of another ship, called the Scorn (the Spaniards having solemnly sworn they would do them no prejudice) were all nevertheless bound to trees and strangled. The ship with all her goods was seized, and the merchants to whom she belonged, lost at this time 1500 l.

In the year 1606, a ship called the Neptune, was taken at Tortuga by the Spanish guarda costas, valued at 4300 l. †

The same year another ship called the Lark was taken by Lodowic Fajard, and confiscated with all her loading, valued at 4570 l.

Another called the Castor and Pollux was taken by the Spaniards at Florida, by whom she was confiscated, and all her sailors either killed or made slaves; for they were never heard of afterwards. This vessel with her loading was valued at 15000 l. §

In the year 1608, a Plymouth ship called the Richard, commanded by Henry Challins, fitted out at the expence of lord Popham, lord chief justice of England, Ferdinand Gorges knight, and others, to go to Virginia, happening to be driven by stress of weather upon the southern part of the Canary islands, in her way from thence to the coast of Virginia, she chanced to fall in with eleven Spanish ships returning from St. Domingo, who seized her; and tho' the captain, to rescue himself out of

* As a ship called the Ulysses was trading along the coast of Guiana, the merchants, and sailors happened to go ashore, by the persuasion of Berry, governor of that place, who had promised, nay, even sworn that they should receive no hurt; nevertheless there were thirty of them taken and committed to prison. Upon which the governor writes a letter to the merchant, acquainting him, that he had indeed taken thirty of his men, and that because some foreigners who had come there to trade with them, had defrauded him of 20000 ducats, which, if he would send him, he swore he would restore all his men, and allow him the liberty of commerce. The merchant sent him the sum he demanded, part in ready money, part in goods, which, after the governor had received, he ordered all the thirty men to be fastened to trees and strangled, except the chirurgeon, who was reserved, to cure the governor of a certain disease. This ransom, together with other damages sustained there, was computed at 7000 l.

† John Davis lost two ships with all their goods, and the Spaniards slew all the men that were aboard of them, to the entire loss of that voyage, and this was computed at 3500 l.

§ Another ship belonging to some London merchants, John Lock commander, was taken by the Spanish fleet, at the isle of Tortuga, because she had been trading there, and had felled some trees; for this she was confiscated, most of the sailors put to death, and the rest condemned to the galleys. This was esteemed a loss of 5300 l.

their hands, produced a royal pass-port, yet the ship with all her goods was confiscated, the captain himself barbarously used by them and sent to the galleys. This was a damage of more than 2500 l.

A ship called the Aid, was served much the same way by Lodowic Fajard, having been taken under pretence of friendship; she too, with her goods was confiscated, and all the sailors sent to the galleys, where some were cudgelled to death for refusing to ply the oars. Which vessel with her goods, by the Spaniards own estimation, was worth 7000 l.

The same year another ship called the Gallant Anne, William Curry commander, as she was trading at Hispaniola, was likewise confiscated with all her goods, and all the sailors hanged; each of them, by way of ridicule, having a piece of paper sewed to his coat, which had these words written upon it, "Why came ye hither?" This ship with her burden was valued at 8000 l. These instances do sufficiently show what kind of peace the Spaniards maintained with us during the reign of king James, who was always very much afraid of breaking the peace with them. And we may also plainly discover the same acts of hostility and barbarous treatment ever since the last peace, which was made in the year 1630 to this very day. For this end we will first speak a little of those colonies that were planted by some noblemen of this nation, in the isle of Catelina, which they call the isle of Providence, and the island of Tortuga, by them called the island of Association. These islands about the year 1629, being then quite uninhabited, having neither men nor cattle in them, were seized by the English, who at that time were at war with the Spaniards. The year following, when peace was established betwixt the two nations, the Spaniards having made no exception about these islands, king Charles in a charter under the great-seal of England, declared himself master of the isle of Providence and some other islands adjacent to it, which he thought no way inconsistent with this peace, and gave them in possession to some noblemen and their heirs, and next year he extended this grant to the isle of Tortuga.

And tho' the abovementioned planters had got possession of these islands by the king's grant, and tho' this grant was exceeding well founded, first on the law of nature, since neither the Spaniards nor any other people whatever, were in possession of these places when they seized them; and secondly, on the right of war, since they were taken possession of in time of war, and were not excepted in the articles of peace, whence it follows from the second article of the last treaty, that the title of the Spaniards to these islands (even supposing they had had one) was made null by their own consent: and tho' likewise, neither the aforesaid company of planters in general, nor any one of them in particular by any action of theirs, had given any just cause of offence, either to the king of Spain or to any of his subjects, till they had first in a violent manner attacked our ships and colonies, and had slain several of the English, and set fire to their houses; yet the Spaniards being firmly resolved to break the peace in these places, about the twenty-second of January 1632, without any the least provocation, betwixt the isle of Tortuga and the cape of Florida, in a hostile manner fell upon a certain ship belonging to the company, called the Sea-Flower, on her return from the isle of Providence, in which engagement they slew some of the men aboard that ship, and wounded others.

After this, about the year 1634, the isle of Tortuga was attacked by four ships belonging to the Spaniards, without any injury done on the part of the English, in which attack upwards of sixty were slain, many wounded and taken prisoners, their houses burnt down and quite demolished; their most valuable goods carried off by the Spaniards, and the English almost wholly driven out of that island; of whom some were hanged, others carried to the Havana, and detained in the most abject slavery. One Grymes, who had been a gunner in Tortuga, was distinguished from the rest, by a death.

a death remarkably cruel. Some of them flying for refuge to a certain desert island called Santa Cruz, were again set upon by the Spaniards, who even pursued them thither with three galleys in the month of March 1636, of whom forty were killed, and the rest taken prisoners, and used with the utmost barbarity.

In the year 1635, July 24th, the Spaniards with two great ships and one galley, made likewise an attack upon the isle of Providence, and they fought for several hours, but at that time they were repulsed and forced to give over their enterprize. However, they attempted the same thing a second time, about the year 1640, with twelve ships, some large, and some of a lesser size, whereof the admiral's ship was called the Armadillo of Carthagena, one of the greater galleys of the royal plate-fleet, and having sent a great number of soldiers ashore, they were confident of making themselves masters of the whole island; but yet were repulsed with a great deal of damage, and forced to retreat. Nevertheless, having equipped another fleet, they returned a little after, when the planters at variance among themselves, did not so much employ their thoughts about what method they should take to defend themselves, as about the terms upon which they might most advantageously surrender; which terms, upon their giving up the island, they found no difficulty to obtain. But the island was by this means wrested out of the hands both of the planters and the commonwealth, of whom the former sustained the loss of more than 80,000 l. and the latter, besides the loss of the island, hereby received a very open and public affront. After the Spaniards had thus made themselves masters of the isle of Providence, a ship bringing some passengers hither, who wanted to transport themselves to this place from New-England, the Spaniards by stratagem having found means to get her brought within gun-shot (the people in the ship knowing nothing of their late conquest of that island) she was in great danger of being taken, and with very much difficulty rescued herself; the master of the ship, a very honest and worthy man, was killed by a bullet-shot from the island.

Nor were the Spaniards content to confine the acts of hostility which they have exercised upon the people of that colony within the boundaries of America, but have also treated them in the same hostile manner in Europe. For in the year 1638, December 25, a ship belonging to that same company called the Providence, Thomas Newman commander, two leagues from Dungeness on the very coast of England, was assaulted and taken by Sprengfeld captain of a privateer belonging to Dunkirk, to which place this ship was brought, and her cargo detained, which even by the computation of many persons in that place, was reckoned to amount to the sum of 30,000 l. As for the sailors, some were slain, some wounded, and the rest, after having been treated with the greatest inhumanity in their own ship, were hurried away to Dunkirk, where they met with much the same usage, 'till they found some way to make their escape; and tho' the owners demanded satisfaction in the most earnest manner, and the last king by his resident Mr. Balthasar Gerber, and both by letters written with his own hand, and the hand of secretary Coke, asked reparation on their behalf; yet they could neither procure the restitution of their goods, nor the least compensation for these losses.

But there are other examples of the Spanish cruelty, which are of a later date, and still more shocking; such as that of their coming from Porto-rico and attacking Santa Cruz about the year 1651, an island that was not formerly inhabited, but at that time possessed by an English colony governed by Nicol. Philips, who with about an hundred more of the colony, was barbarously murdered by the hands of the Spaniards, who besides this, attacked the ships in the harbour, plundered their houses and razed them from the very foundation; and when they could find no more to sacrifice to their fury (the rest of the inhabitants having fled to the woods) returning to Porto-rico, they gave the miserable remnant, who were well nigh famished, time to remove from Santa Cruz, and to betake themselves to some other neighbouring islands. But a little time thereafter,

thereafter, they returned in quest and pursuit of those who sculked in the woods; but they had the good fortune to find a way of making their escape, and stealing away privately to other islands.

In the same year 1631, a ship belonging to John Turner being driven into the harbour of Cumanagola by tempestuous winds, was seized by the governor of that place, and confiscated with all her lading.

The same was done to captain Cranley's ship and her goods *.

And in the year 1650, a certain vessel pertaining to Samuel Wilson, laden with horses, was taken on the high-seas in her way to Barbadoes, and carried to the Havana. Both the ship and her goods were confiscated, most of the sailors imprisoned, and like slaves obliged to work at the fortifications.

The same hardships were endured by the sailors aboard a certain ship of Barnstable about two years since, which in her return from some of our plantations in the Carribee islands, springing a leak hard by Hispaniola, the sailors to save themselves, being obliged to get into the long boat, got ashore, where they were all made slaves, and obliged to work at the fortifications.

By these, and many more examples of the same kind too long to be reckoned up, 'tis abundantly evident, the king of Spain and his subjects think they are no way bound by any condition of peace to be performed to us on their part in these places, since they have habitually exercised all sorts of hostilities against us, nay have even done such things as are more insufferable, and more grievous than open acts of hostility; and since that cruelty with which they usually treat the English in America, is so contrary to the articles of peace, that it does not so much as seem suitable to the laws of the most bloody war: however, in that embargo of the king of Spain, by which he orders our merchant-ships and their goods to be seized and confiscated, the whole blame is laid upon the English, whom he brands with the odious names of treaty-breakers and violators of the most sacred peace, and likewise of free commerce, which he pretends to have so religiously maintained on his part, and gives out that we have violated the laws of peace and commerce with such strange and professed hostility, that we attempted to besiege the town of St. Domingo in the isle of Hispaniola. Which is the only cause he offers, why the goods of the English are confiscated in Spain, and the trading people confined; tho' this is likewise aggravated by his boasted humanity; for he maintains that he in the most friendly way received our fleets into his harbours †, where it could be of any advantage for them to enter, and that his ministers did not at all require of us a strict observance of the articles of peace, that were agreed to by the two crowns, which forbid both parties to enter a harbour with more than six or eight ships of war.

But as he by talking in this strain, acquits our fleets of all trespasses and violations of treaty in these harbours, since if any such thing as is objected, has been done and passed over, it has been done by the allowance of himself and his ministers; and as it is exceeding manifest, that he has not been so favourable for nought, if he will but reflect with himself what vast profits he has received from our fleets, so on the other hand, that the king and his ministers have not at all in fact observed the agreements he speaks of, in the twenty-third article of which, the following provision is made in the most express terms; 'That if any differences

* And also to one belonging to John Bland, commanded by Nicol. Philips, in the very same harbour.

† But Swanley our admiral, was not so civilly treated in Sicily, in the harbour of Drepano, when in the year 1653, about the month of June, his ship called the Henry Bonaventure, together with a large and very rich Dutch ship called the Peter, which he had taken, was by the treachery of the Spanish governor in that place, taken by seven Dutch ships, under the command of the younger Trump in the very harbour, no further than a small gun's-shot from the bulwarks, whereby the merchants to whom that ship belonged, lost more than 63,000 l.

' should happen to arise betwixt the two commonwealths, the subjects on both sides
' should be advertised, that they should have six months from the time of the adver-
' tisement to transport their effects, during which time, there should be no arrest, in-
' terrupting or damaging of any man's person or goods.' In which affair, that king
truly has shown but very little regard to those contracts, which he charges us with
having broken, as appears from that late confiscation of our goods. But what he de-
clares in that edict concerning the acts of hostility committed in the West-Indies, their
being to be considered as a violation of peace and free commerce in these parts, is a
new and quite different explanation from what has ever been propounded hitherto by
either of the two republics, tho' both parties have frequently had occasions to declare
their judgment (about) this matter.

But seeing the king of Spain has declared both by word and deed, that the articles
of peace ought to be thus understood, it follows, that by so many acts of hostility
committed against the English in these parts, and which first began on his side, and
have been continued from the very time of the last concluded treaty, as was formerly
observed, to this very day; hence I say it follows, that he seems to be convinced, that
the sacred bonds of friendship have been first broken on his side. Which thing
is so clear and manifest, that our adversaries themselves in this controversy, are
ashamed to deny the fact, and chuse rather to dispute with us concerning the right
of possession; which must be in the following manner: as the king of Spain,
among his other titles, has assumed that of king of the Indies, so they affirm, that
the whole Indies and Indian sea, both South and North, belong to him, and that
they are all enemies and pyrates, who approach these places without his commission.
Which if it were true, both we and all other nations ought to leave and restore to
him all our possessions there, and having brought back whatever colonies we have sent
thither, should beg his pardon for the injury we have done him; but if we consider a
little more narrowly the truth and reasonableness of this title, we shall find that it is
built upon a very slender and weak foundation, to have such a vast pile of war and
contentions erected upon it, as the present is likely to be. They pretend to have a
double title, one founded upon the pope's gift, and another upon their having first
discovered those places. As to the first, we know the pope has been always very
liberal in his gifts of kingdoms and countries, but in the mean time we cannot but
think, that in so doing, he acts in a very different manner from him, whose vicar he
professes himself, who would not so much as allow himself to be appointed a judge
in the dividing of inheritances, far less give any one whole kingdoms at his pleasure,
like the pope, who has thought fit to make a present of England, Ireland, and some
other kingdoms.

But we deny his being invested with any such authority, nor do we think there is
any nation so void of understanding, as to think that so great power is lodged in him,
or that the Spaniards would believe this or acquiesce in it, if he should require them
to yield up as much as he has bestowed. But if the French and others who acknow-
ledge the pope's authority in ecclesiastical matters, have no regard to this title of the
Spaniards, it cannot be expected we should think of it any otherwise. And so we
leave this point, as not deserving a fuller answer.

Nor is the other title of any greater weight, as if the Spaniards in consequence of
their having first discovered some few parts of America, and given names to some
islands, rivers and promontories, had for this reason lawfully acquired the government
and dominion of that new world. But such an imaginary title founded on such a silly
pretence, without being in possession, cannot possibly create any true and lawful
right. The best right of possession in America, is that which is founded on one's
having planted colonies there, and settled in such places as had either no inhabitants,

or

or by the consent of the inhabitants, if there were any; or at least, in some of the wild and uncultivated places of their country, which they were not numerous enough to replenish and improve; since God has created this earth for the use of men, and ordered them to replenish it throughout.

If this be true, as the Spaniards will be found to hold their possessions there very unjustly, having purchased all of them against the will of the inhabitants, and as it were plucked them out of their very bowels, having laid the foundations of their empire in that place, in the blood of the poor natives, and rendered several large islands and countries, that were in a tolerable case when they found them, so many barren deserts, and rooted out all the inhabitants there; so the English hold their possessions there by the best right imaginable, especially those islands where the Spaniards have fallen upon their colonies, and quite demolished them; which islands had no other inhabitants at all, or if they had, they were all slain by the Spaniards, who had likewise deserted these places, and left them without any to improve or cultivate them: so that by the law of nature and nations they belong to any who think fit to take possession of them, according to that common and well-known maxim in law, "Such things as belong to none, and such as are abandoned by their former possessors, become his property who first seizes them." Altho', granting we had beat the Spaniards out of those places where we have planted our colonies, out of which they had at first expelled the inhabitants, we should have possessed them with better right, as the avengers of the murder of that people, and of the injuries sustained by them, than the Spaniards their oppressors and murderers. But since we have settled our colonies in such places as were neither possessed by the natives nor the Spaniards, they having left behind them neither houses nor cattle, nor any thing that could by any means keep up the right of possession, the justness of our title to these places was so much the more evident, and the injuries done us by the Spaniards so much the more manifest, especially our right to those places that were seized while the two nations were at war with each other, such as the isles of Providence and Tortuga, which if the Spaniards could have shown to be theirs, by any former title which they have not yet produced, yet since they have not done it in the last treaty of peace, by the second article of this treaty, they have for the future cut themselves off from all such pretence, and if they had any right, have now lost it. It is unnecessary to talk any further upon this argument.

There is no intelligent person but will easily see how empty and weak those reasons are, that the Spaniard has for claiming to himself alone an empire of such a vast and prodigious extent. But we have said this much, in order to shew the weakness of those pretences, whereby the Spaniards endeavour to justify themselves for having treated us with so much cruelty and barbarity in the West-Indies, for having enslaved, hanged, drowned, tortured and put to death our countrymen, robbed them of their ships and goods, and demolished our colonies, even in the time of profound peace, and that without any injury received on their part; which cruel usage and havoc, made among our people, and such as were of the same orthodox faith with them, as oft as the English call to remembrance, they cannot miss to think that their former glory is quite gone, and their ships of war become entirely useless, if they suffer themselves to be any longer treated in such a disgraceful manner: and moreover, to be not only excluded from all free commerce in so great and opulent a part of the world, but likewise to be looked upon as pirates and robbers, and punished in the same manner as they, if they presume to sail those seas, or so much as look that way; or, in fine, have any intercourse or dealing even with our own colonies that are settled there.

Concerning the bloody Spanish inquisition, we shall say nothing, this being a controversy common to all protestants, nor shall we speak of the many seminaries of English priests and jesuits nestling under the protection of the Spaniards, which is a perpetual cause of stumbling, and very great danger to the commonwealth; since what we principally

cipally propose, is, to shew the grounds and reasons of the controversies in the West-Indies, and we are confident we have made it plain to all, who weigh things fairly and impartially, that necessity, honour and justice have prompted us to undertake this late expedition. First, we have been prompted to it by necessity; it being absolutely necessary to go to war with the Spaniards, since they will not allow us to be at peace with them: and then honour and justice, seeing we cannot pretend to either of these, if we sit still and suffer such insufferable injuries to be done our countrymen, as those we have shown to have been done them in the West-Indies.

And truly they see but a very little way, who form their notion of the designs and intentions of the Spaniards, according to that friendly aspect with which the present declaration of their affairs has obliged them to look upon us in these parts of the world, (that face which they have put on, being only a false one) for 'tis certain they have the same mind, and the very same desires, which they had in the year 1588, when they endeavoured to subdue this whole island; nay, 'tis certain their hatred is more inflamed, and their jealousies and suspicions more increased by this change of the state of our affairs, and of the form of our republic. But if we omit this opportunity, which by reason of some things that have lately happened, may perhaps give us an occasion to fall upon some way, whereby, through the assistance of God, we may provide for our safety, against this old and implacable enemy of our religion and country; it may happen, he will recover such a degree of strength, as will render him as formidable and hard to be endured as before. One thing is certain, he always will, and cannot but have the greatest indignation against us. Mean while, if we suffer such grievous injuries to be done our countrymen in the West-Indies, without any satisfaction or revenge; if we suffer ourselves to be wholly excluded from that so considerable a part of the world; if we suffer our malicious and inveterate enemy (especially now, after he has made peace with the Dutch) to carry off without molestation, from the West-Indies, those prodigious treasures, whereby he may repair his present damages, and again bring his affairs to such a prosperous and happy condition, as to deliberate with himself a second time, what he was thinking upon in the year 1588; namely, whether it would be more advisable to begin with subduing England, in order to recover the United Provinces, or with them, in order to reduce England under his subjection; without doubt he will not find fewer, but more clauses why he should begin with England. And if God should at any time permit those intentions of his to have their desired effect, we have good ground to expect, that the residue of that cruel havoc he made among our brethren at the foot of the Alps, will be first exercised upon us, and after that upon all protestants; which, if we may give credit to the complaints that were made by those poor orthodox christians, was first designed and contrived in the court of Spain, by those friars whom they call missionaries.

All these things being considered, we hope the time will come, when all, but especially true Englishmen, will rather lay aside their private animosities among themselves, and renounce their own proper advantages, than through an excessive desire of that small profit to be made by trading to Spain, which cannot be obtained but upon such conditions as are dishonourable and in some sort unlawful; and which may likewise be got some other way; than exposing, as they now do, to the utmost danger, the souls of many young traders, by those terms upon which they now live and trade there; and suffer the lives and fortunes of many christian brethren in America, and in fine, the honour of this whole nation, to be exposed, and what of all is the most momentous and important, let slip out of their hands the most noble opportunities of promoting the glory of God, and enlarging the bounds of Christ's kingdom: which we do not doubt, will appear to be the chief end of our late expedition into the West-Indies against the Spaniards, to all who are free of those prejudices which hinder people from clearly discerning the truth.

JOANNIS MILTONI
O P E R A
O M N I A L A T I N A.

V I Z.

- I. Defensio pro Populo Anglicano, contra Claudii Salmasii Defensionem Regiam.
- II. Defensio secunda pro Populo Anglicano, contra Alexandrum Morum Ecclesiasten.
- III. Defensio pro se, cui adjungitur Joannis Philippi Responsio ad Apologiam Anonymi cujusdam Tenebrionis pro Rege & Populo Anglicano Infantissimam.
- IV. Literæ Senatus Anglicani, nec non Cromwelli, &c. nomine ac jussu conscriptæ.
- V. Artis Logicæ Institutio ad Petri Rami methodum concinnata.
- VI. Epistolarum Familiarium liber unus, quibus accefferunt ejusdem, jam olim in Collegio adolescentis, Prolusiones quædam oratoriæ.
- VII. Scriptum Domini Protectoris, contra Hispanos.

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DEFENSIO

PRO

POPULO ANGLICANO.

CONTRA

CLAUDII SALMASII DEFENSIONEM REGIAM.*

PRÆFATIO.

TAmetſi vereor, ſi in defendendo Populo Anglicano tam ſim profuſus verbōrum, vacuus rerum, quā̃ eſt plerique viſus in deſenſione regiā Salmaſius, nè verboliſſimi ſimul & ineptiſſimi deſenſoris nomen meritis eſſe videar, tamen cū̃ in mediocri quavis materiā tractandā nemo ſibi adeò properandum eſſe exiſtimet, quin exordio ſaltem aliquo pro dignitate ſuſcepti à ſe operis uti ſoleat, id ego in re omnium ferè maximā dicendā ſi non omitam, neque nimis aſtringam, ſpero equidem, duas propemodum res, quas magnopere vellem, aſſecuturum me eſſe; alteram, ut cauſæ huic nobiliſſimæ, & ſeculorum omnium memoriā digniſſimæ nulla ex parte, quantum in me eſt, deſim; alteram, ut reprehenſam in adverſario futilitatem & redundantiam, devitāſſe tamen ipſe nihilo minus judicer. Dicam enim res neque parvas neque vulgares, regem potentiſſimum, oppreſſis legibus, religione afflicta, pro libidine regnantem, tandem à ſuo populo, qui ſervitutem longam ſervierat, bello victum; indè in cuſtodiam traditum; & cū̃ nullam omnino meliùs de ſe ſperandi materiam vel dictis vel factis præberet, à ſummo demum regni Concilio capite damnatum; & pro ipſis Regiæ foribus ſecuri percuſſum. Dicam etiam, quod ad levandos magnā ſuperſtitione hominū animos multū̃ contulerit, quo jure, præſertim apud nos, judicatum hoc atque peractum ſit; meoſque cives fortiſſimos & integerrimos, deque univerſis orbis terrarum civibus ac populis egregiè meritos, ab improbiſſimis maledicorum, ſive noſtratum, ſive exterorum calumniis, tum imprimis ab hujus inaniffimi Sophiſtæ maledictis, qui pro duce & coryphæo cæterorum ſe gerit, facilè defendam. Quæ enim ullius regis alto folio ſedentis majeſtas unquam tanta eluxit, quanta tum Populi Anglicani effulgebat, cū̃ excuſſa illā veteri ſuperſtitione, quæ diu invaluerat, ipſum regem, ſeu potiùs de rege hoſtem, qui ſolus mortalium impunitatem ſibi divino jure vendicabat, ſuis legibus irretitum judicio perfundere, & quo is quemcunque alium ſupplicio aſſeciſſet, eodem fontem ipſum afficere nō̃ vereretur. At quid ego hæc tanquam populi facta

* Printed from an Edition in folio, corrected by the Author.

prædico? quæ ipsa per se penè vocem edunt, & præsentem ubique testantur Deum. Qui, quoties suæ sapientissimæ menti complacitum est, superbos & effrænatos reges, supra humanum modum sese attollentes, solet deturbare, & totâ sæpe cum domo funditus evertit. Illius nos manifesto numine ad salutem & libertatem propè amissam subito erecti, illum ducem secuti, & impressa passim divina vestigia venerantes, viam haud obscuram, sed illustrem, illius auspiciis commonstratam & patefactam ingressi sumus. Hæc ego omnia dignè satis explicare, & quod omnes fortasse gentes legant atque ætates, monumentis tradere, si diligentia solum meâ, cujuscumque est, meis tantum viribus sperem me posse, frustra sim. Quæ enim oratio tam augusta atque magnifica, quod tam excellens ingenium huic oneri subeundo par esse queat, ut cum illustrium virorum aut civitatum res gestas vix reperiatur tot seculis qui luculentè possit scribere, opinetur quisquam hæc, non hominum, sed omnipotentis planè Dei gloriosè & mirabiliter facta ullis se verbis aut stylo assequi posse? Quod quidem munus ut fusciperem, tametsi summi in republica nostrâ viri suâ autoritate perfecerunt, mihi que hoc negotium datum esse voluerunt, ut quæ illi, Deo ductore, magnâ cum gloria gessere, ea, quod certè proximum est, contra invidiam & obtrectionem, quas in res ferrum & apparatus belli nihil potest, alio genere armorum defenderem; quorum ego quidem judicium magno mihi ornamento esse existimo, me scilicet eorum suffragiis cum esse præ cæteris, qui hanc patriæ meæ fortissimis liberatoribus haud poenitentiam operam navarem; quin & ipse ab ineunte adolescentiâ iis eram studiis incensus, quæ me ad optima quæque si minùs facienda, at certè laudanda incitatum ferebant, his tamen diffusis adminiculis ad divinam opem recurro: Deumque Opt. Max. donorum omnium largitorem invoco, ut quàm prosperè, quàmque piè nostri illi ad libertatem clarissimi duces regios fastus, & dominatum impotentem acie fregerunt, dein memorabili tandem supplicio extinxerunt, quàmque facili negotio nuper unus de multis ipsum regem veluti ab inferis resurgentem, inque illo libro post mortem edito novis argutiis, & verborum lenociniis populo se venditantem redarguit atque summovit, tam ego feliciter tamque verè declamatoris hujus exotici petulantiam & mendacia refellam atque discutiam. Qui alienigena cum sit, & quamvis id millies neget, Grammaticus, non eâ stipe contentus quam hoc nomine meretur, magnus ardelio esse maluit; non reipub. solum immiscere se ausus, sed alienæ: cum neque modestiam, neque judicium, neque aliud quicquam afferat, quod oporteret sanè tantum arbitrum, præter arrogantiam & Grammaticam. Et sanè hæc quæ jam Latinè utcumque scripsit, si inter Anglos, & nostro sermone protulisset, vix esset, credo, qui de responso laborandum esse judicaret; sed partim trita, & refutationibus jam crebris explosa negligeret, partim tyrannica & foeda, vilissimo quovis mancipio vix ferenda, quamvis alioqui regias secutus ipse partes, averfaretur. Nunc cum inter externos, & nostrarum rerum penitus ignaros grandi paginâ turgescat, sunt illi quidem, qui res nostras perperam intelligunt, edocendi; hic suo more (quandoquidem tantâ maledicendi aliis libidine fertur) suo inquam more ac modo erit tractandus. Quod si quis miretur fortè, cur ergò tam diu intactum & ovan-tem, nostròque omnium silentio inflatum volitare passi simus, de aliis sanè nescio, de me audacter possum dicere, non mihi verba aut argumenta, quibus causam tuerer tam bonam, diu quærenda aut investiganda fuisse, si otium & valetudinem (quæ quidem scribendi laborem ferre possit) nactus essem. Quâ cum adhuc etiam tenui admodum utar, carptim hæc cogor, & intercisis penè singulis horis vix attingere, quæ continenti stylo atque studio persequi debuissim. Unde hoc si minùs dabitur, cives meos præstantissimos, patriæ conservatores digno laudum præconio celebrare, quorum immortalia facinora jam toto orbe claruerunt; defendere tamen, & ab hujus importuni literatoris insolentiâ, & professoriæ linguæ intemperiiis vindicare haud mihi difficile futurum spero. Pessimè enim vel naturâ vel legibus comparatum foret, si arguta servitus, libertas muta esset; & haberent tyranni qui pro se dicerent, non haberent qui tyrannos debellare possunt: miserum esset, si hæc ipsa ratio, quo utimur Dei munere, non multò plura

ad

ad homines conservandos, liberandos, & quantum natura fert, inter se æquandos, quàm ad opprimendos & sub unius imperio malè perdendos argumenta suppeditaret. Causam itaque pulcherrimam hac certâ fiduciâ læti aggrediamur; illinc fraudem, fallaciam, ignorantiam, atque barbariem; hinc lucem, veritatem, rationem, & seculorum omnium optimorum studia, atque doctrinam nobiscum stare.

Agè nunc jam, satis præfati, quoniam cum criticis res est, tam culti voluminis titulum imprimis videamus quid aît, ‘Defensio regia pro Carolo I. ad Car. II.’ Magnum sanè præstas, O quisquis es! patrem defendis ad filium; mirum ni causam obtineas. Verùm ego te falso aliàs sub nomine, nunc sub nullo latitantem, Salmasi, ad alia voco subsellia, ad alios iudices, ubi tu illud euge & sophās, quod in palæstra tuâ literaria captare miserè soles, fortasse non audies. Sed cur ad regem filium defensio hæc regia? non opus est tortore, confitentem habemus reum; “Sumptibus inquit Regiis; O te venalem oratorem & sumptuosum! Siccine defensionem pro Carolo patre, tuâ sententiâ, rege optimo, ad Carolum filium regem pauperrimum noluisti, nisi sumptibus regiis:” Sed veterator etiam haud irridiculus esse voluisti, qui regiam defensionem dixeris; non enim ampliùs tua quam vendidisti, sed legitimè jam regia defensio est; centenis nimirum Jacobæis emta, ingenti pretio ab egentissimo Rege: non enim ignota loquimur; novimus qui illos aureos domum attulit tuam, qui crumenam illam tessellis vitreis variatam, novimus qui te avaras manus porrigentem vidit, in speciem quidem ut Sacellanum Regis missum cum munere, re verâ ut ipsum munus amplecterere; & unâ tantùm mercede acceptâ totum penè regis ærarium exinanires. Sed eccum ipsum, crepant fores, prodit histrio in proscenium.

Date operam & cum silentio animadvertite,

Ut pernoscat is quid sibi Eunuchus velit.

Nam quicquid est, præter solitum cothurnatus incedit. ‘Horribilis nuper nuntius: aures nostras atroci vulnere, sed magis mentes perculit, de parricidio apud Anglos. in personâ regis sacrilegorum hominum nefariâ conspiratione admissio.’ Profectò nuntius iste horribilis aut gladium multò longiorem eo quem strinxit Petrus habuerit oportet, aut aures istæ auritissimæ fuerint, quas tam longinquo vulnere perculerit: nam aures non stolidas ne offendissè quidem potuit. Ecqua enim vobis fit injuria, ecquis vestrùm læditur, si nos hostes & perduelles nostros, sive plebeios, sive nobiles, sive reges morte multamus? At ista mitte, Salmasi, quæ ad te nihil attinent: ego enim de te etiam horribilem habeo quem apportem nuntium; quique omnium Grammaticorum & Criticorum aures, modò teretes habent & doctas, atrociori vulnere si non perculerit, mirabor; de parricidio apud Hollandos in persona Aristarchi, nefariâ Salmasii audaciâ admissio: te magnum scilicet Criticum sumptibus regiis conductum, ut defensionem regiam scriberes, non solùm putidissimo exordio, præficarum funebribus nugis & næniis simillimo nullius, non fatui, mentem miseratione permovissè, sed primâ statim clausulâ risum penè legentibus multiplici barbarismo concitassè. Quid enim, quæso, est parricidium in persona regis admittere, quid in persona regis? quæ unquam latinitas sic locuta est? nisi aliquem nobis fortè Pseudophilippum narras, qui personam regis indutus, nescio quid parricidii apud Anglos patraverit; quod verbum verius opinione tua ex ore tibi excidissè puto. Tyrannus enim, quasi histrionalis quidam rex, larva tantùm & persona regis, non verus rex est. Cæterùm ob hujusmodi noxas Gallicolatinas, quibus passim scates, non tam mihi, neque enim est otium, quàm ipsis tuis Grammatistis pœnas dabis; quibus ego te deridendum & vapulandum propino. Hoc multò atrocius; quod à summis magistratibus nostris de rege statutum est, id sacrilegorum hominum nefariâ conspiratione admissum ais. Tūne furcifer potentissimi nuper regni, nunc reipub. eo potentioris acta & consulta sic nominas? quorum de factis nè Rex quidem ullus ut quicquam gravius pronuntiaret, aut scriptum ederet, adduci adhuc potuit. Meritò itaque amplissimi Ordines Hollandiæ, liberatorum olim patriæ vera progenies, defensionem hanc tyrannicam, populorum omnium libertati pestilentissimam, edicto.

edicto suo tenebris damnârunt; cujus & ipsum authorem omnis libera Civitas suis prohibere finibus, aut ejicere deberet: eâque præcipuè quæ tam ingratum tamque tetrum reipublicæ hostem suo stipendio alit; cujus ille reipublicæ haud secus atque nostræ, fundamenta ipsa atque causas oppugnat; necnon utramque unâ & eâdem operâ labefactare & subruere conatur; præstantissimósque illic Libertatis Vindices nostrorum sub nomine maledictis proscindit. Reputate jam vobiscum Illustrissimi Fœderatorum Ordines, & cum animis vestris cogitate, quis hunc regiæ potestatis assertorem ad scribendum impulerit, quis nuper apud vos regiè se gerere incœperit, quæ consilia, qui conatus, quæ turbæ denique per Hollandiam secutæ sint, quæ nunc essent, quàm vobis parata servitus, novúsque dominus erat, atque illa vestra tot annorum armis atque laboribus vindicata libertas, quàm propè extincta apud vos nunc foret, nisi opportunissimâ nuper temerarii juvenis morte respirâisset. Sed pergit iste noster ampullari, & mirabiles tragœdias fingere, “ Quoscunque infandus hic” parri-
cidialis nimirum barbarismi Salmasiani “ rumor attigit, haud secus ac si fulmine afflati essent, derepente his arrectæque horrore comæ & vox faucibus hæsit.” Quod nunc primitus auditum discant Physici, comas fulmine arrectas. Verùm quis hoc nescit, viles & imbelles animos, magni cujuspiam facinoris vel rumore obstupefcere; quódque prius fuerunt, tum se maximè stipites indicare. Alii “ lacrymas non tenuerunt,” mulierculæ credo aulicæ, aut siqui his molliores; inter quos & ipse Salmasius novâ quâdam metamorphôsi Salmacis factus est; & fonte hoc suo lacrymarum fictitio, & nocte parato viriles animos emollire conatur. Moneo itaque & cavere jubeo

—— infamis ne quem malè fortibus undis
Salmacis enervet. —— ne vir cùm venerit, exeat indè
Semivir, & tactis subitò mollescat in undis.

“ Fortiùs verò ” inquit “ animati ” (nam fortes puto & animosos ne nominare quidem nisi putidè potest) tantâ “ indignationis flammâ exarserunt, ut vix se caperent.” Furiosos illos non flocci facimus; verâ fortitudine suique compote istos minaces pellere, & in fugam vertere consuevimus. “ Nemo certè non diras imprecatus est tanti sceleris authoribus.” Vox tamen, ut tu modò aiebas, “ faucibus hæsit;” atque hæsisset utinam in hunc usque diem, si de nostris duntaxat perfugis hoc vis intelligi, quod nos etiam pro comperto habemus, nihil illis frequentius in ore esse, quàm diras & imprecationes omnibus bonis abominandas quidem, non tamen metuendas. De aliis credibile vix est, cum supplicii de rege sumti fama illuc pervenisset, repertum in libero præsertim populo fuisse ullum, tam ad servitutem natum, qui nos dicto læderet, aut factum nostrum crimini daret; immo potiùs omnes bonos omnia bona dixisse; quinetiam Deo gratias egisse, qui exemplum justitiæ tam illustre, & excelsum ediderit, quódque cæteris regibus tam salutari documento esse possit. Istos itaque “ feros ac ferreos cædem ” nescio cujus “ miserabilem, ac mirabilem ” plorantes, cum suo tinnulo oratore, “ post regiumni orbe nomen natum notúmque,” frigidissimo, etiam atque etiam plorare jubemus. At quis interim è ludo ferè puer, aut è cœnobio quovis fraterculus casum hunc regis non multò disertius, immo Latinius hoc oratore regio declamitâset? verùm ego ineptior sim, si infantiam hujus & deliramenta hunc in modum toto volumine accuratè persequar; quod tamen libens facerem, (quoniam superbiâ & fastidiò, ut ferunt, supra modum turget) ni mole tantum libri inconcinnâ atque inconditâ se protegeret, & veluti miles ille Terentianus post principia lateret: callido sanè consilio, ut defectus singula notando etiam acerrimus quisque, tædio prius conficeretur, quàm omnia redargueret. Nunc ejus quoddam specimen dare hac veluti prolusione duntaxat volui; & cordatis lectoribus à principio statim degustandum hominem præbere, ut in hac paginæ unius promulsæ experiamur quàm lautè nos & luculenter cæteris ferculis excepturus sit; quantas ineptias atque infantias toto opere congefferit, qui tam densas,

ubi minimè decuit, in ipsa fronte collocavit. Exinde multa garrientem, & scombris concionantem facilè prætereo; ad nostras autem res quod attinet, haud dubitamus quin ea, quæ autoritate parlamenti scripta publicè & declarata sunt, apud omnes bonos & prudentes externos plus ponderis habitura sint, quàm unius impudentissimi homuncionis calumniæ, & mendaciæ; qui ab exulibus nostris, patriæ hostibus, pretio conductus, quolibet eorum dictante quibus operam suam locaverat, aut rumusculum spargente, falsissima quæque corradere, & in chartam conjicere non dubitavit. Utque planè intelligant omnes quàm non illi religio sit, quidlibet scribere, verum an falsum, pium an impium, haud alius mihi testis adhibendus erit, quàm ipse Salmasius. Scribit is in "Apparatu contra primatum Papæ, maximas esse causas cur Ecclesia redire ab episcopatu debeat ad Apostolicam "presbyterorum" institutionem; longè majus ex episcopatu introductum in Ecclesiam esse malum, quàm illa schismata quæ prius metuebantur: pestem illam quæ ex eo ecclesias invalit, totum ecclesiæ corpus miserabili tyrannide pessundedisse; immo ipsos reges ac principes sub jugum misisse; majorem in ecclesiam utilitatem redundaturam Hierarchiâ totâ extinctâ, quàm solo capite Papâ." p. 169. "Possè episcopatum cum Papatu tolli cum summo bono ecclesiæ; sublato episcopatu ruere ipsum Papatum, super illo utpote fundatum," p. 171. "Cur removeri debeat in illis regnis quæ jam Papatui renuntiârunt proprias habere causas. Cur ibi episcopatus retineatur se non videre; non integram videre reformationem quæ hac in parte imperfecta sit; nihil afferri possè rationis aut causæ probabilis cur sublato Papatu retineri debeat aut possit episcopatus." p. 197. Hæc & multò plura cùm ante annos quatuor scripserit, tantâ nunc vanitate & impudentiâ est, ut parlamentum Angliæ graviter incusare hoc loco audeat, quòd episcopatum "non solum senatu ejiciendum, sed etiam penitus abjiciendum censuerint." Quid? quod ipsum etiam episcopatum suadet atque defendit, iisdem usus argumentis & rationibus, quas libro illo priore magno impetu confutaverat; "necessarios "nempe" fuisse episcopos, & omnino retinendos, ne mille pestiferæ sectæ & hereses in Anglia pullularent." O vasrum & versipellem! adeone te etiam in sacris non puduit desultorem agere, propè dixeram, ecclesiam prodere; cujus tu ideò sanctissima instituta tanto strepitu asseruisse videris, ut quoties tibi commodum esset, eo majore cum infamia ea ipsa ludificari atque subvertere posses. Neminem hoc latet, cum regni ordines, ecclesiæ nostræ, ad exemplum cæterarum, reformandæ studio flagrantes, episcopatum funditus tollere statuissent, primò regem intercessisse, dein bellum nobis eâ potissimum causâ intulisse; quod ipsi tandem in perniciem vertit. I nunc & te defensores regium esse gloriare, qui ut regem gnaviter defendas, susceptam à temetipso ecclesiæ causam nunc palàm prodis atque oppugnas: cujus gravissimâ quidem censurâ esses notandus. De forma autem repub. nostræ, quoniam tu professor triobolaris & extraneus remotis capsulis atque scriniis tuis nugarum refertissimis, quas meliùs in ordinem redigere poteras, in aliena repub. fatagere & odiosus esse mavis, sic breviter tibi, vel cuivis potiùs te prudentiori respondeo; eam formam esse quam nostra tempora atque diffidia ferunt; non qualis optanda esset, sed qualem obstinata improborum civium discordia esse patitur. Quæ autem respublica factionibus laborat, atque armis se tuetur, si sanæ & integræ tantum partis rationem habet, cæteros sive plebeios sive optimates præterit aut excludit, satis profectò æqua est; quamvis regem & proceres, suis ipsa malis edocta, ampliùs nolit. "Concilium" autem illud "supremum" quod insectaris, atque etiam "concilii præsidem" næ tu ridiculus es; concilium enim illud, quod somnias, non est supremum, sed parlamenti autoritate ad certum duntaxat tempus constitutum, quadraginta virorum ex suo serè numero, quorum quilibet cæterorum suffragiis præses esse potest. Semper autem hoc usitatissimum fuit, ut parlamentum, qui noster senatus est, delectos ex suorum numero pauciores, quoties visum erat, constitueret: iis unum in locum ubivis conveniendi, & veluti minoris cujusdam habendi senatûs protestas delata est. Iisdem res sæpe gravissimæ, quo celerius & majori cum silentio transigerentur, commissæ atque creditæ; classis, exercitus, ærarii cura aut

procuratio, quævis denique pacis aut belli munia. Hoc sive concilium nominetur, sive quid aliud, verbo fortè novum, re antiquum est; & sine quo nulla omninò respub. rectè administrari potest. De regis autem supplicio, & rerum apud nos conversione mitte vociferari, mitte virus illud tuum acerbitalis evomere; donec ista “quâ lege, quo jure, quo judicio” facta sint, te licèt repugnante, singulis capitibus ostendam, & pedem conferam. Si tamen instas “quo jure, quâ lege,” eâ, inquam, lege quam Deus ipse & natura sanxit, ut omnia quæ reipub. salutaria essent, legitima & iusta haberentur. Sic olim sapientes tuî similibus responderunt. “Leges per tot annos ratas refixisse” nos criminari; bonasne an malas non dicis, nec si diceres audiendus esses, nam nostræ leges ole quid ad te? Utinam plures refixissent tum leges, tum leguleios; rectiùs sanè & rei Christianæ & populo consuluissent. Frenes quòd “hæc, Manii, terræ-filii, vix domi nobiles, vix suis noti licere sibi crediderint.” Meminisses quæ te non solum libri sacri, sed etiam Lyricus doceat.

——— Valet ima summis
Mutare, & insignem attenuat Deus
Obscura promens ———

Sic etiam habeto; eorum quos tu vix nobiles esse aïs, alios nulli vestrarum partium vel generis nobilitate cedere; alios ex se natos per industriam atque virtutem ad veram nobilitatem iter affectare, & cum nobilissimis quibusque posse conferri; se autem malle “filios terræ” dici, modò suæ, & domi strenuè facere, quam sine terrâ & lare fumos vendendo, quòd tu facis, homo nihili & stramineus eques, in aliena terra dominorum nutu & stipendio famem tolerare: ab ista, mihi crede, peregrinatione ad agnatos potiùs & gentiles deducendus, nisi hoc unum scires, quòd frivolas quasdam prælectiones & nugamenta scis tantâ mercede apud exteros effutire. Reprehendis quòd magistratus nostri “colluviem omnium sectarum recipiant;” quid ni recipiant? quos ecclesiæ est è cœtu fidelium ejicere, non magistratuum è civitate pellere; siquidem in leges civiles non peccant. Primò homines ut tutò ac liberè sine vi atque injuriis vitam agerent, convenire in civitatem; ut sanctè & religiosè, in ecclesiam; illa leges, hæc disciplinam habet suam, planè diversam: hinc toto orbe Christiano per tot annos bellum ex bello feritur, quòd magistratus & ecclesia inter se officia confundunt. Quapropter & papisticam minimè toleramus; neque enim eam tam esse religionem intelligimus, quàm obtentu religionis tyrannidem pontificiam civilis potentiae spoliis ornatam, quæ contra ipsum Christi institutum ad se rapuit. “Independentes,” quales à te solo finguntur, nulli apud nos unquam visi; præter eos duntaxat qui cùm classes & synodos supra ecclesiam quamque singularem esse non agnoscant, eas omnes velut hierarchiæ particulas quasdam, aut certè truncum ipsum, eradicandas esse tecum sentiunt. Hinc nomen Independentium apud vulgus obtinuit. Quod restat video te id agere, ut regum omnium & monarcharum non invidiam solum, sed etiam bellum atrocissimum in nos concites. Olim rex Mithridates, quamvis causâ dissimili, omnes reges in Romanos concitabat, eadem propè calumniatus; Romanis consilium esse, omnia regna subvertere, iis nulla humana neque divina obflare, à principio nihil nisi partum armis habuisse, latrones, regnorum maximè hostes: hæc Mithridates regi Arsaci: te verò in illa tua exedra infantissimè rhetoricantem quæ fiducia provexit, ut ad bellum hortando, & licèt nolis videri, “clasticum canendo,” ullum vel inter pueros regem commovere te posse animum induceres, isto præsertim ore tam exili & rancidulo, ut ne mures quidem Homericos, te buccinatore, bellum unquam ranculis illaturos fuisse credam. Tantum abest ut metuum quid tu belli nobis aut periculi, homo ignavissime, apud exteros reges istâ tuâ rabidâ & insulsâ simul facundiâ conflare possis: qui ad illos, acsi “regum capita” quasi “pilas habeamus, de coronis quasi trocho ludamus, sceptrâ imperialia non pluris faciamus quàm bacula morionum capitata,” lusoriè sanè nos defers. At tu interea,

stultissimum

stultissimum caput, morionis ipse baculo dignissimus es, qui reges ac principes tam puerilibus argumentis ad bellum suaderi putes. Omnes deinde populos inclamas, dicto audientes tuo, sat scio; minimè futuros. Hibernorum etiam consceleratam illam ac barbaram colluviem regiis partibus in auxilium vocas. Quod unicum indicio esse potest quàm scelestus sis & vācors, quàm omnes penè mortales impietate, audaciā, & furore superes, qui devotæ gentis fidem atque opem implorare non dubitas, cujus ab impiâ societate tot civium innocentissimorum sanguine perfusâ etiam rex ipse aut abhorruit semper, aut abhorrere se simulavit. Et quam ille perfidiam, quam ille crudelitatem occultare, quantum potuit, atque ab se longè amovere summo studio contendit, eam tu, bipedum nequissime, quò minùs ultrò atque palàm suscipias, neque Deum neque homines vereris. Agedum; hibernis igitur fautoribus ac sociis ad defensionem regis jam te accinge. Caves imprimis quod cauto merhercule opus erat, nequis te Tullio fortasse aut Demostheni omnem eloquentiæ laudem præreptum ire suspicaretur; & prædicis, “ oratorio more non tibi agendum videri.” Næ tu haud stultè sapias; id quod non potes, non videtur tibi esse agendum; oratoriè autem ut tu ageres, quis, qui te fati novit; unquam expectavit? qui nihil elaboratè, nihil distinctè, nihil quod sapiat, in lucem emittere aut soles aut potes; sed veluti Crispinus alter, aut Tzetzes ille græculus, modò ut multum scribas, quàm rectè non laboras; neque si labores, valeas. “ Agetur,” inquis, “ hæc causa toto orbe audiente, & quasi ad judicandum sedente.” Id adeò nobis pergratum est, ut adversarium non cerebrosum & imperitum; qualis tu es, sed cordatum & intelligentem dari jam nobis optemus. Perorans planè tragicus es, immò Ajax ipse Lorarius: “ Horum ego injustitiam, impietatem, perfidiam, crudelitatem proclamabo cœlo & terræ, ipsosque authores convictos posteris tradam, reosque peragam.” O Flosculos! tūne igitur sine sale, sine genio proclamator & rabula, bonis authoribus divexandis tantum aut transcribendis natus, quicquam de tuo quod vivat producere te putas posse? quem unā cum scriptis tuis futilissimis abreptum ætas, mihi crede, proxima oblivioni mandabit. Nisi si defensio hæc regia suo fortasse responso aliquid debitura est, si neglecta jam pridem & consopita, in manus iterum sumatur. Idque ego ab illustrissimis Hollandiæ ordinibus peterem, ut eam è fisco protinus dimissam, neque enim thesaurus est, pervagari, quò velit, sinant. Si enim quā vanitate, infortiā, falsitate referta sit, planum omnibus fecero, quò latiùs excurrit, eò arctiùs, meā quidem sententiā, supprimitur. Jam nos quemadmodum “ reos peragat,” videamus.

DEFENSIO

PRO

POPULO ANGLICANO,

CONTRA

CLAUDII SALMASII DEFENSIONEM REGIAM.

CAPUT I.

QUONIAM tibi vano homini & ventoso multum hinc forsitan superbiæ Salmasi, multum spiritûs accessit, magnæ scilicet Britanniæ regem fidei defensoresse, te verò regis, ego quidem & illum regi titulum, & hunc tibi jure pari ac merito concedam : cum sanè rex fidem, tu regem sic defenderis, ut causam uterque suam evertisse potiùs videatur. Quod cum passim infrà, tum hoc primo capite ostendam. Dixeras tu quidem præfationis paginâ duodecimâ “ornari pigmentis rhetoricis tam bonam & justam causam non debere : nam simpliciter rem, ut gesta est, narrare, regem defendere est.” Quando igitur toto hoc capite in quo narrationem illam simplicem futuram pollicitus eras, neque rem simpliciter, ut gesta est, narras, neque non pigmentis, quantum in eo genere consequi potes, rhetoricis ornas, profectò vel tuo judicio si standum esset, causa regia neque bona neque justa erit. Quanquam hoc cave tibi sumas quod dat nemo, posse te quicquam rhetoricè narrare ; qui neque oratoris, neque historici, immò ne caussidici quidem partes narrando sustinere potes ; sed quasi circulator quispiam, arte circumforaneâ, magnam de te in procœmio, velut in posterum diem, expectationem concitabas, non tam ut rem promissam tum demùm narrares, quàm ut pigmenta illa misera, & ampullas fuco refertas lectoribus quàm plurimis divenderes. Nam “de factò dicturus tot novitatum monstris te circumdari ac terreri sentis, ut quid primum exequaris, quid deinde, quid postremò, nescias.” Hoccine est simpliciter narrare ? Dicam quod res est, tot tuorum ipse mendaciorum monstris, primum terreri te sentis, deinde tot nugis, tot ineptiis levissimum illud caput non “circundari” solum, sed circumagi, “ut quid primum, quid deinde, quid postremò” dicendum ullo tempore sit, non modò nunc “nescias,” sed nunquam antea non nesciveris. “Inter difficultates quæ occurrunt ad exprimendam tam incredibilis flagitii immanitatem hoc unum facile dictu suppetit, quod iterum iterumque repeti debet,” nempe “solem ipsum atrocius factum nunquam adspexisse alterum.” Multa sol aspexit, bone magister, quæ Bernardus non vidit. Solem autem iterum atque iterum repetas licebit, id tu quidem prudenter feceris, quod non nostra flagitia, sed defensionis tuæ frigus vehementissimè postulabit. “Regum,” inquis, “origo cum sole novo cœpit.” Dii te, Damasppe, deæque solstitio donent, quo te calfacias, qui ne pedem sine “sole ;” nequis fortasse te umbraticum doctorem esse dicat. At hercle etiam in tenebris es, qui jus patrium à regio non distinguis : & cum reges patriæ
patres

patres nominaveris, eâ statim metaphorâ persuasisse credis, ut quicquid de patre non negaverim, id continuò de rege verum esse concedam. Pater & rex diversissima sunt. Pater nos genuit; & non rex nos, sed nos regem creavimus. Patrem natura dedit populo, regem ipse populus dedit sibi; non ergò propter regem populus, sed propter populum rex est; ferimus patrem, morosum etiam & durum, ferimus & regem; sed ne patrem quidem ferimus tyrannum. Pater si filium interficit, capite pœnas dabit: cur non item rex eadem justissimâ lege tenebitur, si populum, id est, filios suos, perdidit? præsertim cum pater, ut ne pater sit, efficere non possit, rex facillè possit, ut neque pater sit neque rex. Quod si “de facti qualitate,” quod ais, “indè” æstimandum est, tibi dico, peregrine, & rebus nostris alienissime, testis oculatus & indigena tibi dico; nos regem neque “bonum,” neque “justum,” neque “clementem,” neque “religiosum,” neque “pium,” neque “pacificum;” sed hostem prope decennalem; nec parentem patriæ, sed vastatorem “de medio sustulisse.” “Solet hoc fieri,” fateris, inficias enim ire non audes, “sed non à reformatis, regi reformato.” Siquidem reformatus is dici potest, qui scriptis ad papam literis, sanctissimum appellaverat patrem, qui papistis æquior semper quàm orthodoxis fuit. Talis cum fuerit, ne suæ quidem familiæ primus à reformatis est “de medio” sublatus. Quid? ejus avia Maria nonne à reformatis exuta regno solum vertere coacta est, supplicio demùm capitis affecta, ne Scotis quidem reformatis ægrè ferentibus? immo si operam contulisse dicam, haud mentiar. In tantâ autem regum “reformatorum” paucitate, nihil hujusmodi accidisse, ut eorum aliquis morte plecteretur, non est quod miremur. Licere autem regem nequam, sive tyrannum regno pellere, vel supplicio quovis, prout meritis erit, punire (etiam summorum sententiâ theologorum, qui ipsi reformandæ ecclesiæ authores fuere) aude tu modò negare. Concedis quàm plurimos reges non siccâ morte periisse, hunc “gladio,” illum “veneno,” alium squalore “carceris,” aut “laqueo.” Omnium tamen hoc tibi miserrimum videtur, & monstri quiddam simile, regem in judicium adduci, “causam capitis dicere coactum, condemnatum, securi percussum.” Dic mihi, homo insipientissime, annon humanius, annon æquius, annon ad leges omnium civitatum accomodatius est, cujuscunque criminis reum in judicio sistere, suū defendendi copiam facere, lege condemnatum ad mortem haud immeritam ducere, ita ut damnato vel pœnitendi, vel se colligendi spatium detur, quàm statim ut prehensus est, indictâ causâ pecudis in modum mactare? Quotusquisque est reorum, qui, si optio detur, non illo potius quàm hoc modo puniri se maluerit? Quæ ratio igitur animadvertendi in civem moderatior est habita, cur non eadem in regem quoque moderatior, & vel ipsi regi acceptior fuisse existimanda est? Tu secretò, & sine arbitris extinctum regem malebas, vel ut exempli tam boni salubritate omnis memoria careret, vel ut facti tam præclari conscientia defugisse lucem, aut leges atque ipsam justitiam minimè sibi amicam habuisse videretur. Exaggeras deinde rem, quòd neque per tumultum aut factionem optimatum, aut rebellium furorem, sive militum sive populi; non odio, non metu, non studio dominandi, non cæco animi impetu, sed consilio & ratione meditaturn diu facinus peregerint. O meritò quidem ex te jurisconsulto grammaticum! qui ab accidentibus causæ, ut loquuntur, quæ per se nihil valent, vituperationes instituis, cum nondum docueris illud facinus in vitio an in laude ponendum sit: jam vide quàm in te facillè incurram. Si pulchrum & decorum fuit; eò magis laudandi quòd nullis affectibus occupati, solius honestatis causâ fecerint; si arduum & grave, quòd non cæco impetu, sed consilio & ratione. Quanquam ego hæc divino potius instinctu gesta esse crediderim, quoties memoriâ repeto, quàm inopinato animorum ardore, quanto consensu totus exercitus, cui magna pars populi se adjunxerat, ab omnibus penè regni provinciis unâ voce regem ipsum suorum omnium malorum authorem ad supplicium deposcebat. Quicquiderat, sive magistrum sive populum spectes, nulli unquam excelsiore animo, & quod etiam adversarii fatentur, sedatiore, tam egregium facinus & vel heroïcis ætatibus dignum aggressi sunt: quo non leges tantum & judicia, dehinc mortalibus ex

æquo restituta, sed ipsam justitiam nobilitârunt, sêque ipsâ illustriorem dehinc, sêque ipsâ majorem post hoc insigne judicium reddidere. Jam tertiam prope hujus capitis paginam exantlavimus, nec tamen illa simplex narratio, quam promisit, usquam apparet. Queritur nos docere, “quoties rex molestè & odiosè regnat, impunè possè regno exui: ab hac,” inquit, “doctrina inducti, si mille rebus meliorem regem habuissent, non ei vitam conservâssent.” Spectate hominis acumen; nam istuc aveo ex te scire, quo pacto hoc sequitur, nisi tu nobis concesseris, nostro rege mille rebus meliorem molestè & odiosè regnare; unde in eum deductus es locum, ut hunc quem defendis, iis regibus qui molestè & odiosè regnant mille rebus deteriore facias; id est tyrannorum omnium fortasse immanissimum. Macti estote reges tam strenuo defensore. Nunc narrare incipit. “Torserunt eum variis crucibus.” Dic quibus. “De carcere in carcerem traduxerunt.” Nec injuriâ, quippe ex tyranno hostem bello captum. “Custodiis sæpè mutatis:” ne ipsæ mutarent fidem. “Libertatis interdum spe ostensâ, interdum & restitutionis per pactionem.” Vide quàm non antea meditatam nobis fuerit, quam non “tempora & modos” diu captavimus regis abdicandi. Quas res ab eo tum propemodùm victore multo antè postulavimus, quæ nisi concederentur, nulla libertas, nulla salus populo speranda erat, easdem à captivo suppliciter, haud semel, immò ter & ampliùs petivimus; toties repulsam accepimus. Cum nulla de rege spes reliqua esset, fit parlamenti consultum illud nobile, nequa deinceps ad regem postulata mitterentur; non ex quo is tyrannus esse, sed ex quo insanabilis esse cœpit. Postea tamen quidam ex senatorum numero nova sibi consilia capientes, & idoneum tempus nacti, conditiones iterum regi ferendas decernunt; pari sanè scelere atque dementiâ ac Romanus olim senatus, reclamantè Marco Tullio & cum eo bonis omnibus, legatos decrevit ad Antonium: pari etiam eventu, nisi Deo immortalis visum aliter fuisset, illos in servitutem tradere, nos in libertatem vindicare. Nam cum rex nihilo plus quàm antea concessisset, quod ad firmam pacem & compositionem revera spectaret, illi tamen satisfactum sibi à rege esse statuunt. Pars itaque sanior, cum se rênque publicam prodi videret, fidem fortissimi, & semper reipub. fidissimi exercitus implorat. In quo mihi quidem hoc solum occurrit quod nolim dicere, nostras legiones rectiora sensisse quàm patres conscriptos: & salutem reipub. armis attulisse, quam illi suis suffragiis propè damnaverant. Multa deinde flebiliter narrat, verùm tam inscitè, ut luctum emendicare, non commovere videatur. Dolet, quòd “eo modo, quo nullus unquam, rex supplicium capitis passus sit:” cum sæpiùs affirmaverit, nullum unquam regem supplicium capitis omnino esse passum. Tûne, fatue, modum cum modo conferre soles, ubi factum cum facto quod conferas non habes? “Supplicium,” inquit, “capitis passus est, ut latro, ut sicarius, ut parricida, ut proditor, ut tyrannus.” Hoccine est regem defendere, an sententiam de rege ferre, eâ sanè quæ à nobis lata est, multò severiorem? quis te tam subito pellexit ut nobiscum pronuntiares? Queritur “personatos carnifices regi caput amputâsse.” Quid hoc homine facias? questus est suprâ “de parricidio in persona regis admisso,” nunc in persona carnificis admissum queritur. Quid reliqua percurram, partim falsissima, partim frivola “de pugnis & calcibus” militum gregariorum, & licentiâ “spectandi cadaveris quatuor solidis taxatâ,” quæ frigidissimi literatoris inscitiam & pusillitatem animi clamitant; legentem certè neminem pilotristiorem reddere possunt: fatius mehercule fuisset Carolo filio, quemvis ex eo balatronum grege conduxisse, qui ad coronam in triviis elegidia cantant, quam oratorem hunc, luctificabilem dicam, an perridiculum deplorando patris infortunio adhibuisse; tam insipidum & insulsum, ut ne ex lachrymis quidem ejus mica salis exiguiissima possit exprimi. Narrare jam desiit; & quid deinde agat, dictu sanè difficile est; adeò lutulentus & enormis fuit; nunc fremit, nunc oscitat, nullum quidlibet garriendi modum sibi statuit, vel decies eadem repetendi, quæ ne semel quidem dicta non fordescerent. Et certè nescio, an blateronis cujuspian extemporales quælibet nugæ, quas ille uno pede stans versiculis fortè effuderit, non digniores multo sint quæ chartâ illinantur; adeò indignissimas

dignissimas esse reor quibus seriò respondeatur. Prætereo quòd regem "religionis protectorem" laudat, qui ecclesiæ bellum intulit, ut episcopos religionis hostes & tyrannos in ecclesia retineret. "Puritatem autem religionis" quí potuit is conservare, ab impurissimis episcoporum traditionibus & cæremoniis ipse sub jugum missus? "Sectarum" verò, quibus tu "sacrilegos suos cœtus tenendi licentiam" ais "dari," quam ipsa Hollandia non dat, errores velim enumeres: interim nemo te magis sacrilegus, qui perpetuò maledicendi pessimam omnium licentiam tibi fumis. "Non poterant gravius reipubl. lædere quàm ejus dominum tollendo." Disce verna, disce mastigia, nisi dominum tollis, tollis reipublicam: privata res est, non publica quæ dominum habet. "At pastores facinus eorum abominantes cum summa injustitiâ persequuntur." Pastores illos nequis fortè nesciat quales sint, breviter dicam; iidem sunt qui regi resistendum armis esse, & verbo & scriptis docuerunt; qui omnes tanquam Merozum indefinenter execrari non destiterunt, quotquot huic bello aut arma, aut pecuniam, aut vires non suppeditassent; quod illi non contra regem, sed contra tyrannum Saule quovis aut Achabo, immo Nerone ipso Neroniorem susceptum esse in concionibus sacris vaticinabantur. Sublatis episcopis & sacerdotibus, quos pluralistarum & non residentium nomine infectari vehementissimè solebant, in eorum amplissima sacerdotia, hic binà, ille trinà, quàm ocysimè irruebant: unde suos greges quàm turpiter negligant pastores isti meritò egregii nemo non videt: nullus pudor, nulla numinis reverentia dementes cupiditate & furiosos cohibere potuit, donec pessimo ecclesiæ publico eadem ipsi infamiâ flagrarent, quam paulò antè sacerdotibus inusserant. Nunc quòd avaritia eorum nondum satiata est, quòd inquires ambitione animus turbas concire, pacem odisse consuevit, in magistratus qui nunc sunt, id quod priùs in regem fecerant, seditiosè concionari non desinunt; regem scilicet pium crudeliter sublatum; quem modò ipsi diris omnibus devotum, omni autoritate regiâ spoliandum, & bello sacro persequendum, in manus parlamento, quasi divinitus, tradiderant; sectas scilicet non extirpari, quod certè à magistratibus postulare perabsurdum est, qui avaritiam & ambitionem, quæ duæ in ecclesia hæreses perniciosissimæ sunt, ex ipsorum ordine pastorum ac tribu, nullo adhuc modo aut ratione extirpare valuerunt. Quas illi sectas apud nos infectantur, obscuras esse scio, quas ipsi sequuntur, famosas, & ecclesiæ Dei longè periculosiores; quarum principes Simon ille Magus & Diotrephes fuere. Hostamen, nequissimi cum sint, adeò non persequimur, ut factiosis, & res novas quotidie molientibus nimium indulgeamus. Offendit jam te Gallum & errabundum, quod Angli "suis molossis," quæ tua canina facundia est, "ferociores," nullam "legitimi successoris & hæredis" regni, nullam "natu minimi," nullam "reginæ Bohemiæ" rationem habuerint. Tute respondebis tibi, non ego. "Ubi reipub. forma mutatur ex monarchicâ in aliam, non datur successio inter differentis regiminis curatores." Apparat. de primatu. "Minima," inquis, "regni unius pars" hæc omnia "per tria regna" effecit: & digni quidem, si hoc verum esset, quibus in cæteros imperium sit, viris in fœminas. "Isti sunt qui regimen regni antiquum in alium qui à pluribus tyrannis teneatur, mutare præsumpserunt;" rectè quidem illi & feliciter; quos tu reprehendere non potes, quin simul fœdissimè barbarus & solœcus sis, non moribus solum, sed syntaxi etiam, grammaticorum opprobrium. "Angli maculam hanc nunquam deleverint." Immo tu, licèt omnium literatorum litura ipse sis, & verè macula, Anglorum tamen famam & sempiternam gloriâ nunquam valueris commaculare. Qui tantâ animi magnitudine, quanta omni memoriâ vix audita est, non hostes tantum armatos, sed hostiles intus, id est, superstitiosas vulgi opiniones eluctati atque supergressi, liberatorum cognomen posthac per omnes gentes in commune sibi pepererunt: populariter id ausi, quod apud alias nationes horoicæ tantum virtutis esse existimatur. "Reformati & antiqui christiani" quid hæc in parte fecerint, aut facturi essent, tum respondebimus, cum de jure tecum suo loco agetur; ne tuo vitio laboremus, qui gerrones omnes & Battos loquacitate

citate vincis. Quæris quid sis in nostra causâ Jesuitis responsurus. Tuas res age transfuga, pudeat te facinorum tuorum, quando ecclesiam tuâ pudet; qui primatum papæ, & episcopos tam jactanter modò & ferociter adortus, nunc episcoporum affecla factus es. Fateris “aliquos reformatorum,” quos non nominas (ego tamen nominabo, quoniam tu eos “Jesuitis longè peiores esse” aïs, Lutherum nempe, Zuinglium, Calvinum, Bucerum, Paræum cum aliis multis) docuisse, “amovendum esse” tyrannum: “quis autem sit tyrannus ad judicium sapientium & doctorum se retulisse. Isti vero qui? an sapientes, an docti, an virtute nobiles, an nobilitate illustres.” Liceat, quæso, populo, qui servitutis jugum in cervicibus grave sentit, tam sapienti esse, tam docto, tamque nobili, ut sciat quid tyranno suo faciendum sit, etiam si neque exteros, neque grammaticos sciscitatum mittat. Tyrannum autem fuisse hunc non Angliæ solùm & Scotiæ parlamenta cùm verbis tum factis disertissimis declaraverunt, sed totus ferè utriusque regni populus assentitus est; donec episcoporum technis & fraudibus in duas postea factiones discessit. Quid si Deus, quemadmodum eos qui lucis evangelicæ participes fiant, ita eos qui decreta ejus in reges hujus mundi potentissimos exequantur, non multos sapientes aut doctos, non multos potentes, non multos nobiles esse voluit? ut per eos qui non sunt aboleret eos qui sunt; ut ne gloriatur caro coram eo. Tu quis es qui oblatras? an doctus? qui spicilegia, qui lexica & glossaria ad senectutem usque trivisse potiùs videris, quàm authores bonos cum judicio aut fructu perlegisse? unde nil præter codices, & varias lectiones, & luxatum & mendosum, crepas; doctrinæ solidioris ne guttulam quidem hausisse te ostendis. An tu sapiens? qui de minutiis minutissimis rixari & mendicorum bella gerere soles, qui nunc astronomis, nunc medicis in sua arte credendis imperitus ipse & rudis convitia dicis; qui, si quis tibi voculæ unius aut literulæ in exemplari quovis ab te restitutæ gloriolam præripere conaretur, igni & aquâ, si posses, illi interdiceres? Et tamen stomacharis, & tamen ringeris, quòd omnes te grammaticum appellant. Hamondum nuper regis hujus facellanum imprimis dilectissimum in libro quodam nugatorio nebulonem appellas, quòd iste te grammaticum appellavisset: idem, credo, esses ipsi regi convitium factururus, & defensionem hanc totam retractaturus, si facellani sui de te judicium approbasse audivisses. Jam vide quàm te Anglorum unus, quos tu “fanaticos, indoctos, obscuros, improbos” vocitare audes, contemnam & ludibrio habeam (nam nationem ipsam Anglicanam de te quicquam publicè cogitare curculiunculo, indignissimum esset) qui fursùm, deorsùm, quoquo-versùm versatus & volutatus, nihil nisi grammaticus es: immo ac si Deo cuilibet votum ipso Mida stultius nuncupasses, quicquid attrectas, nisi cùm solœcismos facis, grammatica est. Quisquis igitur “de fæce illa plebis,” quam tu exagitas, (illos enim verè optimates nostros, quorum sapientiâ, virtutem, & nobilitatem facta inclyta satis testantur, non sic dehonestabo, ut te illis, aut tibi illos componere velim) quisquis, inquam, de fæce illâ plebis hoc tantummodò sibi persuaserit, non esse se regibus natum, sed Deo & patriæ, multò sanè te doctior, multò sapientior, multò probior, & ad omnem vitam utilior existimandus erit. Nam doctus ille sine literis, tu literatus sine doctrina; qui tot linguas calles, tot volumina percurris, tot scribis, & tamen pecus es.

C A P U T II.

QUOD argumentum pro se “indubitatum” esse, superiore capite perorans dixerat Salmasius, “rem ita se habere ut creditur, cùm omnes unanimiter idem de eâ sentiant;” quod tamen is “de facto” falsissimè affirmabat, id ego nunc, de jure regio disceptaturus, potero in ipsum verissimè affirmare. Cùm enim regem definiat, “cujus suprema est in regno potestas, nulli alio nisi Deo obnoxia, cui quod libet licet, qui

qui legibus solutus est," siquidem id definiri dicendum est, quod infinitum in terris ponitur: evincam ego contrà, non meis tantum, sed vel ipsius testimoniis, & rationibus, nullam gentem aut populum, qui quidem ullo numero sit, nam omnem penetrare barbariem necesse non est, nullam, inquam, gentem istiusmodi jura aut potestatem regi concessisse, "ut legibus solutus esset, ut quod libet liceret, ut omnes judicaret, à nemine judicaretur;" nec verò ullum cujuscunque gentis tam fervili ingenio existisse puto, præter unum Salmasium, qui tyrannorum immania quæque flagitia regum jura esse asseveravit. Eorum plerique apud nos, qui regi maximè favebant, ab hac tam turpi sententiâ semper abhorruere; quinetiam ipse, nondum pretio corruptus, his de rebus longè aliter sensisse aliis jampridem scriptis facilè deprehenditur. Adeò ut hæc non ab homine libero in libera civitate, nedum in Repub. nobilissimâ, & Batavorum Academia celeberrimâ, sed in ergastulo quovis aut catastrâ, tam fervili vernilitate scripta esse videantur. Etenim, si quicquid regi libet, id jure regio licitum erit, quod terribimus ille Antoninus Caracalla, ab Juliâ novercâ per incestum edoctus, non statim ausus est credere, nemo profectò est, aut unquam fuit, qui tyrannus dici debeat. Cum enim divina omnia atque humana jura violavit, nihilo tamen minùs rex, jure regio infons erit. Quid enim peccavit homo æquissimus? jure suo usus est in suos. Nihil rex tam horrendum, tam crudele, tamque furiosum committere in suos potest, quod præter jus regum fieri quispiam possit queri aut expostulare. Hoc "tu jus regum à jure gentium, vel potius naturali originem habere" statuis bellua? Quid enim hominem te dicam, qui in omne hominum genus, adeò iniquus & inhumanus es; quique omnem gentem humanam Deo simillimam sic deprimere atque projicere conaris, ut quos nunc superstitio, nunc scelus aut ignavia quorundam, aut denique perfidia tam feros atque immites dominos gentibus imposuit, eos à natura matre mitissimâ comparatos atque impositos esse doceas. Quâ tu nefariâ doctrinâ multò jam ferociores factos, non solum ad proterendos omnes mortales & posthac miseriores in modum conculcandos immittis, sed jure naturali, jure regio, ipsis etiam populi legibus in populum armare, quo nihil simul stultius & sceleratius esse potest, contendis. Dignus profectò qui, contrà atque olim Dionysius, ex grammatico tyrannus ipse sis; non quo tibi in alium quemvis detur illa regia licentiâ malè faciendi, sed illa altera malè pereundi: quâ solâ, ut inclusus ille Capreis Tiberius, à temetipso perditus quotidie te sentias perire. Verùm jus illud regum paulò accuratius quale sit consideremus. "Sic Oriens totus," inquis, "judicavit, sic Occidens." Non reponam tibi quod Aristoteles & Marcus Cicero, authores, si qui alii, cordatissimi, ille in Politicis, hic in oratione de Provinciis scripsit, Gentes Asiaticas facilè servitutem pati, Judæos autem & Syros servituti natos fuisse: fateor paucos ferè libertatem velle, aut eâ posse uti, solos nempe sapientes, & magnanimos; pars longè maxima justos dominos mavult, sed tamen justos; injustos & intolerabiles ferendi neque Deus unquam universo generi humano tam insensus fuit, neque ullus unquam populus tam ab omni spe & consilio derelictus, ut necessitatem hanc atque legem omnium durissimam in se atque in suos liberos ultrò statueret. Profers imprimis "verba regis in Ecclesiaste sapientiâ clari." Nos itaque ad legem Dei provocamus, de rege posterius videbimus; cujus exinde sententiam rectius intelligemus. Audiatur ipse Deus, Deut. 17. "Cum ingressus fueris in terram, quam Jehova Deus dat tibi, & dices statuam super me Regem sicut omnes gentes quæ sunt circa me." Quod ego omnes velim etiam atque etiam animadvertant, teste hinc ipso Deo, penes populos omnes ac nationes arbitrium semper fuisse, vel eâ, quæ placeret, formâ reipub. utendi, vel hanc in aliam mutandi: de Hebræis disertè hoc dicit Deus, de reliquis haud abnuat: deinde formam reipub. monarchiâ perfectiorem, ut sunt res humanæ, suique populi magis ex usu Deo visam esse: cum hanc ipse formam instituerit; monarchiam non nisi ferò petentibus, idque ægrè concederet. Sin regem planè vellent, ut ostenderet Deus id se liberum Populo reliquisse, ab uno an à pluribus respub. administraretur, modò justè, regi etiam futuro

leges constituit, quibus cautum erat, ut “ ne multiplicet sibi equos, ne uxores, ne divitias;” ut intelligeret nihil sibi in alios licere, qui nihil de se statuere extra legem potuit. Jussus itaque est “ omnia legis illius præcepta,” etiam suâ manu perscribere; perscripta “ observare; ne efferatur animus ejus præ fratribus suis.” Ex quo perspicuum est, regem æquè ac populum istis legibus astrictum fuisse. In hanc ferme sententiam scripsit Josephus, legum suæ gentis interpret idoneus, in suâ repub. versatissimus, mille aliis tenebrionibus Rabbinis anteponeendus. Antiquitat. lib. 4. Ἀριστοκρατία μὲν ἐν κράτιστον, &c. “ Optimum est,” inquit, “ optimatum regimen; nec vos alium reipub. statum requiratis; satis enim est Deum habere præsidem. Attamen si tanta vos regis cupido ceperit, plus legibus & Deo tribuat is, quàm suæ sapientiæ; prohibeatur autem, si potentior fieri studet, quàm rebus vestris expedit.” Hæc & plura Josephus in istum Deuteronomii locum. Alter Philo Judæus, gravis author, Josephi coætaneus, legis Mosaicæ studiosissimus, in quam universam diffusâ commentatione scripsit, cum in libro de creatione Principis hoc caput legis interpretatur, non alio pacto regem legibus solvit, atque hostis quilibet solutus legibus dici possit, τὰς ἐπὶ λύμῃ καὶ ζημίᾳ τῶν ὑπηκόων, &c. “ qui,” inquit, “ ad perniciem & detrimentum populi magnam sibi acquirunt potentiam, non reges sed hostes appellandi sunt; ea facientes, quæ hostes nullâ pace reconciliandi faciunt; nam qui per speciem gubernandi faciunt injuriam, apertis hostibus pejores sunt; hos enim facile est propulsare, illorum autem malitia haud faciliè detegitur.” Detecti igitur quid obstat quo minùs hostium loco habendi sint? Sic libro secundo Allegoriarum Legis, “ rex & tyrannus contraria sunt;” & deinde, “ rex non imperat tantùm, sed paret.” Vera sunt ista, dicet aliquis; regem oportet quidem leges, ut qui maximè, observare; verùm si secùs fecerit, quâ lege puniendus? eâdem, inquam, lege quâ cæteri; exceptiones enim nullas reperio. Sed nec de Sacerdotibus, sed nec de infimis quidem magistratibus puniendis lex ulla scribitur; qui omnes, cùm de iis puniendis nulla lex scripta sit, parî certè jure & ratione possent impunitatem scelerum omnium sibi vindicare; quam tamen neque eorum quisquam vendicavit, neque ullum iis arbitror idcirco esse daturum. Hactenus ex ipsâ Dei lege didicimus regem legibus obtemperare debuissè; nec se præ cæteris efferre, qui etiam fratres ejus sunt. Nunc an quid aliud Ecclesiastes moneat videamus. Cap. 8. ver. 1. &c. “ Mandatum regis observa; vel propter juramentum Dei, ne perturbatè à facie ejus abito, ne persistito in re malâ, nam quicquid volet faciet. Ubi verbum regis, ibi dominatio, & quis dicat ei quid facis?” Satis constat Ecclesiastem hoc in loco non synedrio magno, non senatui, sed privato cuique præcepta dare. Jubet mandata sua observare, vel propter juramentum Dei; at quis jurat regi, nisi rex vicissim in leges divinas atque patrias juratus sit? Sic Reubenitæ & Gaditæ obedientiam suam Jehosue pollicentur, Jos. 1. “ Ut dicto audientes Mose fuimus, ita erimus tibi, modò ut Deus tecum sit, quemadmodum fuit cum Mose.” Conditionem vides expressam; Alioquin ipsum audi Ecclesiastem, cap. 9. “ Verba sapientum submissa potiùs audienda esse, quam clamorem dominantis inter stolidos.” Quid porrò monet? “ Ne persistito in re malâ, nam quicquid volet faciet,” in malos nimirum faciet autoritate legum armatus, nam leniter, aut severè agere, prout volet, potest. Nihil hîc tyrannicum sonat, nihil quod vir bonus extimescat. “ Ubi verbum regis ibi dominatio, & quis dicat ei quid facis?” Et tamen legimus qui regi dixerit non solùm quid fecisti, sed etiam stultè fecisti. 1 Sam. 13. At Samuel extraordinarius. Tuum tibi regero, licet infrâ dictum pag. 49. “ quid,” inquis, “ extraordinarium in Saule & Davide?” itidem ego, quid, inquam, in Samuele? Propheta fuit: sunt & illi hodie, qui ejus exemplo faciunt; ex voluntate enim Dei vel “ expressâ” vel “ tacitâ” agunt: quod etiam ipse infrâ concedis, pag. 50. Prudenter igitur Ecclesiastes hoc in loco monet privatos, ne cum rege contendat: nam etiam cum divite, cum potenti quovis, ut plurimùm damnosa contentio est. Quid ergò? an optimates, an omnes reliqui magistratus, an
populus

populus universus, quoties delirare libet regi, ne hiscere quidem audebunt? an stolido, impio, furenti, bonis omnibus perniciem machinanti non obstabunt, non obviam ibunt, ne divina omnia atque humana pervertere occupet, ne rapinis, ne incendiis, ne cædibus per omnes regni fines grassetur ita “legibus solutus, ut quod libet liceat?” O de Cappadocis eques catastis! quem omnis libera natio (si unquam post hoc in natione libera pedem ponere audebis) aut in ultimas terras veluti portentum exportandum ejicere, aut servitutis candidatum dedere in pistrinum debet, eâ lege atque omine, ut si te inde exemerit, ipsa sub aliquo tyranno, eoque stultissimo, pro te molat. Quid enim poterit dici, aut ab aliis dictum peti tam truculentum, aut ridiculum, quod in te non cadat? Perge modò: “Israëlitæ regem à Deo petentes eodem jure se ab eo gubernari velle dixerunt, quo omnes aliæ nationes, quæ hoc regimine uterentur. At Orientis reges summo jure, & potestate non circumscriptâ regnabant, Teste Virgilio.

—Regem non sic Ægyptus & ingens

Lydia, nec populi Parthorum, & Medus Hydaspes

Observant.—

Primùm quid nostrâ refert qualem sibi regem Israëlitæ voluerint, præsertim Deo irato, non solum quòd regem vellent ad exemplum gentium, & non suæ legis, sed planè quòd vellent regem? Deinde regem injustum, aut legibus solutum petivissè credibile non est, qui Samuëlis filios legibus obstrictos ferre non potuerunt, & ab eorum tantum avaritiâ ad regem confugerunt. Postremò quod ex Virgilio recitas, non probat reges Orientis “absolutâ potestate” regnâsse; Apes enim illæ Virgilianæ, quæ vel Ægyptiis & Medis observantiores regum sunt, teste tamen eodem Poëta—“Magnis agitant sub legibus ævum.”—Non ergò sub regibus omni lege solutis. At vide quàm tibi minimè velim malè; cùm plerique te nebulonem esse judicent, ostendam te personam tantum nebulonis mutuam sumpsisse. In Apparatu ad primatum Papæ doctores quosdam Tridentinos exemplo Apium usos ais, ut monarchiam Papæ probarent: ab his tu pari malitiâ hoc mutuum cepisti. Quod illis itaque respondisti cùm probus esses, jam factus nebulo tute respondebis tibi, tuâque tibi manu personam nebulonis detrahes. “Apium respub. est; atque ita Physici appellant: Regem habent, sed innocuum; ductor est potius quàm tyrannus, non verberat, non vellicat, non necat apes subditas.” Minimè igitur mirum, si ita observant. Istas meherculè apes malâ ave tibi tactio erat; Tridentinæ enim licet sint, fucum te esse indicant. Aristoteles autem, rerum politicarum scriptor diligentissimus, monarchiæ genus Asiaticæ, quod & barbaricum vocat, κατὰ νόμον, id est, secundum legem fuisse affirmat. Pol. 3. immo cum monarchiæ quinque species enumeret, quatuor secundum legem, & suffragante populo fuisse scribit, tyrannicas autem, quòd iis tanta potestas, volente licet populo, data erat; regnum verò Laconicum maximè regnum videri, quòd non omnia penes regem erant. Quinta, quam is παρασιλίαν vocat, & ad quam solam id refert, quod tu regum omnium jus esse scribis, ut ad libitum regnent, ubinam gentium, aut quo tempore unquam obtinuerit non dicit: nec aliam ob causam fecisse mentionem ejus videtur, quàm ut absurdam, injustam, & maximè tyrannicam esse demonstraret. Samuelem ais, cùm eos ab eligendo rege deterreret, “jus illis regium” exposuisse. Unde haustum, à lege Dei? at illa lex jus regium, ut vidimus, longè aliud exhibuit: an ab ipso Deo per Samuelem loquente? at improbavit, vituperavit, vitio dedit: non igitur jus regium divinitus datum, sed morem regnandi pravissimum, superbiâ regum & dominandi libidine arreptum exposuit propheta; nec quid debebant reges, sed quid volebant facere; rationem enim regis populo indicavit, sicut antea rationem sacerdotum Eliadarum eodem verbo (quod tu p. 33. Hebræico etiam solœcismo משפט vocas) suprâ indicaverat. C. 2. “ratio sacerdotum istorum cum populo hæc erat, v. 13.” impia videlicet, odiosa, & tyrannica: ratio itaque illa nequaquam jus erat sed injuria. Sic etiam pa-

tres antiqui hunc locum exposuerunt; unus mihi erit multorum instar, Sulpitius Severus, Hieronymi æqualis, eique charus, & Augustini judicio vir doctrinâ & sapientiâ pollens. Is in historia sacra Samuelem ait dominationem regiam, & superba imperia populo exponere. Sanè jus regium non est dominatio & superbia; sed jus atque imperium regium, teste Sallustio, conservandæ libertatis atque augendæ reipub. causâ datum, in superbiam dominationemque se convertit. Idem Theologi omnes Orthodoxi, idem Jurisconsulti, idem rabbini plerique, ut ex Sichardo didicisse potuisti, de explicatione hujus loci sentiunt; ne Rabbiorum enim quisquam jus regis absolutum isto loco tractari dixit. Ipse infrâ cap. 5. pag. 106. “non Alexandrinum Clementem solum, sed omnes hîc” queris “errare,” te unum ex omnibus rem acu tetigisse: Jam verò cujus vel impudentiæ est vel sôcordiæ, contra omnes, præsertim orthodoxos, mores regum ab ipso Deo damnatissimos in jus regium convertere; & honestâ juris præscriptione defendere: cum jus tamen illud in rapinis, injuriis, violentiis, contumeliis sæpius consistere fatearis. An quisquam sic “sui juris” unquam fuit, ut rapere, agere, prosternere, permiscere omnia sibi liceret? an Latini, quod affirmas, hæc “suo jure ab aliquo fieri unquam dixerunt?” Dixerat apud Sallustium C. Memmius tribunus Plebis, in superbiam & impunita flagitia nobilitatis invectus, “impune quælibet facere, id est, regem esse;” Arrisit hoc tibi, & statim in lucro ponis, nequicquam sanè, si paulum evigilaveris. An jus hic regium asseruit? annon plebis ignaviam potius increpuit, quæ nobiles impunè dominari sineret, eosque mores regios jam rursus pateretur, quos jure suo majores illorum cum rege ipso finibus expulerant. Marcum Tullium saltem consuluisse; is te & Sallustium, & Samuelem etiam rectius interpretari docuisset. Qui pro C. Rabirio, “nemo,” inquit, “nostrum ignorat consuetudinem regiam; regum sunt hæc imperia, animadvertè & dicto pare;” aliâque hujusmodi ex poetis ibidem recitat, quæ non jus, sed “consuetudinem regiam” vocat, eaque legere & spectare nos ait debere, non “ut delectemur solum, sed ut cavere etiam & effugere discamus.” Vides quàm te malè multaverit Sallustius, quem tyrannis inimicissimum, juris tyrannici patronum attulisse te putabas. Nutare, mihi crede, & suum sibi occasum accelerare jus regium videtur, dum ruentis in modum tenuissima quæque sic arripit, seque sustinere iis testibus atque exemplis conatur, quæ tardiùs fortasse aliqui ruiturum vehementiùs proturbant. “Summum,” inquis, “jus, summa injuria est, id in regibus maximè locum habet; qui cum summo jure utuntur, ea faciunt in quibus Samuel dicit jus regis esse positum.” Miserum jus; quod tu jam ad extrema perductus, nisi per summam injuriam defendere ulterius non potes! Summum jus id dicitur, cum quis formulas legum sectatur, singulis penè literis immoratur, æquitatem non servat; aut scriptum jus callidè nimis & malitiosè interpretatur, ex quo illud proverbium Cicero ortum esse ait. Cum autem jus omne de fonte justitiæ manare certum sit, impius sis necesse est, qui “regem injustum esse, iniquum, violentum, raptorem esse, & quales esse solebant” qui pessimi erant, jus regis esse dicis, idque “prophetam populo insinuasse.” Quod enim jus summum aut remissum, scriptum aut non scriptum ad maleficia perpetranda esse potest? Id ne tibi de aliis concedere, de rege pernegare in mentem veniat, habeo quem tibi opponam, & puto regem, qui istiusmodi jus regium & sibi & Deo invisum esse profiteretur: Psal. 94. “an confortaretur tibi solium ærumnarum, formantis molestiam per statutum.” Noli igitur Deo hanc atrocissimam injuriam facere, quasi is regum pravitates & nefaria facinora jus esse regium doceret, qui etiam hoc nomine societatem cum improbis regibus se detestari docet, quòd molestiam & æumnas omnes populo juris regii titulo creare soleant. Noli Prophetam Dei falsò insimulare; quem, tu dum juris regii isto loco doctorem habere putas, non verum nobis affers Samuelem; sed, ut venefica illa, inanem umbram evocas; quâvis & illum ab inferis Samuelem non adeò mendacem fuisse credam, quin illud quod tu jus regium vocas, impotentiam potius tyrannicam dicturus fuisset. Jus datum sceleri legimus, tûque “licentiæ jure concessæ reges minùs bonos

bonos uti consuevisse" aïs. At jus hoc ad perniciem humani generis abs te introductum non esse à Deo datum probavimus; restat, ut sit à Diabolo; quod infra clariùs liquebit. "Hæc," inquis, "licentia dat posse, si velis;" & authorem hujus juris habere Ciceronem præ te fers. Nunquam ægrè facio ut testimonia tua recitem, tuis enim ipse testibus conficere te soles. Audi igitur verba Ciceronis in 4^{tâ} Philip. "Quæ causa justior est belli gerendi, quàm servitutis depulsio? in qua etiamsi non sit molestus dominus, tamen est miserrimum posse si velit." posse vi scilicet; nam de jure si loqueretur, repugnantia diceret, & ex justa belli causa injustam faceret. Non est igitur jus regium quod tu describis, sed injuria, sed vis, & violentia regum. Transis ab regia licentiâ ad privatam: "licet privato mentiri, licet ingrato esse." Licet & regibus; quid inde efficis? licebit ergo regibus impunè rapere, occidere, stuprare? Quid interest ad injuriæ gravitatem rex an latro, an aliunde hostis populum occidat, diripiat, in servitutem agat? eodem certè jure, & hunc & illum humanæ societatis inimicum, & pestem propulsare, atque ulcisci debemus; immo regem eò justius quòd is tot beneficiis & honoribus nostris auctus commissam sibi sub juramento publicam salutem prodat. Concedis postremò "leges dari à Mose secundum quas rex ille quandoque eligendus imperare debebat, quamvis diversas ab illo jure quod Samuel proposuit." Quod cum assertione tua dupliciter pugnat; cum enim regem legibus omnino solutum posueris, nunc obstrictum dicis: dein jus juri contrarium ponis Moïsi & Samuëlis, quod est absurdum. At "servi," inquit Propheta, "vos eritis regi." Ut servos fuisse non abnuerim, non jure tamen regio servi fuerunt, sed regum fortasse plurimorum usurpatione & injustitiâ. Illam enim petitionem obstinatam non jure regio, sed suo merito in pœnam illis cessuram propheta præmonuit. At verò si regi legibus soluto quicquid libet licuerit, profectò rex longè plus quàm dominus erit, populus infra omnium servorum infimos plus quàm infimus. Servus enim vel alienigena legem Dei vindicem injuriosum in dominum habebat; populus universus, libera nimirum gens, vindicem in terris neminem, nullam legem habebit, quò læsus, afflictus & spoliatus confugiat: à servitute regum Ægyptiorum ideo liberatus, ut uni ex fratribus suis durior si libeat servitute opprimendus traderetur. Quod cum neque divinæ legi nec rationi consentaneum sit, dubium nemini esse potest, quin propheta mores enarraverit, non jus regum, neque mores prorsus regum omnium; sed plurimorum. Descendis ad rabbinos, duosque adducis eadem, quâ priùs, infelicitate: nam caput illud de rege in quo R. Josès jus regium aiebat contineri, Deuteronomii esse, non Samuelis manifestum est. Samuelis enim ad terrorem duntaxat populo injiciendum pertinere rectissime quidem & contra te dixit R. Judas. Perniciosum enim est id jus nominari atque doceri quod injustitia planè est, nisi abusivè forsitan jus nominetur. Quo etiam pertinet versus 18. "Et exclamabitis die illa propter regem vestrum, sed non exaudiet vos Jehovah;" obstinatos nimirum ista pœna manebat, qui regem nolente Deo dari sibi voluerunt. Quamquam ista verba non prohibent, quo minus & vota & quidvis aliud tentare potuerint. Si enim clamare ad Deum contra regem populo licebat, licebat proculdubio omnem etiam aliam inire rationem honestam sese à tyrannide expediendi. Quis enim quovis malo cum premitur, sic ad Deum clamat ut cætera omnia quæ officii sunt sui negligat, ad otiosas tantum preces devolutus? Verum utcunque sit, quid hoc ad jus regium, quid ad jus nostrum? qui regem nec invito deo unquam petivimus, nec ipso dante accepimus, sed jure Gentium usi, nec jubente Deo nec vetante, nostris legibus constituimus. Quæ cum ita se habeant, non video quamobrem nobis laudi atque virtutitribuendum non sit, regem abjecisse; quandoquidem Israëlitis crimini est datum regem petisse. Quod etiam res ipsa comprobavit; nos enim qui regem, cum haberemus, deprecati sumus, tandem exauditos deus liberavit; illos, qui cum non haberent, à Deo efflagitabant, servire jussit; donec Babylone redeuntes ad pristinum reipub. statum reversi sunt. Ludum Talmudicum deinde aperis; quin & hoc sinistro augurio tentatum.

Dum

Dum enim regem non judicari cupis ostendere, ostendis ex Codice Sanhedrim “ regem nec judicari nec judicare;” quod cum petitione istius populi pugnat, qui ideo regem petebant, ut judicaret: id frustra refarcire studes; intelligi nempe id de regibus Postbabilonicis debere. At ecce tibi Maimonides, qui “ hanc inter reges Israëlitas & Judæos differentiam ponit: Davidis enim posteros judicare & judicari;” Israëlitis neutrum concedit. Occurris tibi, tecum enim litigas, aut cum Rabbiniis tuis; meam rem agis, Hoc “ primis in regibus locum non habuisse,” quia dictum est v. 17. “ vos eritis ei servi:” consuetudine scilicet, non jure; aut si jure, pœnas petendi regis, quamvis non sub hoc fortè vel sub illo, at sub plerisque luebant, quod nos non attingit. Tibi verò adversario opus non est, adeò semper tibi adversaris. Narras enim pro me, ut primò Aristobulus, post Jannæus cognomento Alexander, jus illud regium, non à synedrio juris custode, & interprete acceperint, sed paulatim sibi assumpserint, & senatu renitente usurpaverint: quorum in gratiam bella illa fabula de primoribus synedrii “ à Gabriele exanimatis” adinventata est, júsque hoc magnificum, quoniam niti maximè videris, “ regem” scilicet “ non judicari,” ex illa fabula plusquam anili, utpote rabbinicâ, confiatum esse fateris. Reges autem Hebræorum “ judicari posse, atque etiam ad verbera damnari” fusè docet Sichardus ex libris Rabbinicis, cui tu hæc omnia debes, & tamen obstrepere non erubescis. Quinimmo legimus ipsum Saulem cum filio Jonathane fortis judicium atque etiam capitale subiisse, suoque ipsum edicto paruisse. Uzias quoque à sacerdotibus templo deturbatus, lepræ judicio, tanquam unus è populo, se submisit, réxque esse desiit. Quid si templo excedere, quid si magistratu abire, & seorsim habitare noluisse, jus illud regium legibus solutum sibi asseruisset, an passuros fuisse censes Judæos, & sacerdotes templum contaminari, leges violari, populum universum contagione periclitari? In leprosum ergò regem vigeant leges, in tyrannum nihil poterunt? Ecquis tam demens, aut stultus est, ut existimet, cum rex morbosus nè populum contagione lædat, cautum atque provisum legibus sit, si rex impius, iniquus, crudelis populum diripiat, excruciet, occidat, rempub. funditus evertat, nullum his malis longè gravioribus remedium legibus repertum esse? Verum “ exemplum ullius regis afferri non potest, qui judicium capitis subierit in jus vocatus.” Ad illud Sichardus haud absurdè respondet, perinde esse, ac si quis ad hunc modum differeret. Cæsar nunquam citatus est coram Electore; ergò si Palatinus diem Cæsari dixerit, non tenetur Cæsar in judicio respondere. Cum tamen doceat Bulla aurea Carolum 4tum se & successores suos huic cognitioni subiecisse. Quid in corrupto populi statu regibus adeò indultum fuisse miramur, ubi tot privati aut opibus suis aut gratiâ impunitatem vel gravissimorum scelerum assequuntur. Illud autem ἀποκρίβωτον, id est, “ à nemine pendere, nulli mortalium rationem reddere,” quod tu regiæ Majestatis maximè proprium esse ais, Aristoteles Polit. 4. c. 10. maximè tyrannicum, & in libera natione minimè ferendum esse affirmat. Tu vero Antonium tyrannum immanissimum, Romanæ reipub. everforem, idoneum sanè authorem producis, non esse justum reposci à Rege factorum suorum rationem: & tamen Herodem cædis reum ad causam dicendam in Parthos proficiscens accersivit ad se Antonius: & animadversurus etiam in regem fuisse creditur, nisi rex eum auro corrumpisset. Ita ab eodem fonte profluxit regiæ potestatis Antoniana assertio, & tua “ regia defensio.” At non sine ratione, inquis, “ nam reges ab alio non habent quod regnant, sed soli Deo acceptum referunt.” Dic sodes quinam? nam istiusmodi reges existisse unquam, nego. Primus enim Saul, nisi populus refragante etiam deo regem voluisset, nunquam rex fuisset; & quamvis rex renuntiatus esset Mispæ, vixit tamen penè privatus, armentum patris secutus, donec Gilgale rex à populo secundum creatus est. Quid David? quamvis unctus à deo, nonne iterum unctus est ab Judæis Chebrone, deinde ab omnibus Hebræis, pacto tamen prius fœdere? 2 Sam. 5. 1 Chron. 11. fœdus autem obligat reges, & intra certos fines continet. Sedit Salomon, inquis, “ super solium Domini & cunctis placuit,” 1 Paralip. 29. ergo & placuisse populo aliquid erat.

Constituunt

Constituit Jehoiadas regem Joasum, foedus tamen eodem tempore pepigit inter regem & populum. 2 Reg. 11. Hos reges, necnon & reliquos Davidis posteros & à deo & à populo constitutos fateor; cæteros omnes, ubicunque gentium, à populo tantum constitutos esse affirmo; tu ostende constitutos esse à deo; nisi eâ solum ratione quâ omnia cum maxima tum minima à deo fieri & constitui dicuntur. Solum itaque Davidis peculiari quodam jure solium Jehovæ dicitur; solium aliorum regum non alio, atque cætera omnia, Jehovæ sunt. Quod tu ex eodem capite didicisse potuisti. v. 11, 12. “ tua sunt omnia in cælo & in terra, tuum est, Jehova, regnum, Divitiæ & gloria à facie tua sunt, vis & potentia, &c.” Diciturque hoc toties, non ut intumescant reges, sed ut moneantur, quamvis deos se esse putent, deum tamen supra se esse, cui debent omnia. Unde illa Essenorum & Poëtarum doctrina, reges “ non sine deo, & ab Jove esse” facile intelligitur; omnes enim homines à deo itidem sumus, deque genus. Jus igitur hoc universum dei, non tollit jus populi; quo minus omnes cæteri reges, non à deo nominati, regnum suum soli populo acceptum referant; cui propterea rationem reddere tenentur. Quod, quanquam Vulgus assentari regibus solet, ipsi tamen reges sive boni, ut Homericus ille Sarpedon, sive mali, ut illi apud Lycium tyranni, agnoscunt.

Γλαῦκε τίη δὴ νῶϊ τε τιμήμεσθα μάλιστα, &c.

Glauce cur nos maximo honore afficimur

In Lycia, omnes autem nos tanquam deos intuentur.

Ipsæ sibi respondet; quia virtute cæteris præluces: quare fortiter pugnemus, inquit, ne Lycii nobis ignaviam objiciant: quâ voce & honores regis à populo acceptos, & bellicæ administrationis rationem populo reddendam esse innuit. Mali autem reges, ut metum populo incutiant, deum imperii regii authorem palam prædicant: tacitis autem votis nullum numen præter Fortunam venerantur. Juxta illud Horatii.

Te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythæ,

Regumque matres barbarorum, &

Purpurei metuunt tyranni,

Injurioso ne pede proruas

Stantem columnam, neu populus frequens

Ad arma cessantes, ad arma

Concitet, imperiumque frangat.

Si ergo reges hodie per deum regnant, etiam populi per Deum in libertatem se vindicant, quandoquidem omnia à Deo & per Deum fiunt. Utrumque etiam æquè testatur Scriptura, & reges per eum regnare, & per eum solio dejici; cum tamen id utrumque longè sæpius à populo fieri perspiciamus, quàm à Deo. Jus itaque populi pariter ac regis, quicquid est, à Deo est. Populus ubicunque sine Deo manifesto regem creavit, potest eodem jure suo regem rejicere. Tyrannum sanè tollere quàm constituere divinius est; plûsque Dei cernitur in populo quoties injustum abdicat regem, quàm in rege qui innocentem opprimit populum. Immo reges noxios Deo authore judicat populus: hoc enim ipso honore dilectos suos decoravit deus, Psal. 149. ut Christum regem suum laudibus celebrantes, gentium reges, quales sub Evangelio sunt omnes tyranni, “ vinculis coërcerent, inque eos jus scriptum exercerent,” qui jure omni scripto atque legibus solutos se esse gloriantur. Ne quis tam stolidè, ne quis tam impiè credat tanti esse apud deum reges, ferè mortalium ignavissimos, ut eorum nutu orbis terrarum totus pendeat & gubernetur; eorum ut gratiâ, præque illis, divinum, ut ita dicam, hominum genus eodem quo bruta & vilissima quæque animalia loco atque numero habendum sit. Agè nunc, ne nihil enim agas, M. Aurelium,

relium, quasi tyrannis faventem, in medium profers; at satius tibi fuit Marcum Aurelium non attigisse. Ille an deum de principibus solum judicare dixerit nescio. Xiphilinus certè quem citas de ἀνταρχία loquitur; περὶ ἀνταρχίας ὁ Θεὸς μόνος κρίνειν δύναται. ἀνταρχίαν autem monarchiæ synonymum illic esse non assentior; eoque minùs quo sæpius præcedentia lego; nam quí cohæreat, aut quid sibi velit aliena illa sententia subitò insititia, qui legerit miretur; præsertim cùm Marcus Aurelius Imperatorum optimus, non aliter cum populo egerit, ut Capitolinus tradit, quàm est actum sub civitate liberâ; jus autem populi quin supremum tunc fuerit nemo dubitat. Idem Thraseam, Helvidium, Catonem, Dionem, Brutum tyrannicidas omnes, aut istam gloriam æmulantes coluisse, sibi que reipublicæ formam proposuisse in qua æquis legibus, parique jure omnia administrarentur, in primo libro de vita sua profitetur: in quarto, non se, sed legem, dominum esse. Agnovit etiam omnia Senatus populique esse: nos, inquit, adeò nihil proprium habemus, ut in vestris ædibus habitemus. Hæc Xiphilinus. Tantum abfuit ut quicquam jure regio sibi arrogaret. Moriens, filium suum regnaturum eâ lege Romanis commendavit, si dignus esset: jus itaque illud regnandi absolutum atque fictitium, tanquam à Deo per manus traditum, illam denique ἀνταρχίαν præ se non tulit. “Plena” tamen “omnia Græcorum & Latinorum monumenta esse” ais: at nusquam visa; “plena Judæorum,” & tamen addis “Judæos in plerisque regiæ potestati minùs æquos fuisse:” immò Græcos & Latinos multo minùs Tyrannis æquos & reperisti & reperies; multo minus Judæos, si liber ille Samuelis in quo is, 1 Sam. 10. jus regni descriperat, exstaret; quem librum Doctores Hebræorum à regibus discerptum aut combustum esse tradiderunt, quo impuniùs tyrannidem in suos exercerent. Circumspice jam, numquid captare possis: occurrit tibi rex David postremò torquendus, Psal. 17. “à facie tuâ judicium meum prodeat:” ergo, inquit Barnachmoni, “nullus judicat regem nisi Deus.” Et tamen similis veridetur, Davidem hæc scripsisse, cùm à Saule vexatus, ne Jónathanis quidem judicium, quàmvis jam tum unctus à Deo, detractabat; “si est in me iniquitas, tu me affice morte,” inquit, 1 Sam. 20. deinde ut quivis alius ab hominibus falsò accusatus, ad judicium Dei provocat; id sequentia declarant, “tui oculi vident quæ recta sunt, cùm exploraveris cor meum,” &c. quid hoc ad judicium regium, aut forense? Sanè jus regium illi maximè labefactant atque destruunt, qui fundamentis tam fallacibus niti, atque exædificari produnt. En tritum illud tandem, & aulicorum nostratium argumentum palmarium. “Tibi soli peccavi, Psal. 51. 6. quasi verò rex David in mœrore & lacrymis pœnitentiam agens, sordidatus & squalidus in terra jacens, misericordiam à Deo suppliciter petens, quicquam de jure regio cogitaverit hæc loquutus; cùm se vix jure mancipii dignum esse arbitraretur. An omnem Dei populum, fratres suos usque adeò præ se contempsit, ut cædibus, adulteriis, rapinis peccare in eos non se posse censeret? absit à rege tam sancto tanta superbia, tamque fœda ignoratio vel sui vel proximi. “Tibi” igitur “soli peccavi” proculdubio intelligendum est, tibi præcipuè. Utcunque sit, profectò verba psallentis, & sententiæ affectibus plenæ haudquaquam sunt ad jus explicandum accommodatæ, aut eò trahendæ. At “non est in jus vocatus, nec coram synedrio causam capitis dixit.” Esto; quí enim potuit id resciri, quod adeò sine arbitris, & secretò peractum fuit, ut per aliquot fortasse annos (cujusmodi aulæ arcana sunt) vix unus aut alter conscius fuisse videatur, 2 Sam. 12. “Tu hoc clàm fecisti.” Deinde quid si in privatis etiam puniendis cessaret synedrium? an quis inde puniendos non esse argumentabitur? Sed ratio obscura non est; ipse se condemnaverat. ver. 5. “reus capitis vir ille qui fecit hoc;” cui statim subjecit propheta, “tu vir ille es;” prophetæ etiam judicio capitis reus. Veruntamen Deus pro suo jure atque in Davidem eximiâ clementiâ, & peccato absolvit regem, & ipsa mortis sententiâ, quam is in semetipsum pronuntiaverat. v. 13. “non es moriturus. Nunc in advocatum nescio quem sanguinarium debacharis, & in eo totus es ut perorationem ejus resellas: de qua ipse viderit; ego quod

propositum mihi est, id ago ut quàm paucissimis absolvam. Quædam tamen prætere non possum; primum, insignes repugnantias tuas: qui p. 30. hæc habes. “Israëlitæ non deprecantur injustum regem, violentum, raptorem, & quales esse solerent qui pessimi. At p. 42. Advocatum vellicas quòd Israëlitas tyrannum petisse arguerat. “An de fumo” inquis “in flammam ire præcipites maluerunt, id est, sævitiam pessimorum tyrannorum experiri potiùs quàm judices malos pati quibus jam assueverant.” Illic Hebræos maluisse aïs tyrannos quàm judices, hìc judices maluisse quàm tyrannos; & “nihil minùs quàm tyrannum voluisse.” De tuo igitur respondebit tibi Advocatus, juxta enim te omnis rex jure regio tyrannus est. Quod sequitur bene habet, “authoritatem in populo maximam tunc fuisse, quòd judices repudiârunt, regem optârunt.” Memineris, cùm hoc ego à te reposcam. Negas “Deum iratum Israëlitis regem tanquam tyrannum aut pœnam attribuisse, sed ut rem salutarem & bonam.” Quod tamen facilè refellitùr. Cur enim exclamarent propter regem illum quem elegerant, nisi quòd res mala erat imperium regium; non quidem per se, sed quòd plerunque, sicut Propheta hic monet, in superbiam & dominationem se convertit. Si adhuc non satisfacio, agnosce jam tua, syngrapham agnosce tuam & erubescere. Apparat. ad primatum, “Iratu Deum regem illis dedit offensu eorum peccatis, quòd Deum habere regem renuissent. Ita Ecclesia quasi in pœnam ejus delicti, quòd à puro Dei cultu desciverat, in unius mortalis monarchæ plusquam regium dominatum data est.” Tua igitur similitudo si sibi constat, aut dedit Deus regem Israëlitis in pœnam, & tanquam rem malam, aut dedit Papam ecclesiæ in bonum, & tanquam rem bonam. Quid hoc homine levius, quid infanlius? Quis huic in re minimâ fidem habeat, qui tantis in rebus quid asserat, & mox neget, nihil pensi habet. Affirmas. p. 29. “regem legibus solutum esse apud omnes Gentes, sic Oriens judicavit, sic occidens.” At. p. 43. “omnes reges Orientis κατὰ νόμον & legitimos fuisse; immò Ægypti reges in maximis minimisque rebus legibus obstrictos, cùm initio capitis hoc te probaturum pollicitus sis, omnes reges “solutos legibus” esse, “leges dare, non accipere.” Equidem non irascor tibi; aut enim infanis, aut stas à nobis. Hoc certè oppugnare est, non defendere, hoc regem est ludos facere. Sin minùs, Catullianum profectò illud * in te aptissimè quadrat, sed inversum; nam quantò quis unquam optimus poëta fuit, tantò tu pessimus omnium patronus. Certè nisi stupor ille quo Advocatum esse “demersum” aïs, te potiùs obcæcavit, jam tute “obrutuisse” te senties. Nunc “omnibus quoque gentium regibus leges datas fuisse” fateris; “non tamen ut iis tenerentur, judiciorum metu & pœnæ capitis.” Quod nequedum ex scripturâ, neque ex ullo authore fide digno ostendisti. Tu igitur paucis accipe: leges civiles iis dare qui legibus non tenentur, stultum & ridiculum est; omnes alios punire, uni duntaxat omnium scelerum impunitatem dare, cùm lex neminem excipiat, iniquissimum est. Quæ duo in sapientes legumlatore minimè cadunt, multò minùs in Deum. Ut omnes autem videant te nullo modo ex Hebræorum scriptis id probare, quod probandum hoc capite suscepas, esse ex magistris tuâ sponte confiteris, “qui negant alium suis majoribus regem agnoscendum fuisse præter Deum, datum autem in pœnam fuisse.” Quorum ego in sententiam pedibus eo. Non decet enim, neque dignum est regem esse, nisi qui cæteris omnibus longè antecellit; ubi multi sunt æquales, ut sunt in omni civitate plurimi, imperium ex æquo atque per vices dandum esse arbitror: æquali, aut plerunque deteriori, ac sæpissime stulto servire omnes, quis non indignissimum putet? Nec “ad commendationem regalis imperii” plus “facit,” quòd Christus à regibus originem duxit, quàm facit ad pessimorum regum commendationem, Christum eos habuisse nepotem. “Rex est Messias:” agnoscimus, gaudemus, & quàm citissimè veniat oramus; dignus enim est, nec ei quisquam similis aut secundus; interim regia gubernatio commissâ indignis & immerentibus, ut plerumque fieri solet, plus

* Tantò pessimus omnium Poeta,
Quantò tu optimus omnium Patronus.

mali quàm boni attulisse humano generi rectè existimatur. Nec continuò sequitur omnes reges tyrannos esse. Verùm ita esto : do tibi hoc, ne me nimis tenacem putes ; utere tu jam dato. “ Hæc duò sequuntur,” inquis, “ Deus ipse rex fuerit tyrannorum dicendus, & quidem tyrannus ipse maximus.” Horum alterum si non sequitur, sequitur profectò illud quod toto libro tuo semper ferè sequitur, te non scripturæ solùm, sed tibimet perpetuò contradicere, ut qui proxima periodo suprà dixeras, “ unum deum “ regem esse omnium rerum, quas & ipse creavit.” Creavit autem & tyrannos & Dæmonas ; eorum itaque rex vel tuâ ipsius sententiâ. In alterum despuimus, & blasphemum illud tibi os obturatum volumus, qui deum affirmes tyrannum esse maximum, si tyrannorum, quod ipse sæpius dicis, rex & dominus dicatur. Sed nec rem regiam multò plus adjuvas, dum ostendis, Mosen etiam cum “ summa potestate regem fuisse.” Nam fuerit sanè, vel quivis alius, dummodò is sit qui res nostras, quemadmodum Moses, “ ad Deum referre ” possit. Exod. xviii. 19. Verùm neque Mosi, quamquam is Dei quasi sodalis fuit, licuit in Dei populo quicquid libuit facere. Quid enim ille ? “ Venit ad me hic populus,” inquit, “ ad consulendum Deum ;” non ergò ad mandata Mosis accipienda. Tum suscipit Jethro, “ esto tu pro hoc populo erga Deum, & commonefacias eos de legibus Dei.” Et Moses, Deut. iv. 5. “ docui vos statuta & judicia, quemadmodum præcepit mihi Deus.” Unde “ fidelis ” dicitur “ in totâ domo Dei.” Num. xii. Rex itaque Jehova tum populi fuit ; Moses veluti interpres tantùm Jehovæ regis. Impium igitur & sacrilegum te esse oportet, qui summam hanc potestatem à Deo ad hominem injussus ausis transferre, quam ipse Moses non summam sed vicariam tantùm & intermediam sub præsentis numine obtinuit. Accedit etiam cumulus ad improbitatem tuam, quòd Mosen hic summâ potestate regem fuisse dicas ; cùm in apparatu ad primatum,” p. 230. “ Eum in commune cum Lxx senioribus populum rexisse ; & primum populi, non dominum fuisse ” dixeris. Si igitur rex fuit, ut erat certè, & regum optimus, idque sicut ipse ais, cum “ potestate planè summâ & regia,” nec tamen dominus, neque solus populum regebat, vel te authore, necessariò sequitur, reges, quamvis summâ potestate præditos, jure tamen regio atque summo, non esse dominos, neque solos populum regere debere ; quantò minus ad libitum suum. Jam verò quâ impudentiâ Dei mandatum ementiris, “ de rege statim, atque ingressi essent terram sanctam sibi constituendo.” Deut. xvii. suppressis enim veteratoriè quod præcedit, “ si dixeris, statuam super me regem ;” túque memento quid à te jam reposcam ; cùm dixeris, p. 42. “ liberrimâ tunc potestate populus erat præditus.” Nunc iterum fanaticus an profanus esse velis, ipse videris. “ Deus,” inquis, “ cùm tanto ante determinaverit regium regimen instituendum tanquam optimum populi illius regendi statum, quomodo hæc conciliabuntur ? Propheta repugnavit, Deus sic egit cum propheta, ut quasi nollet.” Videt se illaqueatum, videt se impeditum : jam attendite quantâ cum malitiâ adversus prophetam, impietate adversus Deum, expedire se quærat : “ cogitandum in his est,” inquit, “ Samuelem esse cujus filii populum tunc judicabant, eos populus repudiabat ob corrupta judicia ; Samuel igitur noluit filios suos à populo rejici ; Deus ut gratificaretur prophetæ suo, innuit non valdè sibi placere, quod populus desideraret.” Dic uno verbo improbe, quod per ambages dicis ; Samuel populo fucum fecit, Samueli Deus. Non advocatus ergò, sed tu “ ceritus ” ille & “ lymphaticus ” es, qui modò ut regem honores, níl Deum revereris. Isne tibi Samuel videtur, qui salutis aut charitati patriæ filiorum avaritiam & ambitionem præposuerit, qui populo recta & salutaria petenti, tam callido consilio, tamque vafro illuserit, falsa pro veris docuerit ? Isne tibi Deus, qui in re tam turpi cuivis gratificaretur, aut cum populo simulatè ageret ? Aut ergò jus regium non erat quod Propheta populo exposuit, aut jus illud, teste Deo & Prophetâ, malum, molestum, violentum, inutile, sumptuosum reipub. erat ; aut denique, quod nefas est dicere, & Deus & Propheta populo verba dare voluerunt. Passim enim testatur Deus valdè sibi displicuisse quòd regem petissent. ver. 7. “ Non te sed me spreverunt ne regnem super ipsos, secundum illa facta quibus dereliquerunt me

& coluerunt Deos alienos :” ac si species quædam idololatriæ videretur regem petere, qui adorari se, & honores propè divinos tribui sibi postulat. Sanè qui supra omnes leges terrenum sibi dominum imponit, propè est ut sibi Deum statuatur alienum ; Deum utique haud sæpe rationabilem, sed profligatâ sæpiùs ratione brutum, & belluinum. Sic i Sam. x. 19. “ Vos spreveritis Deum vestrum qui ipse servat vos ab omnibus malis, & angustiis vestris, cùm dixistis ei, regem præpones nobis.” & cap. xii. 12. Vos regem petistis, “ cùm Jehova sit rex vester.” & ver. 17. “ Videte malum vestrum magnum esse coram Jehova petendo vobis regem.” Et contemptim Hosea de rege, xiii. 10, 11. “ Ubi rex tuus, ubinam est ? servet te jam in civitatibus tuis. Ubi vindices tui ? quoniam dixisti, da mihi regem & procures : dedi tibi regem in ira mea.” Hinc Gedeon ille Heros rege major, “ Non dominabor in vos, neque filius meus in vos dominabitur, sed dominabitur in vos Jehova,” Jud. viii. planè ac si simul docuisset, non hominis esse dominari in homines, sed solius Dei. Hinc Hebræorum rempublicam, in qua Deus principatum solus tenuit, *θεοκρατίαν* vocat Josephus contra Apionem Grammaticum Ægyptium & maledicum tui similem. Populus denique resipiscens apud Isaiam, xxvi. 13. calamitosum hoc sibi fuisse queritur, quòd alios præter Deum dominos habuerat. Indicio sunt hæc omnia regem irato Deo Isrælitis fuisse datum. In historia tyranni Abimelechi quis est cui non risum moveas ? de quo dicitur, cùm is partim saxo à muliere, partim armigeri gladio interfectus fuerit, “ reddidit Deus malum Abimelechi. Hæc,” inquis, “ historia potentissimè adstruit Deum solum regum judicem esse & vindicem :” immo tyrannorum, nebulonum, nothorum, si hoc valebit : quicumque per fas aut nefas tyrannidem occupaverit, is jus regium statim in populum adeptus erit, poenas effugit, confestim arma magistratui de manibus fluent, mussare deinceps populus non audebit. Verùm quid si magnus aliquis latro hoc modo in bello periisset, an Deus ergò solus latronum vindex ? Quid si carnificis manu lege damnatus, an ideo minùs illi Deus malum reddidisset ? Ne judices quidem eorum unquam legisti lege postulatòs ; tamen “ in optimatum statu vel principem, si quid committat, posse ac debere judicari,” ultrò fateris, p. 47. cur non item tyrannus in regno ? quia Deus reddidit malum Abimelechi. At reddidit quoque mulier illa, reddidit etiam armiger, in quos ille ambos jus regium habere præ se tulit. Quid si reddidisset magistratus, annon is idcirco Dei gladium gerit, ut malum malis reddat ? Ab hoc “ potentissimo ” de morte Abimelechi argumento ad verborum contumelias more suo se convertit ; nil nisi “ cœnum & lutum ” ore funditat ; cùm eorum quæ promisit se probaturum, nihil vel ex sacris libris, vel ex rabbinicis probaverit. Nam neque regem legibus solutum esse, nec cur puniri, si delinquat, solus mortalium non debeat, quicquam ostendit. Immo suis ipse testibus se induit, & sententiam suæ contrariam esse veriorè suomet ipse opere demonstrat. Cùmque argumentis parùm proficiat, criminationibus atrocissimis omnium in nos odium excitare conatur, quasi rege optimo & innocentissimo crudeliter sublato. “ An Solomon,” inquit, “ melior Rex Carolo primo fuit ?” Sunt, ut verum fatear, qui patrem ejus Jacobum cum Solomone comparare non dubitârunt, & natalibus quidem anteferre. Solomon Davidis filius ; is primò Saulis musicus erat ; Jacobus Darlii comitis filius, qui Davidem musicum, reginæ uxoris thalamos nocte ingressum, cum ostio pessulum obdidisse deprehendit, haud multò post interfecit, ut narrat Buchananus. Natalibus ergò illustrior Jacobus, & secundus Solomon sæpe dictus, quàmvis Davidis musici filius an fuerit, dubium sit. At Carolum conferre cum Solomone quî tibi in mentem venire potuerit non video. Quem enim tu Carolum tot laudibus tollis, ejus pervicaciam, avaritiam, crudelitatem, & sævum in omnes piòs atque bonos dominatum, ejus bella, incendia, rapinas, & miserorum civium cædes innumeras, dum hæc scribo, Carolus ipse filius in illa publicæ poenitentiae sedeculâ apud Scotos coram populo confitetur atque deplorat : immò tuum illud regium jus ejurat. Verùm si Parallelis tantopere delectaris, Carolum cum Solomone conferamus. Solomon à meritissimo “ fratris ” supplicio “ regnum auspicatus est :” Carolus à patris funere ; non dico à nece, quamvis indicia

veneni omnia in corpore patris mortui conspecta sint ; ista enim suspicio in Bucchinghamio constitit ; quem tamen Carolus, & regis interfectorem & sui patris, non solum in comitiis omni culpâ exemit, sed ne omnino res ea Senatus cognitioni subjiceretur, comitia dissolvit. Solomon “ gravissimis tributis populum pressit : ” at ille in templum Dei, & ædificia publica impendit, Carolus in luxum. Solomon à plurimis uxoribus ad Idolorum cultum pellectus est, hic ab unâ. Pellectus in fraudem Solomon, pellexisse alios non legitur ; hic alios, non solum uberrimis corruptæ Ecclesiæ præmiis pellexit, sed etiam edictis & canonibus ecclesiasticis coëgit, ut invisa reformatis omnibus altaria statuerent, & pictos in pariete crucifixos altaribus imminentes adorarent. At non est ideo “ Solomon à populo capitis damnatus. ” Nec inde, inquam, sequitur damnari à populo non debuissè ; multa enim incidere potuerunt, cur id tum expedire populo non videretur. Populus certè quid sui juris esset haud multo post & verbis & factis patefecit : cùm Solomonis filium decem tribus expulerunt ; & nisi maturè se in fugam conjecisset, etiam lapidibus regem tantummodò minacem obruituros fuisse credibile est.

C A P U T III.

CUM fatis jam disputatum atque conclusum sit, reges Mosæicos ex præscripto Dei omnibus obstrictos legibus pariter cum populo fuisse, nullas legum exceptiones perscriptas inveniri, ut reges “ quod vellent, impunè possent, ” aut ut “ à populo puniri ne possint ; Deum ” proinde “ vindictam de his tribunali suo reservâsse ” falsissimum esse, sine auctore, sine ratione dictum, videamus an id suadeat Evangelium, quod diffusit lex, non imperavit : videamus an Evangelium, divinum illud libertatis præconium, nos in servitutem addicat regibus & tyrannis, quorum ab impotenti imperio etiam servitutis cujusdam magistra lex vetus populum Dei liberavit. Primum argumentum ducis à personâ Christi, quem quis nescit non privati solum, sed etiam servi personam ideo sumpsisse, ut nos liberi essemus. Neque hoc de interna tantum libertate intelligendum est, non de civili ; quàm enim aliena sunt ista quæ Maria, mater Christi, ejus in adventu cecinit, “ superbos dissipavit cogitatione cordis ipsorum, detraxit dynastas è thronis, humiles evexit, ” si adventus ejus tyrannos potius in solio stabiliret, Christianos omnes eorum sævissimo imperio subjiceret. Ipse sub tyrannis nascendo, serviendo, patiundo omnem honestam libertatem nobis acquisivit : ut possè servitutem, si necesse est, æquo animo pati, sic possè ad libertatem honestè aspirare non abstulit Christus, sed majorem in modum dedit. Hinc Paulus, 1 Cor. vii. non de evangelica solum, sed de civili libertate sic statuit. “ Servus vocatus es ? ne sit tibi curæ ; si autem potes liber fieri, potius utere ; pretio empti estis, ne estote servi hominum. ” Frustra igitur ab exemplo Christi ad servitutem nos hortaris, qui suæ servitutis pretio libertatem nobis etiam civilem confirmavit. Et formam quidem servi nostrâ vice suscepit, animum verò liberatoris nunquam non retinuit : unde jus regium quid sit, longè aliter docuisse ostendam, atque tu doces ; qui non regii, sed tyrannici juris, idque in republicâ novus professor, si qua gens tyrannum sive hæreditarium, sive adventitium, sive fortuitum fortita erit, eam non solum necessitate, sed etiam religione servam esse statuis. Tuis autem, ut soleo, in te utar testimoniis. Interrogavit Petrum Christus, cùm ab eo coactores quidam Galilæi didrachma exigebant, Mat. xvii. à quibus acciperent reges terræ tributa, sive censum, à filiis suis, an ab alienis ? respondet ei Petrus, ab alienis. Ergò, inquit Christus, “ liberi sunt filii ; sed ne offendamus illos, da iis pro me & pro te. ” Variè hic locus interpretes exercet, cuinam persolverentur hæc didrachma, alii sacerdotibus in sanctuarium, alii Cæsari : ego quidem Herodi persoluta, interverso Sanctuarii reditu, sentio fuisse. Varia enim ab Herode & filiis ejus exacta tributa, ab Agrippa tandem remissa narrat Josephus. Hoc autem tributum per se exiguum, multis aliis ad-

junctum,

junctum, grave erat : gravia autem fuerint oportet de quibus hic Christus loquitur, alio-
 qui, in republica etiam, pauperes capite censi fuerunt. Hinc itaque Christus Herodis
 injustitiam arguendi, cujus sub ditione erat, occasionem cepit. Qui, cum cæteri reges
 terræ (siquidem patriæ parentes dici se cupiant) non filiis, id est, civibus suis, sed alie-
 nis, bello nempe subactis graviora tributâ imperare soleant, hic contra non alienos, sed
 filios opprimeret. Utcunque sit, siue filios hîc, cives regum proprios, siue filios Dei,
 id est, fideles & in universum Christianos intelligi concedas, ut intelligit Augustinus,
 certissimum est, si filius fuit Petrus, & proinde liber, nos etiam authore Christo liberos
 esse : vel ut cives, vel ut Christianos : non esse ergò juris regii à filiis & liberis tributa
 graviora exigere. Testatur enim Christus persolvissè se, non quod deberet, sed ne illos
 offendendo qui exigebant, negotium sibi privatus exhiberet : cum officium ac munus
 longissimè diversum in illo vitæ suæ curriculo explendum sibi esset. Dum igitur negat
 Christus jus regium esse, graviora vectigalia liberis imponere, certè spoliare, diripere,
 occidere, excruciare proprios cives, & præsertim Christianos, jus esse regium multò evi-
 dentiùs negat. Hunc in modum de jure regio cum & aliàs disputasse videatur, venire
 in suspicionem quibusdam cœpit, non se tyrannorum licentiam pro jure regio habere.
 Non enim de nihilo erat quòd Pharisei interrogatione hujusmodi animum ejus tentarent,
 quòd de jure regio percontaturi, eum neminem curare, non respicere personam hominum
 dixerint ; neque de nihilo, quòd is proposita sibi istiusmodi quæstione irasceretur, Mat.
 xxii. An te quispiam si insidiosè aggredi, si loquentem captare vellet, si elicere ex te
 quod fraudi futurum tibi sit, de jure regio sub rege interrogaret ? an tu cuipiam de
 istoc interroganti irascerere ? non opinor. Vel hinc ergò perspicias, non id eum de jure
 regio sensissè quod regibus gratum erat. Idem ex responso ejus apertissimè colligitur,
 quo ille percontatores amandare à se potiùs quàm docere videtur. Poscit numisma cen-
 sùs ; “Cujus,” inquit, “imago ista est ? Cæsaris. Reddite ergo Cæsari quæ sunt
 Cæsaris, quæ Dei sunt Deo.” Immo quæ populi sunt populo reddenda esse quis ne-
 scit ? Reddite omnibus quod debetis, inquit Paulus, Rom. xiii. non ergò Cæsari
 omnia. Libertas nostra non Cæsaris, verùm ab ipso Deo natale nobis donum est ; eam
 Cæsari cuivis reddere, quam ab eo non accepimus, turpissimum esset, & humana ori-
 gine indignissimum. Si enim os hominis, & vultum aspiciens interrogaret quisquam,
 cujus ista imago esset, annon facilè quivis responderet Dei esse ? Cùm igitur Dei simus,
 id est, verè liberi, ob eamque causam soli Deo reddendi, profectò Cæsari nos, id est,
 homini, & præsertim injusto, improbo, tyranno in servitutem tradere, sine piaculo,
 & quidem maximo sacrilegio non possumus. Interim quæ Cæsaris sint, quæ Dei, in
 medio relinquit. Quòd si idem erat hoc numisma quod didrachmum illud Deo pendi
 solitum, ut certè postea sub Vespasiano fuit, tum sanè controversiam non minuit
 Christus, sed implicavit : cùm impossibile sit Deo & Cæsari idem simul reddere. At
 enim ostendit quæ Cæsaris essent ; numisma nempe illud Cæsaris imagine signatum.
 Quid igitur inde lucraris præter denarium vel Cæsari vel tibi ? - Aut enim Cæsari
 Christus præter denarium illud nihil dedit, cætera omnia nobis asseruit, aut si quicquid
 pecuniæ Cæsaris nomine inscriptum esset, id Cæsari dedit, contrarius jam sibi, nostra
 ferè omnia Cæsari dabit, qui duo modò didrachma regibus non se ex debito persolvere,
 & suo & Petri nomine professus est. Ratio denique infirma est quâ niteris ; non enim
 principis effigiem habet moneta ut principis esse, sed ut probam se esse moneat ; utque
 se principis nomine insignitam ne quis audeat adulterare. Sin autem ad jus regium in-
 scriptio tantum valeret, reges profectò nostras omnium facultates, uti essent suæ, sola
 nominis inscriptione statim perficerent ; aut si nostra omnia jam sua sunt, quod tuum
 dogma est, non idcirco Cæsari numisma illud reddendum erat, quia Cæsaris nomen aut
 imaginem prætulit, sed quia Cæsaris jam antea jure erat, nulla licèt imagine signatum.
 Ex quo manifestum est, Christum hoc in loco non tam nos officii nostri erga reges aut
 Cæsares ita perplexè atque ambiguè admonere voluisse, quàm Phariseos hypocritas im-
 probitatis

probitatis & malitiæ arguere. Quid ? rursus cùm ei nuntiarent Pharisei, Herodem ejus vitæ insidias parare, an humile aut demissum ab eo responsum tyranno reddendum tulerunt ? Immo “ite,” inquit, “& dicite vulpi illi ;” innuens reges non jure regio, sed vulpino civibus suis insidiari. Atqui “sub tyranno supplicium mortis subire sustinuit.” Enimverò quî potuit nisi sub tyranno ? “supplicium sub tyranno passus est ;” ergò ad injustissima quævis juris regii testis & assertor : egregius tu quidem officiorum ratiocinator es. Verùm Christus quamvis nostri liberandi, non sub jugum mittendi causâ servum se fecerit, tamen ad hunc modum se gessit ; nec juri quicquam regio præter æquum & bonum concessit. Nunc ad præcepta ejus hac de re aliquando veniamus. Zebedæi filios maximam in regno Christi, quod mox in terris futurum somniabant, dignitatem affectantes, sic Christus corripuit, ut omnes simul Christianos commonefaceret quale jus magistratûs & imperii civilis apud eos constitui voluerit. “Scitis,” inquit, “principes gentium in eas dominari, & magnates auctoritatem exercere in eas, verùm non ita erit inter vos. Sed quicumque volet inter vos magnus fieri, esto vester minister ; & quicumque volet inter vos primus esse, esto vester servus ?” Hæc tu nisi mente captus tecum facere credidisses ? hisne te argumentis vincere, ut reges nostros rerum dominos existimemus ? Tales in bello hostes nobis contingant, qui in castra hostium (quanquam & armatos vincere sat scimus) uti tu soles, cæci atque inermes tanquam in suos incidant : ita semper quod tibi maximè adversatur, id demens veluti firmissimum causæ tuæ subsidium comparare consuevisti. Petebant Israëlitæ regem, “ut habebant omnes istæ gentes :” dissuasit Deus multis verbis, quæ Christus hic summatim complexus est, “scitis principes gentium in eas dominari :” petentibus tamen iis dedit regem Deus, quamvis iratus : Christus, ne peteret omnino Christianus populus more gentium dominaturum, adhibitâ cautione antevertit ; “inter vos non ita erit.” Quid hoc clariùs dici potuit ? non erit inter vos ista regum superba dominatio, tametsi specioso titulo Euergetæ & benefici vocentur ; sed qui magnus inter vos fieri vult, quis autem principe major, “esto vester minister :” & qui primus sive “princeps (Luc. xxii.) esto vester servus.” Non erravit itaque Advocatus ille quem insectaris, sed authorem habuit Christum, si regem Christianum populi ministrum esse dixit, uti est certè omnis bonus magistratus. Rex autem inter Christianos aut omninò non erit, aut erit servus omnium ; si planè vult esse dominus, esse simul Christianus non potest. Quin & Moses, legis quodammodo servilis institutor, non populo tamen superbè dominabatur, sed onus ipse populi ferebat ; ferebat in sinu populum, ut nutricius lactantem. Num. xi. nutricius autem servus est. Plato non dominos, sed servatores & adjuutores populi appellandos esse magistratus docuit ; populum non servos, sed altores magistratuum, ut qui alimenta & stipendia magistratibus etiam regibus præbeant. Eisdem Aristoteles custodes & ministros legum vocat, Plato & ministros & servos. Ministros Dei Apostolus quidem appellat, quod tamen nequaquam obstat quò minùs sint & legum & populi ; tam leges enim quàm magistratus propter populum sunt. Et tamen hanc tu “Fanaticorum Angliæ Molossorum opinionem” esse clamitas. Molossos esse Anglos certè non putarem, nisi quòd tu illos, hybrida, latratu tam degeneri oblatras ; Lupi, si diis placet, Sancti Dominus : Lupus nimirum sanctus queritur Molossos esse fanaticos. Germanus olim, cujus ille Lupus Trecafinus collega fuit, incesto apud nos regi Vortigerno auctoritate suâ regnum abrogavit. Sanctus itaque Lupus talem te Lupi non sancti, sed famelici cujuspîam & latrunculi dominum, illo apud Martialem viperarum domino viliozem, aspernatur : qui & latrantem ipsè domi, ut ferunt, Lyciscam habes, quæ tibi miserè dominatur ; cujus partim impulsu etiam scripsisse hæc diceris ; unde mirum non est velle te regiam dominationem aliis obtrudere, qui fœmineum ipse domi dominatum ferre tam serviliter assuevisti. Sis itaque Lupi Dominus, sit Lupa tuâ domina, sis Lupus ipse, sis Lycanthropus, molossis meherculè Anglicanis ludibrium debes. Verùm lupos venari nunc non est otium ; sylvis itaque egressi, in viam regiam redeamus.

Qui

Qui contra omnem in ecclesia primatum nuper scripsisti, nunc “ Petrum Apostolicæ coronæ principem appellas.” Quis tibi autoritate tam fluxâ homunculo fidem habeat? Quid Petrus? “ subjecti estote omni humanæ ordinationi propter Dominum, sive regi ut supereminenti, sive præsidibus, ut qui per eum mittantur, ad ultionem quidem facinororum, laudem verò beneficientium; quoniam ita est voluntas Dei.” Scripsit hæc Petrus non solùm privatis, sed etiam advenis per minorem ferè Asiam dispersis, atque dispalatis; qui in iis ubi degebant locis nullius juris præterquam hospitalis capaces erant. An tu incolas, liberos, nobiles, indigenarum conventus, comitia, parlamenta idem in sua patriâ, quod sparsos & peregrinos in aliena decere putas? an idem privatos decere in sua, quod senatores & magistratus, sine quibus ne reges quidem esse possunt? fac tamen indigenas fuisse, fac non privatos, sed Senatum ipsum Romanum, cui hæc scripta sunt. Quid inde assequeris? cùm nullum præceptum cui ratio aliqua adjuncta est, quenquam ultra illam præcepti rationem obligare aut soleat aut possit. “ Estote subjecti, ὑποτάγητε, id est, si vim verbi spectes, subordinati, seu legitimè subjecti, ἡ γὰρ τάξις νόμος inquit Aristoteles, lex est ordo. “ Subjecti estote propter Dominum.” Quamobrem? quia cùm rex, tum præses constituitur à Deo ad ultionem facinororum, laudem beneficientium. “ Quoniam ita voluntas est Dei.” Videlicet ut talibus obsequamur, quales hic describuntur; de aliis nullum hic verbum. Vides quam optimè huius præcepti constet ratio; addit. v. 16. “ ut liberi,” non ergò ut mancipia. Quid si versâ vice ad crucem & perniciem bonorum, ad impunitatem & laudem & præmia facinororum regnent? an in perpetuum subjecti erimus non privati solùm, sed primores, sed magistratus omnes, ipse denique Senatus? Annon humana ordinatio dicitur? cur ergò potestas humana, ad constituendum quod hominibus bonum & salubre est, valebit, ad tollendum quod iisdem malum & exitiosum est, non valebit? Atqui rex ille, cui subjecti esse iubentur, erat Romæ eâ tempestate Nero tyrannus; ergò tyrannis etiam subjecti esse debemus. At inquam, & dubium hoc est, Nero an Claudius tunc temporis rerum potiretur, & illi qui subjecti esse iubentur, advenæ, dispersi, privati, non consules, non prætores, non Senatus Romanus erant. Nunc Paulum adeamus (quoniam tu quod nobis de regibus licere non vis, id tibi de Apostolis licere autumas, ut principatum Petro modò des, modò eripias) Paulus hæc ad Romanos. c. xiii. “ omnis anima potestatibus supereminentibus subjecta esto, non est enim potestas nisi à Deo, quæ autem sunt potestates à Deo sunt ordinatæ:” Romanis hæc scribit, non, ut Petrus, advenis, dispersis, sed privatis tamen potissimum & plebeiis; ita etiam scribit, ut totam reipub. administrandæ rationem, originem, finem luculentissimè doceat. Quò magis obedientiæ quoque nostræ vera ac distincta ratio, ab omni servitute disjuncta eluceret. “ Omnis anima,” hoc est quisque homo “ subjectus esto.” Quid sibi Apostolus proponat hoc capite satis explanavit Chrysostomus, ποιεῖ τὰτο δεικνύς, &c. “ facit hoc,” inquit, “ ut ostendat Christum leges suas non ad hoc induxisse, ut communem politiam everteret, sed ut in melius statueret.” Non ergò ut Neronem, aut tyrannum quemvis alium supra omnem legem & pœnam constituendo, crudelissimum unius imperium in omnes mortales constabiliret. “ Utque simul doceret superflua & inutilia bella non esse suscipienda,” non ergò bella damnat contra tyrannum, hostem patriæ intestinum, atque adeò periculosissimum suscepta. “ Pervulgatus tunc erat hominum sermo traducens apostolos tanquam seditiosos, & novatores quasi omnia ad evertendum leges communes & facerent & dicerent; his nunc ora obstruit.” Non ergò tyrannorum defensiones conscripserunt Apostoli, quod tu facis, sed ea fecerunt, ea docuerunt, quæ suspecta omnibus tyrannis defensione apud illos potiùs, & interpretatione quadam egebant. Propositum Apostolo quid fuerit ex Chrysostomo vidimus; nunc verba scrutemur. “ Omnis anima potestatibus supereminentibus subjecta esto,” quæ tamen istæ sint non statuit: non enim jura atque instituta omnium nationum abolere, unius libidini omnia permittere in animo erat. Certè optimus quisque imperator auctoritatem legum &

Senatûs autoritate suâ longè superiorem semper agnovit. Idem apud omnes nationes non barbaras jus semper sanctissimum fuit. Unde Pindarus apud Herodotum νόμον πάντων βασιλέα legem omnium regem esse dixit; Orpheus in hymnis non mortalium solum, sed immortalium etiam regem appellat.

Ἀθανάτων καλέω καὶ θνητῶν ἀγνὸν ἀνακλῆ
Οὐράνιον νόμον.——

Reddit rationem. Αὐτὸς γὰρ μόνος ζῶων ὄηκα κρατύνει. “Lex enim sola viventium gubernaculum tenet.” Plato in legibus τὸ κρατύνει ἐν τῇ πόλει, id quod in civitate plurimum debet posse, legem esse ait. In epistolis eam maximè rempub. laudat, ubi lex, & domina & rex hominum, non homines tyranni legum sunt. Eadem Aristotelis sententia in Politicis, eadem Ciceronis in legibus, ita leges præesse magistratibus, ut magistratus præsent populo. Cùm itaque sapientissimorum virorum judicio, prudentissimarum civitatum institutis lex semper potestas summa atque suprema habita sit, nec evangelii doctrina cum ratione aut cum jure gentium pugnet, is utique potestatibus supereminentibus verissimè subjectus erit, qui legibus & magistratibus juxta leges Rempub. gubernantibus ex animo paret. Non ergò solum populo subjectionem hanc, sed regibus etiam præcipit; qui supra leges nequaquam sunt. “Non est enim potestas nisi à Deo; id est nulla reipub. forma, nulla homines regendi legitima ratio. Antiquissimæ etiam leges ad authorem Deum olim referebantur; est enim lex, ut Cicero in Philip. 12. nihil aliud nisi recta & à numine deorum tracta ratio, imperans honesta, prohibens contraria. A Deo igitur est magistratuum institutio, ut eorum administratione gens humana sub legibus viveret: hanc autem vel illam administrationis formam, hos vel illos magistratus eligendi optio proculdubio penès liberas hominum nationes semper fuit. Hinc Petrus & regem & præfides ἀνθρώπινην κτίσιν humanam creationem vocat; & Hosea c. 8. “constituunt reges, at non ex me; præficiunt principes quos non agnosco.” In istâ enim solâ Hebræorum repub. ubi Deum variis modis consulere poterant, de regis nominatione ad Deum referri ex lege oportebat: cæteræ gentes mandatum à Deo nullum istiusmodi accepimus. Aliquando aut ipsa regiminis forma, si vitiosa sit, aut illi qui potestatem obtinent, & ab hominibus, & à diabolo sunt. Luc. 4. “Tibi dabo potestatem hanc omnem, nam mihi tradita est, & cui volo do illam.” Hinc princeps hujus mundi dicitur, & Apocalyp. 13. dedit Bestiæ Draco potentiam suam, & thronum suum, & potestatem magnam. Propterea necesse est hîc intelligi non potestates quasunque, sed legitimas, prout etiam infra describuntur; necesse est intelligi potestates ipsas, non semper eos qui imperium obtinent. Hinc dilucidè Chrysostomus, “Quid ais?” inquit, “omnis ergò princeps à Deo constitutus est? non dico: non enim de quovis principe, sed de ipsa re loquitur Apostolus; non dicit, non est princeps nisi à Deo, sed non est potestas.” Hæc Chrysostomus. “Quæ autem potestates sunt, à Deo sunt ordinatæ.” Legitimas ergò vult hîc intelligi Apostolus; malum enim & vitium, cùm ataxía sit, non est ut possit ordinari, & esse simul vitiosum. Hoc enim duo simul contraria ponit, taxin & ataxían. “Quæ autem sunt,” ita interpretaris ac si diceretur, “quæ nunc sunt;” quo faciliùs probare possis etiam Neroni, qui, ut opinaris, tunc “imperavit,” Romanos obtemperare debuissè; nostrâ sanè bonâ veniâ: quàm enim voles de Anglicanâ repub. malè sentias, in eâ tamen Anglos acquiescere debere, quoniam “nunc est,” & “à Deo ordinatur,” ut Neronis olim imperium, necesse habebis concedere. Neque enim Nero minùs quàm Tiberius “artibus matris imperium nihil ad se pertinens” occupaverat, ne legitimè partum fuissè respondeas. Quò sceleratior & doctrinæ retractator ipse tuæ, Romanos potestati quæ tunc fuit subjectos esse vis, Anglos potestati quæ nunc est, subjectos esse non vis. Verùm nullæ in hoc orbe terrarum res duæ magis è regione adversæ sibi sunt, quàm tu nequissimus nequissimo semper ferè adversus es tibi. Quid autem facies miser? acumine
hoc

hoc tuo regem adolescentem planè perdidisti; ab ipsa enim tua sententiâ extorquebo ut fatearis, hanc potestatem in Anglia, quæ nunc est, à Deo ordinatam esse; atque omnes proinde Anglos intra ejusdem reipublicæ fines eidem potestati subiectos esse debere. Attendite igitur Critici, & manus abstinete, Salmasii nova hæc emendatio est, in epistola ad Romanos; non quæ sunt potestates, “sed quæ nunc existunt” reddi debere adinvenit; ut Neroni tyranno tunc scilicet imperanti subiectos esse omnes oportuisse demonstraret. At ô bone, *ληκυθιον ἀπώλεσας*: ut regem modò, ita nunc interpretamentum hoc tam bellum perdidisti. Quam tu epistolam sub Nerone scriptam esse ais, sub Claudio scripta est principe simplici, & non malo: hoc viri docti certissimis argumentis compertum habent; quinquennium etiam Neronis laudatissimum fuit, unde argumentum hoc toties inculcatum, quod multis in ore est, multis imposuit, tyranno parendum esse, eò quòd Paulus hortatus est Romanos ut Neroni essent subiecti, callidum indocti cuiuspiam commentum esse reperitur. “Qui obsistit potestati,” scilicet legitimæ, “Dei ordinationi obsistit.” Astringit etiam reges præceptum hoc, qui legibus & Senatui obsistunt. At verò qui potestati vitiosæ, aut potestatis non vitiosæ corruptori & everfiori obsistit, an is Dei ordinationi obsistit? sanus, credo, non dixeris. Tollit omnem dubitationem sequens versiculus, de legitima tantùm potestate Apostolum hic loqui. Definiendo enim explicat, nequis errare, & opiniones hinc stolidas aucupari possit, qui sint magistratus potestatis hujus ministri, & quam ob causam subiectos esse nos hortetur; “Magistratus non sunt timori bonis operibus, sed malis; boni à potestate hac laudem adipiscuntur; Magistratus minister est Dei nostro bono datus; non frustra gladium gerit, vindex ad iram ei qui malum facit.” Quis negat, quis recusat, nisi improbus, quin hujusmodi potestati aut potestatis administro libens se subiciat? non solùm ad vitandam “iram” & offensionem, aut pœnæ metu, sed etiam “propter conscientiam.” Sine magistratibus enim, & civili gubernatione, nulla respublica, nulla societas humana, nulla vita esse potest. Quæ autem potestas, qui magistratus contraria his facit, neque illa, neque hic à Deo propriè ordinatus est. Unde neque tali vel potestati, vel magistratui subiectio debetur aut præcipitur, neque nos prudenter obsistere prohibemur: non enim potestati, non magistratui obsistemus, qui hic optimè depingitur, sed prædoni, sed tyranno, sed hosti; qui si magistratus tamen dicendus erit, eò duntaxat quòd habet potestatem, quòd ad pœnam nostram ordinari à Deo videri potest, etiam diabolus hoc modo magistratus erit. Sanè unius rei una vera definitio est: si ergò Paulus hic magistratum definit, quod quidem accuratè facit, eadem definitione, iisdem verbis tyrannum, rem maximè contrariam, definire non potuit. Unde quem ipse magistratum definivit atque descripsit, ei duntaxat subiectos nos esse voluisse, non ejus contrario tyranno certissimè colligitur. “Propter hoc tributa solvitis;” rationem adjungit ad præceptum; unde Chrysostomus, “Cur,” inquit, vectigalia regi damus. Annon tanquam nobis prospicienti, curæ ac tuitionis mercedem solventes? atqui nihil illi solvissemus, nisi ab initio utilem nobis talem esse præfecturam cognovissemus.” Quapropter illud repetam quod suprâ dixi; quandoquidem subiectio hæc non simpliciter, sed cum adjunctâ ratione à nobis requiritur, illa profectò ratio quæ adjungitur, subjectionis nostræ vera norma erit: Cum ista ratione non subiecti, rebelles; sine ista ratione subiecti, servi erimus & socordes.” At Angli,” inquis, “nihil minùs quàm liberi, quia mali, quia flagitiosi.” Nolo ego Gallorum vitia commemorare, quamvis sub regibus sint; neque Anglorum nimis excusare; dico tamen illa esse flagitia, quæ sub regibus, tanquam in Ægypto didicerunt; neque dum in deserto; licet Dei sub imperio, dediscere statim potuerunt. Spes est tamen de plebisque bona; ut nè sanctissimos hic optimosque viros & veritatis studiosissimos collaudare incipiam; quorum apud nos non minorem credo esse numerum, quàm ubi tu maximum esse existimas. At “jugum Anglis durum imponitur.” Quid si illis, qui jugum cæteris civibus imponere studebant? Quid si suo deinde merito subactis? nam cæteri puto non molestè ferunt, exhausto civilibus bellis ærario, sumptibus propriis suam se tolerare libertatem. Relabitur jam ad Rabbinos nugivendos. Regem legibus astrictum esse negat, ex iis tamen probat “læstæ majestatis reum esse posse, si jus

suum patiatur imminui :” astrictus itaque & non astrictus, reus & non reus rex erit : adeò frequenter enim solet repugnare sibi, ut ipsa Repugnantia huic homini germana atque gemella esse videatur. Atqui Deus, inquis, multa regna Nebuchadnezzari in servitutem dedit. Fateor ad certum tempus dedisse, Jer. 27. 7. Anglos in servitutem Carolo Stuardo ad semihorulam dedisse ostende ; permisisse non negaverim, dedisse nunquam audiui. Aut si Deus in servitutem dat populum, quoties tyrannus plus populo potest, cur non idem liberare dicendus erit, quoties plus potest populus tyranno ? an is Deo tyrannidem suam, nos Deo libertatem nostram acceptam non feremus ? Non est malum in civitate quod Deus non immittat, Amos 3. famem, pestilentiam, seditionem, hostem ; ecquod nam horum civitas ab se non totis viribus amolietur ? faciet profectò, si possit, quamvis ab ipso Deo immissa hæc esse sciat ; nisi è cœlo ipse secus jufferit. Cur non tyrannos pariter amovebit, si plus polleat ? an ejus uniùs impotentiam ad commune malum esse magis à Deo credemus, quàm potentiam totius civitatis ad commune bonum ? Absit à civitatibus, absit ab omni cœtu hominum ingenuorum doctrinæ tam stupidæ, tamque pestiferæ labes, quæ vitam omnem civilem funditus delet, gentem humanam universam propter unum atque alterum tyrannum, ad quadrupedum propè conditionem detrudit : cum illi supra omnem legem excelsi par in utrunque genus & pecudum & hominum jus atque imperium obtinebunt. Mitto jam stulta illa dilemmata, in quibus ut te jactes, nescio quem fingis, “ potestatem illam supereminentem de populo vellè intelligere ;” tametsi affirmare non dubito omnem magistratûs auctoritatem à populo proficisci. Hinc Cicero pro Flacco, “ Illi nostri sapientissimi, & sanctissimi majores, quæ scisceret plebs, quæ populus juberet, juberi vetarique voluerunt.” Hinc Lucius Crassus Orator eximius, & Senatûs eo tempore princeps, cujus tum causam agebat ad populum. “ Nolite,” inquit, “ finire nos cuiquam servire, nisi vobis universis, quibus & possumus & debemus.” Quamvis enim Senatus Populum regeret, populus tamen illam moderandi & regendi sui potestatem, senatui tradiderat. Unde majestatem, populo Romano frequentius quàm regibus olim attributam legimus. Idem Marcus Tullius pro Plancio, “ Est enim conditio liberorum populorum, præcipuèque hujus principis populi & omnium gentium domini, posse suffragiis vel dare vel detrachere quod velit cuique ; nostrum est ferre modicè populi voluntates : honores si magni non putemus, non servire populo ; sin eos expetamus, non defatigari supplicando.” Egone ut regem populi servum dicere metuam, cùm Senatus Romanus tot regum dominus servum se populi professus sit ? Vera sunt hæc, inquires, in populari statu ; nondum enim lex regia potestatem populi in Augustum, & successores ejus transtulerat. Hem tibi ergò Tiberium illum quem tu “ tyrannum, plus vice simplici,” fuisse ais, ut revera fuit, is tamen dominus, etiam post legem illam regiam, appellatus à quodam, ut tradit Suetonius, denunciavit ne se ampliùs contumeliæ causâ nominaret. Audisne ? tyrannus iste dominus dici contumeliæ sibi duxit. Idem in Senatu, “ Dixi & nunc, & sæpe aliàs, patres Conscripti, bonum & salutare principem, quem vos tantâ & tam liberâ potestate instruxistis, Senatui servire debere, & universis civibus sæpe, & plerunque etiam singulis ; neque id dixisse me pœnitet ; & bonos & æquos & faventes vos habui Dominos, & adhuc habeo.” Nec simulata hæc ab eo si dixeris, ut erat simulandi callidissimus, quicquam proficies ; quis enim id videri se cupit, quod esse non debet. Hinc ille mos non Neroni solùm, quod scribit Tacitus, sed cæteris etiam imperatoribus fuit, populum in Circo adorandi. De quo Claudianus, VI.

“ Conf. Honorii.

ô quantum populo secreti numinis addit
Imperii præsens species, quantàmque rependit
Majestas alterna vicem, cum regia Circi
Connexum gradibus veneratur purpura vulgus,
Consensûque cavæ sublatus in æthera vallis
Plebis adoratæ reboat fragor. —

Quâ adoratione quid aliud Imperatores Romani, nisi universam plebem, etiam post legem regiam, suos esse dominos fatebantur? Atque illud est quod initio statim suspicatus sum, te glossariis pervolutandis, & tricis quibusdam laboriosis magnificè divulgandis operam potius dedisse, quàm bonis authoribus attentè & studiosè perlegendis; qui veterum scriptorum sapientiâ ne leviter quidem imbutus, rem præstantissimorum opinionibus Philosophorum, & prudentissimorum in republica principum dictis celebratissimam, novam esse prorsus & “Enthusiastarum” tantummodò “deliriis” somniam tam censes. I nunc, Martinum illum futorem, & Guilielmum Pellionem quos adeò despicias, ignorantiae collegas & mystagogos tibi sume: quanquam erudire te poterunt illi, & illos tibi gryphos dissolvere stolidissimos, “An in Democratia serviat Populus, cum serviat rex in Monarchia; utrùm totus an pars ejus.” Ita illi, cum tibi Oedipi vice fuerint, tu illis Sphinx in malam rem præceps abeas licebit; alioquin fatuitatum tuarum & ænigmatum finem nullum fore video. Rogas, “Cum reges Apostolus nominat, an de populo eos intelligemus.” Pro regibus quidem orandum esse Paulus docet, 1 Tim. 2. 2. at priùs pro populo orandum esse docuerat, “v. i. Sunt tamen & de regibus, & de populo nonnulli, pro quibus orare etiam vetamur. Pro quo non orem, eumne ex lege non puniam? quid vetat? Atqui “cum hæc scriberet Paulus, imperabant vel pessimi;” hoc etiam falsum est, scriptam enim sub Claudio & hanc Epistolam fuisse certissimis argumentis evincit Ludovicus Capellus. De Nerone cum mentionem facit Paulus non regem, sed “Leonem,” id est belluam immanem vocat, cujus ex ore ereptum se gaudet, 2 Tim. 4. Pro regibus itaque, non pro belluis, “orandum, ut vitam tranquillam & quietam transigamus, cum pietate” tamen “omni & honestate.” Vides non tam regum hinc quàm tranquillitatis, pietatis, honestatis etiam rationem esse habendam. Quis autem populus non se suosque liberos tuendo (contra tyrannum an contra hostem nihil interest) vitam “sollicitam, inquietam,” bellicosam, honestam agere, quàm sub hoste vel tyranno, non solum æquè sollicitam & inquietam, sed turpem etiam, servilem & inhonestam. Teipsum testem adhibebo, non quo tanti sis, sed ut perspiciant omnes quàm sis duplex, & fraudulentus, & mancipium regis mercenarium. “Quis,” inquis, “non perferre mallet in repub. Aristocratica ex optimatum æmulatione dissensiones oriri solitas, quàm ex uno monarcha, tyrannico more imperare consueto certam miseriam ac perniciem? Populus Romanus prætulit statum illum Reipub. quantumlibet discordiis agitatae jugo Cæsarum intolerabili. Populus qui vitandæ seditionis causâ monarchicum statum præoptavit, ubi expertus est levius esse malum quod vitare voluit, ad priora sæpe redire expetit.” Hæc & plura tua verba sunt in illa de episcopis dissertatione, sub Walonis Messalini adscititio nomine editâ. p. 412. contra Petavium Loiolitam, cum ipse magis Loiolita sis, & eo de grege pessimus. Quid hac de re Scriptura sacra statuerit, & vidimus & omni diligentia investigasse non pœnitet: unde quid senserint Patres antiqui per tot ingentia volumina exquirere pretium fortasse operæ non erit. Si quid enim afferunt, quod scriptura non exhibuit, eorum auctoritatem, quantacunque sit, meritò repudiamus. Quod autem ex Irenæo profers, “reges Dei jussu constitui aptos his qui in illo tempore ab iis reguntur,” cum Scripturâ pugnat evidentissimè. Cum enim iudices ad regendum populum suum aptiores regibus esse palàm significasset Deus, id tamen totum voluntati atque arbitrio populi permisit, ut aptiorem sibi sub optimatibus formam reipub. deteriore sub regibus, si vellent, permutarent. Legimus etiam sæpe regem malum bono populo datum, & contra, regem bonum populo malo. Virorum itaque sapientissimorum est perspicere quid populo aptissimum & utilissimum sit: constat enim neque omni populo, neque eidem semper eundem reipub. statum convenire, sed vel hunc vel illum, prout civium virtus & industria nunc augefcit, nunc minuitur. Qui tamen potestatem adimit populo eligendi sibi quam velit reipub. formam, adimit profectò id in quo civilis libertas tota ferè consistit. Citas deinde Justinum Martyrem Antoninis imperatorum optimis obsequium deferentem; quis non iis tam egregiis &

moderatis non detulisset? “At quantò, inquis, nos hodie peiores Christiani? tulerunt illi principem diversæ religionis.” Privati scilicet, & viribus longè inferiores. “Nunc sanè pontificii regem non ferrent reformatum,” nec “reformati Pontificium.” Facis tu quidem prudenter, ut ostendas te nec pontificium esse, nec reformatum; facis etiam liberaliter; ultrò enim largiris quod nunc non petivimus, omnes hodie Christianos in hoc planè consentire, quod tu solus insigni audaciâ atque scelere oppugnas, Patrum etiam quos laudas dissimillimus; illi enim pro Christianis, ad profanos reges, defensiones conscribebant, tu pro rege pontificio atque deterrimo contra Christianos & Reformatos. Multa deinde ex Athenagora, multa ex Tertulliano futiliter depromis, quæ ab ipsis Apostolis multò clariùs & explanatiùs dicta jam sunt. Tertullianus autem longissimè à te dissentit, qui regem vis esse dominum: quod tu aut nescivisti, aut nequiter dissimulasti. Is enim Christianus ad Imperatorem Ethnicum in Apologetico ausus est scribere, non oportere imperatorem appellari Dominum. “Augustus,” inquit, “imperii formator ne dominum quidem dici se volebat, hoc enim Dei est cognomen: dicam planè imperatorem dominum, sed quando non cogor ut dominum Dei vice dicam: cæterum liber sum illi, Dominus meus Deus unus est,” &c. & ibidem “qui pater patriæ est, quomodo dominus est?” Gratulare nunc tibi de Tertulliano, quem sanè præstabat missum fecisse. “At parricidas appellat qui Domitianum interfecerunt.” Rectè appellat; uxoris enim & famulorum insidiis, à Parthenio, & Stephano interceptarum pecuniarum reo est interfectus. Quod si Senatus Populûsque Romanus hostem judicatum, ut Neronem priùs judicabant, & ad supplicium quærebant, more majorum punivissent, eos parricidas appellaturum fuisse censes? immo si appellasset, dignus ipse supplicio fuisset; uti tu furcâ jam dignus es. Origeni responsum idem quadrabit quod Irenæo. Athanasius reges terræ ad humana tribunalia vocare nefarium esse dicit. Quis hoc dixit Athanasio? verbum enim Dei nullum hic audio. Credam itaque ego imperatoribus potiùs & regibus de se falsum hoc esse fatentibus, quàm Athanasio. Adfers deinde Ambrosium ex proconsule & catechumeno episcopum, verba illa Davidis, “tibi soli peccavi,” imperitè, ne dicam assentatoriè interpretantem. Volebat is omnes alios imperatori subjectos esse, ut imperatorem ipse subjiceret sibi. Quàm enim superbè, & fastu plusquàm pontificio Theodosium imperatorem Mediolani tractaverit, cædis Thessalonicensis reum ipse judicaverit, ingressu ecclesiæ prohibuerit, quàm se deinde novitium & rudem evangelicæ doctrinæ ostenderit, omnibus notum est. Imperatorem ad pedes ejus provolutum excedere salutorio jussit; sacris tandem restitutum, & postquam obtulisset, altari adstantem his vocibus extra cancellos exegit. “O imperator interiora loca tantùm sacerdotibus sunt attributa, quæ cæteris contingere non licet.” Doctòrne hic Evangelii, an Judaïcorum pontifex rituum fuit? Hic tamen (quæ omnium ferè ecclesiasticorum artes sunt) imperatorem cæteris dominum imposuit, ut imperatoris ipse dominus esset. His itaque verbis Theodosium tanquam sibi subjectum repulit; “Cœqualium hominum es imperator & conservorum; unus enim omnium dominus rex & Creator.” Bellè profectò; quam veritatem calliditas & assentatio episcoporum obscuravit, eam iracundia unius, & ut molliùs dicam, zelus ineruditus protulit in lucem. Ambrosii imperitiæ tuam subjungis ignorantiam aut hæresin, qui disertè negas “sub veteri fœdere remissionem peccatorum per sanguinem Christi locum tunc habuisse, cum David Deo confitebatur ei soli se peccavisse.” p. 68. Orthodoxi, non nisi per sanguinem agni mactati ab initio mundi, peccata unquam remissa fuisse credunt; te novum hæreticum cujusnam discipulus sis nescio; certè summi Theologi discipulus ille quem exagitas, à vero non aberravit, cum dixit potuisse quemvis è populo pari jure cum Davide Deum his verbis inclamasse, “tibi soli peccavi.” Augustinum deinde ostentas, Clericos Hipponenses nescio quos producis; nam Augustini quæ sunt abs te allata nobis non obsunt. Quidni enim fateamur cum propheta Daniële, Deum tempora mutare, regna dare, & regna auferre, per homines tamen. Si regnum Deus solus

Carolo

Carolo dedit, idem Carolo abstulit, optimatibus & populo dedit. Si eâ de causâ præstandam Carolo obedientiam fuisse dicis, eandem nunc magistratibus nostris præstandam esse dicas necesse est. Nam Deum & nostris etiam magistratibus eandem dedisse potestatem quam dat malis regibus “ ad castiganda populi peccata ” ipse concedis; nostros itaque à Deo pariter constitutos remove à magistratu nemo vel tuo iudicio nisi Deus potest. Atque ita, uti soles, tuum tibi ipse mucronem in temet vertis, tuus tibi ipse sicarius es; neque injuriâ, cum eò improbitatis & impudentiæ processeris, eò stuporis & infantiæ, ut quos digito violandos non esse tot argumentis probas, eosdem omnium suorum bello persequendos esse idem affirmes. Ismaëlem Godoliæ Præfecti interfectorem ab Hieronymo parricidam esse nominatum ais, & meritò; præsidem enim Judææ, virum bonum, sine ulla causa interemit. Idem Hieronymus in Ecclesiasten, præceptum illud Solomonis, “ Os regis observa,” cum præcepto Pauli concordare dixit; & laudandus quidem, quod locum istum cæteris sui temporis moderatiùs exposuit. “ Ad inferiora tempora post Augustinum non descendes, ut doctorum sententiam exquiras.” Ut omnes tamen intelligant faciliùs mentiri te posse quàm tacere, si quos adhuc haberes tuæ sententiæ fautores, post unam statim periodum non temperas tibi quò minùs ad Hispalensem Isidorum, Gregorium Turonensem Ottonem, Frisingensem etiam in mediam barbariem descendas. Quorum autoritas quàm nullius apud nos pretii sit si modò scivisses, non huc eorum obscurum testimonium per mendacium adduxisses. Vultis scire cur ad hæc tempora descendere non audet, cur abdit se, cur subitò evanescit? dicam: quot sunt Ecclesiæ reformatæ præstantissimi doctores, tot videt acerrimos sibi adversarios fore. Faciat modò periculum, sentiet quàm facilè reluctantem, omnes in unum vires conferentem, Lutheris, Zuingliis, Calvinis, Buceris, Martyribus, Paræis in aciemeductis fundam atque obruam. Leidenfes etiam tuos tibi opponam, quorum Academia, quorum respub. florentissima, libertatis olim domicilium, isti denique literarum humaniorum fontes atque rivi, servilem illam æruginem tuam & innatam barbariem eluere non potuerunt. Qui cùm Theologum orthodoxum habeas neminem tibi faventem, quem tuo commodò nominare possis, omnium præsidio reformatorum nudatus confugere ad Sorbonam non erubescis: quod tu Collegium doctrinæ pontificiæ addictissimum nullius apud orthodoxos autoritatis esse non ignoras. Sorbonæ igitur absorbendum tam sceleratum tyrannidis propugnatorem tradimus; tam vile mancipium nostrum esse nolumus; qui “ populum universum regi ignavissimo parem esse ” negat. Frustra id in papam deonerare atque transferre contendis, quod omnes liberæ nationes, omnis religio, omnes Orthodoxi sibi sumunt, in se suscipiunt. Papa quidem cum episcopis suis, dum tenuis, & nullarum virium erat, tuæ hujus foedissimæ doctrinæ author primus extitit: iis demùm artibus magnas opes, magnamque potentiam paulatim adeptus, tyrannorum ipse maximus evasit. Quos tamen omnes sibi firmissimè devinxit, cùm populis, quorum animos jamdiu superstitione oppressos tenuerat, suaderet, non posse regibus quamlibet pessimis, nisi se fidelitatis sacramentum solvente, imperium abrogari. Verùm tu scriptores Orthodoxos devitas, & quæ communis & notissima ipsorum sententia est, eam à Papa introductam esse causatus, veritatem in invidiam rapere conaris. Quod nisi astutè faceres, appareret te neque Papanum esse neque reformatum, sed nescio quem semibarbarum Edomæum Herodianum, qui tyrannum quemque immanissimum tanquam Messiam cœlo demissum colas atque adores. “ Demonstrâsse te ” hoc dicis “ ex doctrina patrum, primorum quatuor sæculorum, quæ sola evangelica & Christiana censeri debet.” Periit huic homini pudor; quàm multa sunt ab illis dicta atque scripta, quæ Christus & Apostoli neque docuerunt neque approbârunt? quàm multa in quibus reformati omnes à patribus dissentiant? Quid autem ex patribus demonstravisti? “ reges etiam malos à Deo constitui.” Fac esse constitutos, ut omnia etiam mala quodammodo à Deo constituuntur: “ eos proinde Deum solum habere judicem, supra leges esse, nullâ lege scriptâ, non scriptâ, naturali, neque divinâ posse reos fieri à subditis, neque apud subditos suos.” Quare? certè nulla lex vetat, nulla

reges excipit : ratio, & jus, & fas omne animadverti in omnes qui peccant indiscriminatum jubet. Neque tu legem ullam scriptam, non scriptam, naturalem aut divinam protulisti quæ vetaret. Cur ergò non in reges quoque animadvertendum ? “ quia sunt etiam mali à Deo constituti.” Nebulonem te magis an bardum & caudicem esse dicam ? nequissimus sis oportet qui doctrinam perniciosissimam in vulgus disseminare audeas, stupidissimus qui ratione tam stolidâ maximè nitaris. Dixit Deus Isaïæ 54. “ Ego creavi interfectorem ad perdendum ;” ergò interfectior supra leges est ; excute hæc, & pervolve quantum voles, parem utrobique consequentiam invenies. Nam & Papa etiam eodem modo quo tyrannus à Deo est constitutus, & ecclesiæ in pœnam datus, quod supra ex scriptis etiam tuis ostendimus ; tamen “ quia in fastigium potestatis non ferendum tyrannidi non absimilis primatum suum evexit, cum eum, tum episcopos meliori jure tollendos esse ” affirmas “ quàm fuere constituti.” Wal. Mes. p. 412. Papam & episcopos quamvis ab irato Deo constitutos ex ecclesiâ tollendos esse ais, quia sunt tyranni ; tyrannos ex repub. tollendos esse negas quia sunt ab irato Deo constituti. Ineptè prorsus & absurdè : cum enim Papa ipsam conscientiam, quæ sola regnum ejus est, invito quoquam lædere non possit, eum qui revera tyrannus esse non potest, quasi tyrannum gravissimum tollendum esse clamas ; tyrannum autem verum qui vitam & facultates nostras omnes in potestate sua habet, & sine quo papa in ecclesiâ tyrannus esse nequit, eum in repub. omnino ferendum esse contendis. Hæc tua sibi invicem collata tam imperitum te tamque puerilem sive falsi sive veri argutorem produnt, ut levitas tua, inscitia, temeritas, incogitantia neminem posthac latere queat. At ratio subest altera, “ rerum vices inversæ viderentur,” quippe in melius ; actum enim esset de rebus humanis, si quæ res pessimo loco sunt, in eodem semper starent : in melius inquam ; autoritas enim regia ad populum rediret, ab cujus voluntate atque suffragiis profecta primò, atque in unum ex suo numero derivata erat : potestas ab eo qui injuriam intulit, ad eum qui injuriam est passus æquissimâ lege transfret ; cum tertius nemo inter homines idoneus esse possit, alienigenam enim judicare quis ferret ? omnes æquè homines legibus tenerentur, quo nihil justius esse potest : deus mortalis nemo esset. Quem qui inter homines constituit, non minùs in repub. sceleratus est, quàm in Ecclesiâ. Tuis iterum in te armis utar. “ Maximam hæresin esse ” ais “ quâ creditur unum hominem in loco Christi sedere : duæ hæ notæ Antichristum signant, infallibilitas in spiritualibus, & omnipotentia in temporalibus,” Appar. ad Primat. pag. 171. An reges infallibiles ? Cur ergò omnipotentes ? aut si hoc sunt, cur minùs exitiales rebus civilibus quàm Papa spiritualibus ? An verò Deus res civiles prorsus non curat ? si non curat, certè nos curare non prohibet ; si curat, eandem in republicâ reformationem atque in Ecclesiâ vult fieri ; præsertim si infallibilitatem & omnipotentiam attributam homini eisdem malorum omnium utrinque causas esse exploratum sit. Non enim in negotiis civilibus eam patientiam præcepit, ut sævissimum quemlibet tyrannum respublica ferret, Ecclesiâ non ferret ; immò contrarium potius præcepit : & Ecclesiæ quidem nulla arma præter patientiam, innocentiam, preces, & disciplinam evangelicam reliquit ; rei-publicæ & magistratibus simul omnibus non patientiam, sed leges & gladium, injuriarum & violentiæ vindicem, in manus tradidit. Unde hujus hominis perversum & præposterum ingenium aut mirari subit aut ridere ; qui in Ecclesiâ, Helvidius est & Thraseas & planè tyrannicida ; in republicâ, commune omnium tyrannorum mancipium & satelles. Cujus sententia si locum habeat, non nos solùm rebellavimus, qui regem, sed reformati etiam omnes qui Papam dominum invitis regibus rejecerunt. Jam diu autem est quòd suis ipse telis concisus jacet. Sic enim homo est, modò manus adversarii ne desit, ipse in se tela abundè suppeditat : nec quicquam ad refutandum se, aut irridendum commodiores ansas ministrat. Defessus etiam cædendo citiùs quis abscedat, quàm hic terga præbendo.

C A P U T IV.

MAGNAM à regibus iniisse te gratiam, omnes principes & terrarum dominos demeruisse defensione hac regiâ te fortè putas, Salmasi, cùm illi, si bona sua, remque suam ex veritate potius quàm ex adulationibus tuis vellent aestimare, neminem te pejùs odisse, neminem à se longiùs abigere atque arcere debeant. Dum enim regiam potestatem supra leges in immensum extollis, admones eâdem operâ omnes ferè populos servitutis suæ nec opinatæ; eoque vehementiùs impellis ut vetricum illum, quo se esse liberos inaniter somniabant, repentè excutiant; moniti abs te quod non putabant, servos se esse regum. Eoque minùs tolerandum sibi esse regium imperium existimabunt, quò magis tu iis persuasum reddideris tam infinitam potestatem non suâ patientiâ crevisse, sed ab initio talem atque tantam ipso jure regio natam fuisse. Ita te tuâque hanc defensionem, sive populo persuaseris, sive non persuaseris, omnibus posthac regibus funestam, exitialem, & execrabilem fore necesse erit. Si enim populo persuaseris, jus regium omnipotens esse, regnum amplius non feret; si non persuaseris, non feret reges, dominationem tuam injustam pro jure usurpantes. Me si audiant, quibus integrum hoc est, seque circumscribi legibus patiantur, pro incerto, imbecillo, violento imperio quod nunc habent, curarum atque formidinum pleno, firmissimum, pacatissimum ac diuturnum sibi conservabunt. Consilium hoc sibi, suisque regnis adeò salutiferum si propter authorem contempserint, sciant non tam esse meum, quàm regis olim sapientissimi. Lycurgus enim Spartanorum rex, antiquâ regum stirpe oriundus, cùm propinquos videret suos Argis & Messenæ rerum potitos, regnum quemque suum in tyrannidem convertisse, sibi que pariter suisque civitatibus exitio fuisse, ut patriæ simul saluti consuleret, & dignitatem in familia sua regiam quàm diutissimè conservaret, consortem imperii senatum, & Ephorum potestatem in ipsum regem quasi censoriam, firmamentum regno suo indixit. Quo facto regnum suis nepotibus firmissimum in multa secula transmisit. Sive, ut alii volunt, Theopompi, qui centum ampliùs annis post Lycurgum Lacedæmone regnabat, ea moderatio fuit, ut popularem Ephorum potestatem superiorem quàm suam constitueret, eoque facto gloriatus est, stabilivisse se regnum, multoque majus ac diuturnius filiis reliquisse; exemplum profectò haud ignobile hodierni reges ad imitandum habuerint, eundem etiam consilii tutissimi authorem egregium. Majorem enim legibus dominum ut perferrent homines hominem omnes unum, nulla lex unquam sanxit; ne potuit quidem sancire. Quæ enim lex leges omnes evertit, ipsa lex esse non potest. Cùm itaque everforem te, & parricidam legum omnium rejiciant ab se leges, exemplis redintegrare certamen, hoc capite, conaris. Faciamus itaque periculum in exemplis: sæpe enim, quod leges tacent, & tacendo tantum innuunt, id exempla evidentiùs docent. Ab Judæis auspicabimur voluntatis divinæ consultissimis; “postea ad Christianos” tecum “descendemus.” Initium autem altiùs petitum ab eo tempore faciemus, quo Israhelitarum regibus quocunque modo subjecti, jugum illud servile cervicibus dejecerunt. Rex Moabitarum Eglon Israhelitas bello subegerat; sedem imperii inter ipsos Hierichunte posuerat: numinis contemptor non erat, factâ enim Dei mentione, è folio surrexit: servierant Israhelitæ Egloni annos duodeviginti; non ut hosti, sed ut suo regi munus miserant. Hunc tamen dum publicè munerantur ut regem suum, interficiunt per insidias ut hostem. Verùm Ehudes qui interfecit, Dei monitu id fecisse creditur. Quid factum hujusmodi commendare magis potuit? Ad honesta enim quæque & laudabilia hortari solet Deus, non ad injusta, infida, truculenta. Expressum autem Dei mandatum habuisse nusquam legimus, “clamârunt filii Israhel

raëlis ad Jehovam ;” clamavimus & nos ; excitavit iis Jehova servatorem ; excitavit & nobis. Ille ex vicino domesticus, ex hoste rex factus erat ; noster ex rege hostis ; non ergo rex erat ; nam neque civis ullo modo esse potest, qui reipublicæ est hostis ; neque Consul habebatur Antonius, neque Nero imperator, ex quo uterque hostis à Senatu est judicatus. Quod Cicero quartâ Philippicâ de Antonio clarissimè docet : “ Si Consul Antonius, Brutus hostis ; si conservator Reipublicæ Brutus, hostis Antonius. Quis illum consulem nisi latrones putant ?” Pari ego jure, quis tyrannum, inquam, regem nisi hostes patriæ putant ? Fuerit itaque Eglon externus, fuerit Noster domesticus necne, quandoquidem uterque hostis & tyrannus, parùm refert. Si illum Ehudes jure trucidavit, nos nostrum supplicio jure affecimus. Quin & heros ille Sampson, incusantibus etiam popularibus suis (Jud. 15.) “ An nesciebas Phelifthæos dominium habere in nos ?” suis tamen dominis bellum solus intulit, neque unum sed multos simul patriæ suæ tyrannos, sive Dei, sive propriæ virtutis instinctu occidit ; conceptis prius ad Deum precibus ut auxilio sibi esset. Non impium ergò sed pium Sampsoni visum est, dominos, patriæ tyrannos occidere ; cum tamen pars major civium servitutem non detrectaret. At David, rex & propheta, noluit Saulem interimere “ unctum Dei.” Non quicquid noluit David, continuò nos obligat ut nolumus ; noluit David privatus ; id statim nolle synedrium, Parlamentum, totum populum necesse erit ? noluit inimicum dolo occidere, nolet ergò Magistratus noxium lege punire ? noluit regem occidere, timebit ergò Senatus tyrannum plectere ? religio erat illi unctum Dei interficere, an ergò religio erit populo unctum suum capitis damnare ? præsertim qui unctionem illam vel sacram vel civilem totus cruore civium delibutus tam longâ hostilitate aboleverat ? Equidem reges, vel quos Deus per prophetas unxit, vel quos ad certum opus, sicuti olim Cyrum, nominatim destinavit, Isa. 44. unctos Domini agnosco ; cæteros vel populi, vel militum, vel factionis tantummodò suæ unctos esse arbitror. Verùm ut concedam tibi omnes reges esse unctos Domini ; esse tamen idcirco supra leges, non esse ob scelera quæcunque puniendos, nunquam evinces. Quid enim ? & sibi & privatis quibusdam interdixit David, ne extenderent manus suas in unctum Domini. At regibus interdixit ipse Dominus, Psal. 105. ne attingerent unctos suos, id est, populum suum. Unctionem sui populi prætulit unctioni, siqua erat, regum. An ergò fideles punire, si quid contra leges commiserint, non licebit ? Unctum Domini sacerdotem Abiatharem prope erat ut rex Solomon morte multaret ; neque illi, quòd unctus Domini esset, pepercit, sed quòd patris fuerat amicus. Si ergò summum sacerdotem, summum eundem in plerisque magistratum, unctio illa Domini & sacra & civilis eximere supplicio non potuit, cur unctio tantùm civilis tyrannum eximeret ? At “ Saul quoque tyrannus erat, & morte dignus ;” esto : non inde enim sequetur, dignum, aut idoneum fuisse Davidem qui sine populi autoritate, aut magistratuum jussu Saulem regem quocunque in loco interficeret. Itane verò Saul tyrannus erat ? Utinam diceret ; quinimmo dicis ; cùm tamen suprâ dixeris, cap. 2. pag. 32. “ Tyrannum non fuisse, sed bonum & electum.” Ecquid causæ est nunc cur in foro quadruplator aut falsarius quispiam stigmate notetur, tu eadem careas ignominia notâ ? cùm meliori profectò fide sycophantari soleant illi, quàm tu scribere, & res vel maximi momenti tractare. Saul igitur, si id ex usu est tuo, bonus erat rex, sin id minùs tibi expedit, repentè non rex bonus, sed tyrannus erit ; quod certè mirum non est ; dum enim potentia tyrannicæ tam impudenter lenocinaris, quid aliud facis quàm ex bonis regibus tyrannos omnes. At verò David quamvis regem focerum multis de causis, quæ ad nos nihil attinent, interimere nollet, sui tamen tuendi causâ copias comparare, Saulis urbes vel occupare vel infidere non dubitavit ; & Cheilam oppidum contra Saulem etiam præsidio tenuisset, nisi oppidanos erga se malè animatos cognovisset. Quid si Saul urbe obsessâ, scalis muro admotis, primus ascendere voluisset, an censeres Davidem arma protinus abjecturum, suos omnes uncto hosti proditurum fuisse ? non existimo. Quidni enim fecisset quod nos fecimus, qui rationum suarum

necessitate

necessitate coactus, Phelifthæis patriæ hostibus operam prolixè suam pollicitus, id fecit contra Saulem quod nos in nostrum tyrannum credo nunquam fecissemus. Pudet me, & jam diu pertæsum est mendaciorum tuorum; "Inimicis potius parcendum quàm amicis," Anglorum esse dogma fingis; "séque regi suo parcere non debuisse, quia amicus erat." Quis unquam hoc priùs audivit, quàm à te confictum esset, hominum mendacissime. Verùm ignoscimus: deerat nempe huic capiti præstantissimum illud & tritissimum orationis tuæ pigmentum, jam quintò, & ante finem libri decies ex oculis tuis & myrotheciis expromendum, "molossis suis ferociore." Non tam Angli suis molossis ferociore sunt, quàm tu cane quovis rabido jejuniore, qui ad illam, quam toties evomisti, cramben duris ilibus identidem redire sustines. David denique Amalechitam interfici jussit, Saulis, ut simulavit ipse, interfectorem; nulla hic neque facti neque personarum similitudo. Quòd nisi David ad Philisthæos defecisse, & pars eorum exercitûs fuisse visus, eò diligentius omnem à se suspicionem maturandæ regi necis amovere studuit, non erat, meo quidem judicio, cur virum illum tam malè exciperet, qui moribundum jam regem & ægrè morientem opportuno vulnere se confecisse nuntiavit. Quod idem factum in Domitiano, qui Epaphroditum similiter capite damnavit, eò quòd Neronem in adipiscenda morte adjuvisset, ab omnibus reprehenditur. Novâ deinde audaciâ quem tyrannum modò dixeras, & "malo spiritu agitatum," hunc non jam satis habes unctum Domini, sed "Christum Domini" vocare; adeò tibi vile Christi nomen videtur, ut illo tam sancto nomine vel Dæmoniacum tyrannum impertire non metuas. Venio nunc ad exemplum illud, in quo qui jus populi jure regis antiquius esse non videt, cæcus sit oportet. Mortuo Solomone populus de constituendo ejus filio Sechemi comitia habebat; profectus est eò Roboamus candidatus, ne regnum tanquam hæreditatem adire, ne populum liberum tanquam paternos boves possidere videretur: proponit populus conditiones regni futuri; ad deliberandum rex triduum sibi dari postulat; consulit seniores; nihil illi de jure regio, sed ut populum obsequio & pollicitationibus conciliet sibi suadent, penès quem erat, vel illum creare regem vel præterire. Consulit deinde æquales suos, secum à pueris educatos; illi Salmasiano quodam œstro perciti, nil præter jus regium intonare, scuticas & scorpiones ut minitetur hortari. Horum ex consilio respondit Roboamus populo. Videns itaque totus Israël regem "non auscultasse sibi," suam protinus libertatem & populare jus liberis palàm vocibus testatur. "Quæ nobis portio cum Davide? ad tentoria tua Israël; jam ipse videris de domo tuâ David." Missum deinde à rege Adoram lapidibus obruerunt; exemplum fortasse aliquod etiam in regem edituri, nisi maxima celeritate se in fugam contulisset. Parat ingentem exercitum, quo in suam conditionem Israëlitas redigeret: prohibet Deus; "ne ascendite," inquit, "ne pugnate contra fratres vestros, filios Israël, nam à me facta est res ista." Adverte jam animum; populus antea regem volebat, displicuit id Deo; eorum tamen juri noluit intercedere: nunc Populus Roboamum non vult regem, id Deus non solum penès populum esse finit, sed regem eo nomine bella moventem vetat ac reprimit: nec ideo rebelles, sed nihilo minùs fratres eos qui desciverant appellandos esse docet. Collige te nunc jam; sunt omnes, inquis, reges à Deo, ergo populus vel tyrannis resistere non debet. Vicissim ego, sunt, inquam, populi conventus, comitia, studia, suffragia, plebiscita pariter à Deo, teste hîc ipso; ergò & rex itidem resistere non debet populo, authorem etiam eodem Deo. Quàm enim certum est, esse hodie reges à Deo, quàmque hoc valet ad imperandam populo obedientiam, tam est certum esse à Deo etiam hodie libera populi concilia, tamque hoc valet vel ad cogendos in ordinem reges, vel ad rejiciendos; neque magis propterea bellum populo inferre debebunt, quàm debuit Roboamus. Quæris cur ergò non defecerint Israëlita à Solomone? quis præter te tam stulta interrogaret, cum defecisse constet impunè à tyranno? In vitia quædam lapsus est Solomon; non idcirco statim tyrannus: sua vitia magnis virtutibus, magnis de repub. meritis compensabat: fac tyrannum fuisse; sæpe est ut populus nolit tyrannum tollere,

sæpe est ut non possit : satis est sustulisse cùm potuerit. At “factum Jeroboami temper improbatum fuit & Apostasia ejus detestata, successores ejus pro rebellibus semper habuit.” Apostasiam ejus non à Roboamo, sed à vero cultu Dei reprehensam sæpius lego ; & successores quidem ejus sæpe reprobos, rebelles nusquam dictos memini. “Si quid fiat,” inquis, “juri & legibus contrarium, ex eo jus fieri non potest.” Quid quæso tum fiet juri regio ? Sic tuus ipse perpetuò refutator es. “Quotidie,” inquis, “adulteria, homicidia, furta impunè committuntur.” An nescis nunc te tibi respondere quærenti cur toties tyrannis impunè fuerit ? “Rebelles fuerunt isti reges, prophetæ tamen populum ab eorum subjectione non abducebant.” Cur ergò, sceleste, & pseudopropheta, populum Anglicanum à suis magistratibus, tuo sint licèt judicio rebelles, abducere conaris ? “Allegat,” inquis, “Anglicani latrocinii factio, se ad id scelus, quod tam nefariè suscepit, nescio quâ voce cœlitus missâ impulsos fuisse.” Primùm delirasse te cùm hæc scriberes planè video, neque mentis neque latinitatis compotem satis fuisse : deinde Anglos hoc unquam allegasse, de innumeris mendaciis & figmentis tuis est unum. Sed pergo exemplis tecum agere ; Libna urbs validissima ab Joramo rege defecit, quia dereliquerat Deum ; defecit ergò rex, non urbs illa, neque defectione ista notatur ; sed si adjectam rationem spectes, approbari potiùs videtur. “In exemplum trahi non debent hujusmodi defectiones.” Cur ergò tantâ vaniloquentiâ pollicitus es, exemplis te nobiscum toto hoc capite decertaturum, cùm exempla ipse nulla præter meras negationes, quarum nulla vis est ad probandum, afferre possis : nos quæ certa & solida attulimus, negas in exemplum trahi debere ? Quis te hoc modo disputantem non explodat ? Provocasti nos exemplis ; exempla protulimus ; quid tu ad hæc ? tergiversaris, & diverticula quæris ; progredior itaque. Jehu regem à Propheta jussus occidit, etiam Achaziam suum regem legitimum occidendum curavit. Si nolisset Deus tyrannum interimere à cive, si impium hoc, si mali exempli fuisset, cur jussit fieri ? si jussit, certè licitum, laudabile, præclarum fuit. Non tamen tyrannum perimere, quia Deus jussit, idcirco bonum erat & licitum, sed quia bonum & licitum erat, idcirco Deus jussit. Jam septem annos regnantem Athalias Jehoiada sacerdos regno pellere & trucidare non est veritus. “At regnum,” inquis, “non sibi debitum sumpserat.” Annon Tiberius multò postea “imperium ad se nihil pertinens ?” illi tamen, & id genus tyrannis aliis, ex doctrina Christi obediendum esse suprà affirmabas : ridiculum planè esset, si potestatem regiam non ritè adeptum interficere liceret, pessimè gerentem non liceret. At per leges regnare non potuit utpote scæmina, “constitues autem supra te regem,” non reginam. Hoc si sic abibit, constitues, inquam, super te regem, non tyrannum. Pares ergò jam sumus. Amaziam regem ignavum & Idololatræ non conjurati quidam, sed principes & populus, quod verisimilius est, morte affecerunt : nam fugientem Hierosolymis, & adjutum à nemine, Lachis usque persecuti sunt. Hoc consilium iniisse dicuntur “ex quo is Deum” deseruerat, neque ullam ab Azaria filio de morte patris quæstionem habitam fuisse legimus. Multùm rursus nugaris ex Rabbiniis, ut Regem Judaicum supra synedrium constituas ; ipsa regis verba Zedechiæ non attendis. Jer. 38. “Non is est rex qui possit contra vos quicquam.” Sic principes alloquitur ; fassus se planè suo senatu inferiorem ; “Fortasse,” inquis, “nihil negare illis ausus metu seditionis.” At tuum illud “fortasse” quanti quæso est, cujus asseveratio firmissima non est pili ? quid enim te levius, quid inconstantius, quid instabilius ? quoties te varium & versicolorem, quoties tibimet discordem, dissidentem à temetipso, & discrepantem offendimus ? Rursus comparationes instituis Caroli cum bonis Judææ regibus. Davidem imprimis quasi contemnendum aliquem nominas ; “Sume tibi Davidem,” inquis, “adulterii simul & homicidii reum ; nihil tale in Carolo. Solomon ejus filius qui sapiens audiit vulgò.” Quis non indignetur maximorum & sanctissimorum virorum nomina ab impurissimo nebulone & vappâ hunc in modum jactari ? Tunc Carolum cum Davide, regem & prophetam religiosissimum cum superstitioso & Christianæ doctrinæ vix initiato, sapientissimum cum stolido, fortissimum cum im-

belli,

belli, justissimum cum iniquissimo conferre sustinuisti? castimoniam tu ejus & continentiam laudes, quem cum Duce Bucchinghamio flagitiis omnibus coopertum novimus? secreta ejus & recessus perscrutari quid attinet, qui in Theatro medias mulieres petulantè amplecti, & suaviari, qui virginum & matronarum papillas, ne dicam cætera, pertractare in propatulo consueverat? Te porrò moneo Pseudoplutarche, ut istiusmodi Parallelis ineptissimis dehinc supersedeas, ne ego quæ tacerem alioqui libens de Carolo, necesse habeam enuntiare. Contra tyrannos quid tentatum à Populo aut peractum fuerit, & quo jure, per ea tempora quibus ipse Deus Hebræorum rempub. suo nutu ac verbo quasi præsens regebat, hætenus liquet. Quæ sequuntur ætates non nos sua autoritate ducunt, sed ad majorum suorum normam & rationem omnia dirigentes, imitatione sua nostram tantummodò confirmant. Cùm itaque Deus post captivitatem Babylonicam nullum iis de repub. mandatum dedisset novum, quamvis regia soboles extincta non esset, ad antiquam & Mosaicam reipub. formam reverterunt. Antiocho Syriæ regi, cui erant vectigales, ejusque præsidibus, quod is vetita imperaret, per Maccabæos pontifices restiterunt; seque armis in libertatem vindicârunt; dignissimo deinde cuique principatum dederunt: donec Hyrcanus Simonis Judæ Maccabæi fratris filius, expilato Davidis sepulcro, militem externum alere, & regiam quandam potestatem adjicere sacerdotio cœpit; unde filius ejus Aristobulus diadema sibi primus imposuit. Nihil in eum populus quamvis tyrannum movit aut molitus est; neque mirum, annum tantummodò regnantem. Ipse etiam morbo gravissimo correptus, & suorum facinorum pœnitentia ductus mortem sibi optare non destitit, donec inter ea vota expiravit. Ejus frater Alexander proximus regnabat. “Contra hunc,” aïs, “neminem insurrexisse,” tyrannus cùm esset. O te securè mendacem si periisset Josephus, restaret tantum Josippus tuus, ex quo pharisæorum quædam nullius usus apophthegmata depromis. Res itaque sic se habet; Alexander, cùm & domi & militiæ rempub. malè administraret, quamvis magna Pisidarum & Cilicum manu conductitiâ se tutaretur, populum tamen cohibere non potuit, quin ipsum etiam sacrificantem, utpote indignum eo munere, thyrsis palmeis & citreis penè obrueret; exinde per sexennium gentis ferè totius gravi bello petitus est; in quo Judæorum multa millia cùm occidisset, & pacis tandem cupidus interrogaret eos quid vellent à se fieri, responderunt uno ore omnes, ut moreretur; vix etiam mortuo se veniam daturos. Hanc historiam tibi incommodissimam, quoquo modo avertere ut posses, fraudi tuæ turpissimæ pharisæicas quasdam sententias obtendisti; cùm exemplum hoc aut omnino prætermisisses, aut rem, sicuti gesta erat, fideliter narrasse debuisses, nisi veterator & lucifugus mendaciis longè plus quàm causæ confideres. Quinetiam Pharisei illi octingenti, quos in crucem tolli jussit, ex eorum numero erant, qui contra ipsum arma ceperant: quique omnes cùm cæteris unâ voce testati sunt, se regem morte affecturos fuisse, si bello victus in suam potestatem venisset. Post maritum Alexandrum Alexandra regnum capeffit; ut olim Athalia, non legitimè, nam regnare scēminam leges non sinebant, quod ipse modò fassus es, sed partim vi, (extraneorum enim exercitum ducebat;) partim gratiâ; nam Phariseos, qui apud vulgus plurimum poterant, sibi conciliaverat hac lege, ut nomen imperii penès illam, imperium ipsum penès illos foret. Haud aliter atque apud nos nuper Scoti Presbyteri nomen Regis Carolo concesserunt, eâ mercede ut regnum sibi reservare possent. Post Alexandræ obitum Hyrcanus & Aristobulus ejus filii de regno contendunt; hic viribus & industriâ potior fratrem natu majorem regno pellit. Pompeio deinde in Syriam à Mithridatico bello divertente, Judæi nactos se jam æquissimum libertatis suæ arbitrum Pompeium rati, legationem pro se mittunt; fratribus utrisque regibus renuntiant; ad servitutem se ab iis adductos queruntur; Pompeius Aristobulum regno privavit; Hyrcano pontificatum reliquit & principatum more patrio legitimum; exinde Pontifex & Ethnarcha dictus est. Iterum sub Archelao Herodis filio Judæi, missis ad Augustum Cæsarem quinquaginta legatis, & Herodem mortuum & Archelaum graviter accusârunt; regnum huic pro sua virili parte abrogârunt, Cæsarem

orant ut Populum Judaicum sine regibus esse permetteret. Quorum Cæsar precibus aliquantum permotus, non regem eum, sed Ethnarcham duntaxat constituit. Ejus anno decimo rursus eum Populus per legatos ad Cæsarem tyrannidis accusat; quibus Cæsar benignè auditis Romam accersitum, & judicio damnatum Viennam in exilium misit. Jam mihi velim respondeas; qui suos reges accusatos, qui damnatos, qui punitos volebant, annon ipsi, si potestas facta, si optio data sibi esset, annon ipsi, inquam, judicio damnassent, ipsi supplicio affecissent? Jam in Romanos præsidēs avarè & crudeliter provinciam administrantes, populum & primores etiam sæpius arma sumpsisse non negas; causas more tuo stultissimas affingis, “nondum jugo erant affueti;” sub Alexandro scilicet, Herode, ejusque filiis. At C. Cæsari, & Petronio “bellum inferre” noluerunt. Prudenter illi quidem, non poterant. Vis ipsorum audire verba, *πολεμεῖν μὲν ἔβελόμενοι διὰ τὸ μὴδ' αὖ δύνασθαι*. Quod ipsi fatentur imbecillitatis esse suæ, hoc tu hypocrita ad religionem refers? Magno dein molimine prorsus nihil agis, dum ex patribus probas, quod & antea tamen pari oscitatione feceras, pro regibus orandum esse. Nam pro bonis quis negat? pro malis quoad spes est; pro latronibus etiam & pro hostibus; non ut agros depopulentur, aut nos occisione occidant, sed ut resipiscant. Oramus pro utrisque; illos tamen legibus, hos armis vindicare quis vetat? “Liturgias Ægyptiacas” nūl moror; sacerdos autem ille qui orabat, uti aïs, ut “Commodus patri succederet,” meo quidem judicio non orabat, sed Romano imperio pessima imprecatus est. “Fidem,” aïs, “fregisse nos, de autoritate & majestate regis conservanda solenni conventionē non semel interpositam.” Expecto te fusiùs ista de re infrà, illuc te rursus conveniam. Redis ad patrum commentationes, de quibus hoc summam accipe; Quicquid illi dixerint, neque ex libris sacris, aut ratione aliqua fatis idonea confirmaverint, perinde mihi erit, ac si quis alius è vulgo dixisset. Primum adfers Tertullianum, scriptorem haud orthodoxum, multis erroribus notatum, ut si tecum sentiret, pro nihilo tamen hoc esset. Quid autem ille? damnat tumultus, damnat rebelliones; damnamus & nos, neque hinc statim de jure omni populorum, de privilegiis, & Senatus consultis, de potestate magistratuum omnium cæterorum præterquam unius regis, præjudicatum esse volumus: loquuntur isti de seditionibus temere conflatis, & multitudinis insaniâ, non de magistratibus, non de Senatu, aut Parlamento ad legitima arma populum contra tyrannos convocante. Unde Ambrosius quem citas, “Non repugnare, flere, genere, hæc sunt munimenta Sacerdotis, & quis est qui potest vel unus vel inter paucos dicere Imperatori, Lex tua mihi non probatur: non permittitur hoc dicere Sacerdotibus, permittetur Laicis?” Vides jam planè de quibus hic loquatur, de Sacerdotibus, de Laicis privatis, non de Magistratibus: vides quàm infirma tamen & præpostera ratione usus, dissentioni inter Laicos & Sacerdotes, de legibus etiam civilibus, postmodum futuræ faciem prætulit. Sed quoniam primorum Christianorum exemplis urgeri nos maximè, & redargui putas, quòd illi omnibus modis vexati “bellum in Cæsares non moverent,” ostendam primò non potuisse, deinde quoties poterant movisse, postremò etiam si, cùm possent, non movissent, non esse tamen cæteroqui dignos, quorum ex vitâ & moribus, tantis in rebus, exempla sumamus. Primùm ignorare hoc nemo potest, ex quo Romana respublica nulla fuit, omnes imperii vires rerumque summam ad unum Cæsarem rediisse; omnes legiones sub uno Cæsare stipendia meruisse: adeò ut Senatus ad unum omnis, totus ordo Equester, plebs universa, si novis rebus studuisset, poterant se quidem inter necioni objecisse, ad libertatem tamen recuperandam nihil prorsus effecissent; nam imperatorem si fortè sustulissent, imperium tamen mansisset. Jam verò Christiani, innumeri licet, at sparsi, inermes, plebei & plerunque infimi, quid potuerunt? quantam eorum multitudinem una legio in officio facilè continuisset? Quod magni sæpe duces cum interitu suo & veteranorum exercituum deletionē incassum tentârunt, isti è plebecula ferè homuli posse se ad exitum perducere sperarent? cùm annis à Christo nato prope trecentis, ante Constantinum plùs minùs viginti, imperante Diocletiano, sola

Thebæa legio Christiana esset; eoque ipso nomine à reliquo exercitu in Gallia ad Octodurum oppidum cæsa est. “Cum Cassio, cum Albino, cum Nigro” non conjurârunt: idne illis gratiæ vult apponi Tertullianus, quòd sanguinem pro infidelibus non profuderunt? Constat igitur Christianos ab imperatorum imperio liberare se non potuisse: cum aliis conjurare non Christianis nequaquam sibi expedivisse, quamdiu imperatores Ethnici regnabant. Bellum autem tyrannis postea intulisse Christianos aut armis se defendisse, aut tyrannorum facta nefaria sæpe ultos esse nunc ostendam. Primus omnium Constantinus jam Christianus consortem imperii Licinium Orientalibus Christianis gravem bello sustulit; quo factò illud simul declaravit, posse à magistratu in magistratum animadverti; cùm is Licinium pari jure secum regnantem subditorum ejus causâ supplicio affecerit, nec Deo soli poenam reliquerit: poterat enim Licinius Constantinum, si Constantinus populum sibi attributum iis modis oppressisset, eodem supplicio affecisse. Postquam igitur à Deo ad homines redacta res est, quod Licinio Constantinus erat, cur non idem Carolo Senatus? Constantinum enim milites, Senatum jura constituerunt regibus parem, immo superiorem. Constantio imperatori Arianò Byzantini, quoad poterant, armis restiterunt; missum cum militibus Hermogenem, ad pellendum ecclesiâ Paulum orthodoxum episcopum, factò impetu repulerunt, & incensis ædibus, quo se receperat, semivivum & laniatum interfecerunt. Constantius fratri Constantio bellum minatur, ni Paulo & Athanasio episcopis sedes suas restituat; vidēsne ut istos sanctissimos patres, de episcopatu cùm agitur, bellum fraternaliter in regem suum concitare non puduit? Haud multò post Christiani milites, qui tunc temporis quos volebant imperatores creabant, Constantem Constantini filium dissolutè & superbè regnantem interfecerunt, translatò ad Magnentium imperio. Quid? qui Julianum nondum apostatam, sed pium & strenuum, invito Constantio imperatore suo imperatorem salutârunt, annon ex illis Christianis fuerunt, quos tu exemplo nobis proponis? Quod factum Constantius cum suis literis ad populum recitatis acriter prohiberet, clamârunt omnes, fecisse se ut Provincialis, & miles, & reipublicæ authoritas decreverat. Idem bellum Constantio indixerunt, & quantum in se erat, imperio ac vitâ spoliârunt. Quid Antiocheni, homines apprimè Christiani? orârunt credo pro Juliano jam Apostatâ, quem palàm adire, & convitiis proscindere solebant, cujus barbaram illudentes promissam, funes ex ea conficere jubebant. Cujus morte audita supplicationes, epulas, & lætitiâ publicè indixerunt, ejus pro vita & incolumitate preces fuisse censet? Quid? quòd eundem etiam à Christiano commilitone interfectum esse ferunt. Sozomenus certè scriptor ecclesiasticus non negat; immo, si quis ita fecisset, laudat. *ὁ γὰρ ἀπεικός τινα τῶν τότε στρατευομένων, &c.* “Non est mirum,” inquit, “aliquem ex militibus hoc secum cogitasse; non Græcos solùm, sed omnes homines ad hanc usque ætatem tyrannicidas laudare solitos esse, qui pro omnium libertate mortem oppetere non dubitant; nec temere quis hunc militem reprehendat, Dei & religionis causâ tam strenuum.” Hæc Sozomenus ejusdem ætatis scriptor, vir bonus & sanctus; ex quo quid reliqui eâ tempestate viri boni hac de re senserint, facillè perspicimus. Ipse Ambrosius ab imperatore Valentiniano minore jussus urbe Mediolano excedere, parere noluit, sed circumseptus armato populo se atque basilicam suam contra regios præfectos armis defendit; & summæ potestati resistere, contra quàm docuit ipse, est ausus. Constantinopoli haud semel propter exilium Chrysostomi contra Arcadium imperatorem seditio maxima commota est. In tyrannos igitur quid antiqui Christiani fecerint, non milites solùm, sed populus, sed ipsi patres, vel resistendo, vel gerendo bellum, vel concitando, usque ad Augustini tempora, quoniam tibi ulterius progredi non libet, breviter exposui. Valentinianum enim Placidia filium interfectum à Maximo patricio, ob stuprum uxori ejus illatum, taceo: Avitum etiam imperatorem dimissis militibus suis luxuriâ diffluentem à Senatu Romano confestim exutum imperio non memoro: quia annos aliquot post Augustini obitum ista acciderunt. Verùm dono tibi hoc omne, tu nihil horum exposuisse me finge, paruerint per omnia suis regibus

regibus veteres Christiani, quicquam contra tyrannos ne fecerint, aut fecisse voluerint, non esse tamen eos quorum auctoritate niti debeamus, aut à quibus exempla petere salutariter possimus, quod superest, nunc docebo. Jam diu ante Constantinum populus Christianus multum de primæva illa sanctimonia & sinceritate cùm doctrinæ tum morum deperdiderat. Postquam immensis opibus ditata ab eo ecclesia, honores, dominatum, & potentiam civilem adamare cœpit, statim omnia in præceps ruere. Primò luxur & segnities, errorum deinde omnium & vitiorum caterva, veluti solutis aliunde carceribus, in ecclesiam immigravit; hinc invidentia, odium, discordia passim redundabat; tandem haud mitius inter se charissimo religionis vinculo fratres quàm hostes acerrimi dissidebant; nullus pudor, nulla officii ratio restabat; milites, & copiarum præfecti quoties ipsis visum erat, nunc imperatores novos creabant, nunc bonos pariter ac malos necabant. Quid Vetranniones & Maximos, quid Eugenios à militibus ad imperium subito evectos, quid Gratianum optimum principem, quid Valentinianum minorem non pessimum, occisos ab iis commemorem? Militum hæc quidem facinora & castrensum, sed tamen Christianorum illius ætatis, quam tu maximè evangelicam & imitandam esse ais. Jam ergò de ecclesiasticis pauca accipe: pastores & Episcopi, & nonnunquam illi, quos admiramur, patres, sui quisque gregis ductores, de episcopatu non secus quàm de tyrannide certabant: nunc per urbem, nunc in ipsa ecclesia, ad ipsum altare sacerdotes, & Laici promiscuè digladiabantur; cædes faciebant, strages utrinque magnas nonnunquam ediderunt. Damasi & Ursicini, qui cum Ambrosio floruerunt, potes meminisse. Longum esset Byzantinos, Antiochenos, & Alexandrinos illos tumultus, sub Cyrillo præsertim, quem tu laudas obedientiæ prædicatorem, duce ac patre; occiso pæne à monachis in illo urbeico prælio, Oreste Theodosii præfecto. Jam tua quis vel impudentia vel supinitate non obstupescat? “Usque ad Augustinum,” inquis, “& infra ejus ætatem, nulla cujusquam privati aut præfecti, aut plurium conjuratorum extat in historiis mentio, qui regem suum necaverint, aut contra eum armis pugnârint:” nominavi ego ex historiis notissimis & privatos, & proceres, qui non malos tantum, sed vel optimos reges suâ manu trucidaverint; totos Christianorum exercitus, multos cum iis episcopos, qui contra suos imperatores pugnaverint. Adfers patres, obedientiam erga regem, multis verbis aut suadentes aut ostentantes; adfero ego partim eosdem, partem alios patres haud paucioribus factis obedientiam, etiam licitis in rebus, detrectantes, armis se contra imperatorem defendentes, alios præsidibus ejus vim & vulnera inferentes, alios, episcopatus competitores, civilibus præliis inter se dimicantes; scilicet de episcopatu Christianos cum Christianis, cives cum civibus configere fas erat, de libertate, de liberis & conjugibus, de vita, cum tyranno, nefas. Quem non poeniteat hujusmodi patrum? Augustinum inducis “de potestate domini in servos, & regis in subditos” idem pronuntiantem; respondeo, ista si dicat Augustinus, ea dicere quæ neque Christus, neque ejus Apostoli unquam dixerunt; cùm eorum tamen solâ auctoritate rem alioqui apertissimè falsam commendare videatur. Quæ supersunt hujus capituli tres vel quatuor paginae, aut mera esse mendacia, aut oscitationes identidem repetitas, ex iis quæ à nobis responsa jam sunt, per se quisque deprehendet. Nam ad Papam quod attinet, in quem multa gratis peroras, faciliè te patior ad ravim usque declamitare. Quod tamen ad captandos rerum imperitos tam prolixè adstruis, “regibus sive justis sive tyrannis subiectum fuisse omnem Christianum, donec potestas papæ regali major agnosci cœpta est, & subiectos sacramento fidelitatis liberavit,” id esse falsissimum plurimis exemplis “& usque ad Augustinum, & infra ejus ætatem” prolatis demonstravimus. Sed neque illud quod postremò dicis, “Zachariam pontificem Gallos juramento fidelitatis absolvisse,” multò verius esse videtur. Negat Franciscus Hotomanus, & Gallus, & jurisconsultus, & vir doctissimus in Francogallia sua, cap. 13. abdicatum auctoritate Papæ Chilpericum, aut regnum Pipino delatum; sed in magno gentis concilio pro sua pristina auctoritate transactum fuisse id omne negotium, ex annalibus

Francorum

Francorum vetustissimis probat. Solvi deinde illo sacramento Gallos omnino opus fuisse, negant ipsa Gallorum monumenta, negat ipse papa Zacharias. Monumentis enim Francorum traditur, teste non solum Hotomano, sed Girardo historiarum illius gentis notissimo scriptore, veteres Francos ut eligendi, sic abdicandi, si videretur, suos reges jus sibi omne antiquitus reservasse; neque aliud sacramentum regibus, quos creabant, discere consuevisse, quam se illis hoc pacto fidem & officium præstituros, si vicissim illi quod eodem tempore jurati etiam spondent, præstiterint. Si ergo reges rempublicam sibi commissam malè gerendo, fidem jusjurandi frögerint priores, nil opus est Papæ, ipsi suâ perfidiâ populum sacramento solverunt. Papa denique Zacharias, quam tu auctoritatem sibi ais arrogasse, eam in epistolâ illâ ad Francos abs te citatâ ipse sibi derogavit, populo attribuit. Nam “ si princeps populo, cujus beneficio regnum possidet, obnoxius est, si plebs regem constituit, & destituere potest,” quæ ipsius verba sunt Papæ, verisimile non est voluisse Francos de antiquo jure suo, ullo postmodum jurejurando, præjudicium facere; aut unquam ita sese obstrinxisse, quin semper sibi liceret quod majoribus suis licuit, reges bonos quidem colere, malos amovere; nec eam præstare fidem tyrannis, quam bonis regibus dare sese arbitrati sunt. Tali obstrictum juramento populum, vel tyrannus ex rege factus, vel ignaviâ corruptus, suo ipse perjurio solvit, solvit ipsa justitia, solvit naturæ lex ipsa: unde pontifex quod solveret, etiam ipsius pontificis judicio nihil prorsus erat.

CAPUT V.

Quamquam in ea sum opinione, Salmasi, semperque fui, legem Dei cum lege naturæ optimè consentire, adeoque, si satis ostendi quid divinâ lege sit de regibus statutum, quid à populo Dei factum & Judaïco & Christiano, ostendisse me eodem tempore eademque operâ quid legi naturali maximè consentaneum sit; tamen quia “ confutari nos lege naturæ validissimè nunc posse ” arbitraris, quod supervacuum esse modò existimabam, id nunc ultrò necessarium fatebor; ut contra te hoc capite planum faciam, nihil congruentius naturæ etiam legibus esse, quam tyrannos plecti. Id nisi evincam, non recuso quin Dei quoque legibus puniri non posse, è vestigio tibi concedam. Non est consilium de natura jam, deque origine civilis vitæ longam orationem contexere; istud enim argumentum viri disertissimi cum Græci, tum Latini copiosè pertractârunt; ipse & brevitati, quantum licet, studeo, & huic rei do operam, ut non tamego, qui labori huic parvissem libens, sed tute te redarguas, téque subvertas. Ab eo igitur quod ipse ponis, incipiam, & disputationis hujus futuræ fundamenta jaciam. “ Lex,” inquis, “ naturæ est ratio omnium hominum mentibus insita, bonum respiciens universorum populorum, quatenus homines inter se societate gaudent. Bonum illud commune non potest procurare, nisi etiam, ut sunt quos regi necesse est, disponat quoque qui regere debeant.” Ne scilicet ut quisque fortior est, debiliorem opprimat; atque ita quos mutua salus ac defensio unum in locum congregaverat, vis atque injuria distrahat, & ad vitam agrestem redire cogat. Estne hoc quod volebas, etsi verbosius? “ Ex ipsorum ” itaque “ numero qui in unum convenere, deligi ” ais “ oportuisse quosdam sapientiâ aut fortitudine cæteris præstantes, qui vel vi vel persuadendo malè morigeros in officio continerent, sæpe unum id præstare potuisse, cujus excellens sit Virtus & Prudentia; interdum plures, qui mutuis consiliis id faciant. Cæterum cum unus omnia providere & administrare non possit, necesse est ut consilia cum pluribus participet, & in societatem regiminis alios admittat. Ita sive ad unum revocetur imperium, sive ad universum redeat populum, quia nec omnes simul rempub. gubernare possunt, nec unus omnia, ideo revera penès plures semper regimen consistit.” Et infra.

“ Ipsa

“ Ipsa autem regendi ratio sive per plures, sive per pauciores, sive per unum dispensetur, æquè naturalis est, cum ex naturæ ejusdem principiis descendat, quæ non patitur ita unius singularitatem gubernare, ut non alios socios imperandi habeat.” Hæc cum ex Aristotelis tertio Politicorum decerpisse potueram, malui abs te decerpta transcribere, quæ tu Aristoteli, ut ignem Jovi Prometheus, ad everfionem monarcharum, & perniciem ipsius tuam furripuisti. Jam enim prolatam à temetipso naturæ legem excute quantum voies; nullum juri regio, prout tu jus illud explicas, in natura locum, nullum ejus vestigium prorsus invenies. “ Lex,” inquis, “ naturæ cum disponderet qui regere alios deberent, univerforum populorum bonum respexit.” Non igitur unius, non monarchæ. Est itaque rex propter populum: populus ergò rege potior & superior; superior cum sit & potior populus, nullum jus regis existere potest, quo populum is affligat, aut in servitute habeat, inferior superiorem. Jus malè faciendi cum sit regi nullum, manet jus populi naturâ supremum; ut quo jure homines consilia & vires mutuae defensionis gratia, ante reges creatos, primò consociavere, quo jure ad communem omnium salutem, pacem, libertatem conservandam unum vel plures cæteris præfecerunt, eodem jure quos propter virtutem & prudentiam cæteris præposuerant, possent eosdem aut quosunque alias rempub. malè gerentes, propter ignaviam, stultitiam, improbitatem, perfidiam vel coercere vel abdicare: cum natura non unius vel paucorum imperium, sed univerforum salutem respexerit semper & respiciat. Jam verò populus quosnam delegit? “ sapientiâ ” inquis “ aut fortitudine cæteris præstantes,” nempe qui naturâ maximè regno idonei visi sunt, “ cujus excellens virtus, & prudentia præstare id ” muneris “ potuit.” - Jus igitur successionis naturâ nullum, nullus naturâ rex, nisi qui sapientiâ & fortitudine cæteris omnibus præcellit: cæteri vel vi, vel factione contra naturam reges sunt, cum servi potius esse deberent. Dat enim natura sapientissimo cuique in minùs sapientes imperium, non viro malo in bonos, non stolido in sapientes: his igitur imperium qui abrogant, omnino convenienter naturæ faciunt. Cui fini sapientissimum quemque natura constituat regem ex temetipso audi; ut vel naturæ vel legibus “ malè morigeros in officio contineat.” Continere autem in officio potestne is alios, officium qui negligit, aut nescit, aut pervertit ipse suum? Cedò jam quodvis naturæ præceptum quo jubeamur instituta naturæ sapientissima in rebus publicis & civilibus non observare, non curare, pro nihilo habere, cum ipsa in rebus naturalibus & inanimatis ne suo fine frustretur, sæpissimè res magnas atque miras efficere soleat. Ostende ullam vel naturæ vel naturalis justitiæ regulam, quâ oporteat reos minores puniri, reges & malorum omnium principes impunitos esse, immò inter maxima flagitia coli, adorari, & Deo proximos haberi. Concedis “ ipsam regendi rationem, sive per plures, sive per pauciores, sive per unum dispensetur, æquè naturalem esse.” Non est ergò rex vel optimatibus vel populi magistratibus naturâ sanctior, quos cum punire posse ac debere, si peccant, supra sis largitus, idem de regibus, eidem fini ac bono constitutis fateare necesse est. “ Non ” enim “ patitur naturâ,” inquis, “ ita unius singularitatem gubernare, ut non alios socios imperandi habeat.” Minimè ergò patitur monarchiam, minimè unum ita imperare, ut cæteros omnes sui unius imperii servos habeat. Socios autem imperandi qui tribuis regi, “ penès quos semper regimen consistat,” das eidem collegas, & æquales; addis quis punire, addis qui abdicare possint. Ita, uti semper facis, dum potestatem regiam, non jam exauges, sed tantummodò naturâ constituis, aboles: adeò ut nihil putem inauspicius accidere regibus potuisse, quàm te defensorem. O infelicem ac miserum, quæ te mentis caligo in hanc impulit fraudem, ut latentem antehac diu, & quasi personatam improbitatem atque inscitiam tuam nunc tanto conatu insciens nudares ipse, & omnibus patefaceres: tuoquemet opprobrio operam ipse tuam locares, tuo ipse ludibrio tam gnaviter inservires. Quæ te ira numinis quævis pœnas luentem, in lucem & ora hominum evocavit, ut tanto apparatu causam teterrimam impudentissimè simul & stolidissimè defenderes, atque ita defendendo invitus, pèrque

pérque inscitiam proderes? Quis te pejùs perditum vellet, quis miseriorem, cui jam sola imprudentia, sola væcordia salutem esse potest, ne sis miserrimus, si tyrannos quorum causam suscepisti, imperitâ ac stultâ defensione tantò magis invisos ac detestabiles omnibus, contrâ quàm sperabas, reddideris, quanto iis majorem malefaciendi & impunè dominandi licentiam de industriâ attribueris; eoque plures eorundem hostes inconsultò excitaveris. Sed redeo ad tua tecum diffidia. Cùm tantum in te scelus admiseris, ut tyrannidem naturâ fundare studeas, præ cæteris gubernandi rationibus monarchiam primò laudandam tibi esse vidisti; id, uti soles, inceptare sine repugnantia nequis. Cum enim modò dixeras, “ ipsam regendi rationem, sive per plures, sive per pauciores, sive per unum, æque naturalem esse,” statim “ eam, quæ per unum exercetur, ex his tribus, magis naturalem esse ” ais, immò qui etiam recens dixeras, “ non patitur natura unius singularitatem gubernantis.” Jam tyrannorum necem objice cui voles, qui & monarchas omnes, & monarchiam ipsam tuâ fatuitate jugulasti, Verùm quæ sit melior administrandi rempub. ratio, per unum an per plures, non est nunc differendi locus. Et monarchiam quidem multi celebres viri laudârunt, si tamen is qui solus regnat, vir omnium optimus, & regno dignissimus sit; id nisi contingat, nihil monarchia procliviùs in eam tyrannidem, quæ pessima est, labitur. Jam quòd ad unius “ exemplar Dei expressam esse ” dicis, quis potentiam divinæ similem in terris obtinere dignus est, nisi qui cæterorum omnium longè præstantissimus, etiam bonitate ac sapientiâ est Deo simillimus; is autem solus, meâ quidem sententiâ, expectatus ille Dei filius est. Quòd regnum in familiam rursus contrudis, ut patrifamilias regem assimiles, pater certè suæ familiæ regnum meretur, quam omnem vel generavit, vel alit: in rege nihil est hujusmodi, sed planè contrâ sunt omnia. Animalia deinde nobis gregalia, imprimis “ aves,” & in iis “ apes,” siquidem te Physiologo aves istæ sunt, imitandas proponis. “ Apes regem habent.” Tridentinæ scilicet, annon meministi? cæterarum, te teste, “ respub. est.” Verum tu define de apibus fatuari, musarum sunt, oderunt te scarabæum, & ut vides, redarguunt. “ Coturnices sub Ortygometra.” Istos onocrotalis tuis tende laqueos; nos tam stolido aucupio non capimur. Atqui jam tua res agitur, non nostra, “ Gallus gallinaceus,” inquis, “ tam maribus quàm fœminis imperitat.” Qui potest hoc fieri? Cum tu ipse Gallus, & ut ferunt, vel nimium gallinaceus, non tuæ gallinæ, sed illa tibi imperitet, & in te regnum exerceat: si gallinaceus ergò plurium fœminarum rex est, tu gallinæ mancipium tuæ, non gallinaceum te, sed stercorearium quendam esse Gallum oportet. Pro libris certè nemo te majora edit sterquilinia, & gallicinio tuo stercoreo omnes obtundis; hoc unicum galli gallinacei habes. Jam ego multa hordei grana daturum me tibi promitto, si totum hoc vertendo sterquilinium tuum, vel unam mihi gemmam ostenderis. Sed quid ego tibi hordeum? qui non hordeum, ut Æsopicus ille, simplex & frugi gallus, sed aurum, ut Plautinus ille nequam, sculpturiendo quæstisti; quamvis exitu adhuc dispari; tu enim centum Jacobæos aureos inde reperisti, cum Euclionis fuste potiùs, quo misellus ille Plautinus, obtruncari dignior sis. Sed pergendum est. “ Eadem utilitatis & incolumitatis omnium ratio naturalis postulat, ut qui semel ad gubernandum constitutus est, conservetur.” Quis negat, quatenus ejus conservatio cum incolumitate omnium consistit? ad perniciem autem omnium conservari unum, quis non videt alienissimum à natura esse? At “ malum etiam regem conservari, immo pessimum ” omnino vis, “ eò quod non tantum mali civitati procurat malè gubernando, quantum creatur cladium ex seditionibus quæ ad eum tollendum suscitantur.” Quid hoc ad jus regum naturale? An, si natura me monet, ut latronibus diripiendum me permittam, ut captum me totis facultatibus redimam potiùs, quàm ut dimicare de vitâ cogar, latronum tu inde jus naturale constitues? suadet natura populo, ut tyrannorum violentiæ nonnunquam cedat, cedat temporibus; tu istâ populi necessitate ac patientiâ jus etiam naturale tyrannorum fundabis? Quod illa jus populo sui conservandi causâ dedit, tu illam tyranno perdendi populi causâ jus idem dedisse affirmabis? Docet

natura ex duobus malis, eligendum esse minus; & quandiu necesse est, tolerandum; an tu hinc tyranno, utpote minori fortasse interdum malo, jus impunè malefaciendi exoriri naturale statues? Recordare saltem ea quæ jampridem ipse de Episcopis contra Loioli-tam scripsisti, à me suprà tertio capite recitata his planè contraria; Illic “ seditiones, diffentiones, discordias optimatum & populi, longè levius esse malum,” affirmas, “ quàm sub uno monarcha tyranno certam miseriam ac perniciem.” Et vera tu quidem affirmabas; nondum enim insaniebas, nondum Carolinis Jacobæis delinitus & deauratus in morbum regium incideras. Dicerem fortasse, nisi is esses qui es, pudeat te tandem prævaricationis tuæ turpissimæ; tibi verò dirumpi facilius est quàm erubescere, qui ut rem faceres, pudorem jam diu amisisti. Annon ipse memineras Romanos florentissimam & gloriosissimam Rempub. post exactos reges habuisse? potuit fieri ut Batavorum obliviscerere? quorum respub. Hispaniarum rege pulso post bella diutina, feliciter tamen gesta, libertatem fortiter & gloriosè consequuta est, téque grammaticastrum Equitem stipendio alit suo, non ut juvenus Batavica te prævaricatore & sophistâ tam nihil sapere discat, ut ad servitutem Hispanicam redire mallet, quàm paternæ libertatis ac gloriæ hæres esse; istam doctrinæ pestem ad Riphæos ultimos, & glaciale oceanum, quò te in malam rem abire par est, tecum auferas licebit: Exemplo denique sunt Angli, qui Carolum tyrannum bello captum, & insanabilem obtruncârunt. At “ insulam beatam sub regibus, & luxu affluentem discordiis deformârunt.” Immo luxu penè perditam, quò tolerantior servitutis esset, extinctis deinde legibus, & mancipatâ religione, servientem liberârunt. En autem Epicteti cum Simplicio editorem, Stoicum gravissimum, cui “ luxu affluens insula” beata esse videtur! Ex porticu Zenonis nunquam tale, fat scio, documentum prodiit. Quid refert, an te doctore quicquid libet regibus licebit, tibi ipsi non licebit Lupi domino ex Lupanari tuo, tanquam ex novo quodam lycéo quamcunque libet emitte philosophiam? sed resume nunc quam suscepisti personam. “ Nunquam sub ullo rege tantum cruoris haustum est, tot familiæ desolatæ;” Hoc totum Carolo imputandum est, non Anglis; qui exercitum Hibernicorum priùs in nos paraverat, omnes Hibernos conjurare contra Anglos suo ipse diplomate jusserat; per illos ducena circiter millia Anglorum una in provinciâ Ultoniâ occiderat; de reliquis nihil dico: binos exercitus in exitium Parlamenti Anglicani urbisque Londini sollicitaverat; multa alia hostiliter fecerat, priusquam à populo aut magistratibus tuendæ Reipub. causâ vel unus miles conscriptus esset. Quæ doctrina, quæ lex, quæ unquam religio sic homines instituit, ut otio consulendum, ut pecuniæ, ut sanguini, ut vitæ potius parcendum esse ducerent, quàm hosti obviàm eundum? nam externo an intestino, quid interest? cùm interitus reipub. sive ab hoc, sive ab illo funestus æquè, & acerbus impendeat. Vidit totus Israël non posse se sine multo sanguine levitæ uxorem stupro enectam ulcisci; an igitur quiescendum sibi esse duxit, an bello civili, quamvis truculentissimo, superfedendum, an unam igitur mulierculam mori inultam est passus? Certè si natura nos docet quamvis pessimi regis dominatum potius pati, quàm in recuperanda libertate, plurimorum civium salutem in discrimen adducere, doceret eadem non regem solùm perferre, quem tamen solum perferendum esse contendis, sed optimatum, sed paucorum quoque potentiam; latronum etiam nonnunquam & fervorum rebellantium multitudinem. Non Fulvius aut Rupilius ad bellum servile post cæsos exercitus prætorios, non Crassus in Spartacum post deleta consularium castra, non Pompeius ad piraticum bellum exiisset. Romani vel servis, vel piratis, ne tot civium sanguis effunderetur, hortante scilicet naturâ, succubissent. “ Hunc” itaque “ sensum,” aut hujusmodi ullum “ gentibus impressisse naturam” nusquam ostendis: & tamen non desinis malè ominari, & vindictam divinam, quam in te augurem tuique similes avertat Deus, nobis denuntiare; qui nomine tantùm regem, re hostem acerbissimum debito supplicio ultimus sumus; & innumerabilem bonorum civium cædem authoris poenâ expiavimus. Nunc magis naturalem esse monarchiam ex eo probari aïs, quod “ plures nationes & nunc & olim regiam

gium statum receperint, quàm optimitatem & popularem." Respondeo primùm neque Deo neque naturâ suadente id factum esse ; Deus nisi invitus, populum suum sub regio imperio esse noluit ; natura quid suadeat & recta ratio, non ex pluribus, sed ex prudentissimis nationibus optimè perspicitur. Græci, Romani, Itali, Carthaginienses, multique alii suoapte ingenio vel optimatum vel populi imperium regio prætulērunt ; atque hæc quidem nationes cæterarum omnium instar sunt. Hinc Sulpitius Severus, " regium nomen cunctis ferè liberis gentibus semper invisum " fuisse tradit. Verùm ista non jam huc pertinent, nec quæ sequuntur multa, inani futilitate à te sæpius repetita : ad illud festino, ut quod rationibus firmavi, id exemplis nunc ostendam, esse vel maximè secundum naturam, tyrannos quoquo modo puniri ; id omnes gentes, magistrâ ipsâ naturâ, sæpius fecisse ; ex quo impudentia tua prædicanda, & turpissima mentiendi licentia omnibus innotescere dehinc poterit. Primos omnium inducis Ægyptios ; & certè quis te per omnia Ægyptizare non videat ? " Apud hos " inquis " nusquam mentio extat ullius regis à populo per seditiones occisi, nullum bellum illatum, aut quicquam factum à populo quo è folio dejiceretur." Quid ergò Osiris rex Ægyptiorum fortasse primus ? annon à fratre Typhone, & viginti quinque aliis conjuratis interemptus est ? quos & magna pars populi secuta magnum cum Iside & Oro, regis conjuge, & filio prælium commisit ? prætereo Sesostrin à fratre per insidias penè oppressum ; Chemmin etiam & Cephrenem, quibus populus meritò infensus, quos vivos non poterat, mortuos se discerpturum minatus est. Qui reges optimos obtruncare sunt ausi, eóne putas naturæ lumine, aut religione aliquâ retentos, à pessimis regibus manus abstinuisse ? qui reges mortuos, & tum demùm innocuos, sepulcro eruituros se minitabantur, ubi etiam pauperculi cujusque corpus inviolatum esse solet, vivosne illi & nocentissimos propter naturæ legem punire, si modò viribus valerent, vererentur ? Affirmares hæc, scio, quamlibet absurda ; at enim ego ne affirmare audeas elinguem te reddam. Scito igitur multis ante Cephrenem seculis regnasse apud Ægyptos Ammosin ; & tyrannum, ut qui maximè, fuisse ; eum Ægyptii æquo animo pertulerunt. Lætaris ; hoc enim est quod vis. At reliqua audi vir optime & veracissime, Diodori enim verba sunt quæ recito, *μίχρη μὲν τινὲς ἐκάρτερον ἔδυνάμενοι*, &c. tolerabant aliquandiu oppressi, quia resistere potentioribus nullo modo poterant. Quamprimùm verò Actifanes Æthiopum rex bellum gerere cum eo cœpit, nacti occasionem plerique defecerunt, eoque faciliè subactò, Ægyptus regno Æthiopum accessit. Vides hic Ægyptios, quamprimùm poterant, arma contra tyrannum tulisse, copias cum externo rege conjunxisse, ut regem suum ejusque posteros regno privarent, bonum & moderatum regem, qualis erat Actifanes, maluisse externum, quàm tyrannum domesticum. Eidem Ægyptii consensu omnium maximo Aprien tyrannum suum, conductitiis copiis præfidentem, duce Amasi prælio victum strangulârunt ; Amasi viro nobili regnum dederunt. Hoc etiam adverte ; Amasis captum regem ad tempus in ipsa regia honestè asservabat : incusante demùm populo, injustè eum facere qui suum & ipsorum hostem aleret, tradidit populo regem ; qui eum prædicto supplicio affecit. Hæc Herodotus & Diodorus. Quid amplius tibi quæris ? ecquem tyrannum censes non maluisse vitam securi quàm laqueo finire ? Postea sub Persarum imperium " redacti Ægyptii fideles," inquis, " exstitere ;" Quod falsissimum est ; in fide enim Persarum nunquam permansere ; sed quarto post anno quàm subacti à Cambyse fuerant, rebellârunt. Domiti deinde à Xerxe, haud multò post ab ejus filio Artaxerxe defecerunt, regem Inarum quendam sibi adsciverunt. Quo occiso iterum fidem mutant, & constituto rege Tacho Artaxerxi Mnemoni bellum indicunt. Sed neque suo regi fideliores, ablatum patri regnum filio Nectanebo tradunt : donec tandem ab Artaxerxe Ocho in ditionem Persarum rediguntur. Sub Macedonum etiam imperio, quantum in se erat, tyrannos coercendos esse factis indicârunt ; statuas & imagines Ptolemæi Physconis dejecerunt, ipsum mercenario exercitu præpollentem interficere nequiverunt. Alexander ejus filius ob cædem matris concursu populi in exilium agitur : filium item ejus Alexandrum insolentiùs dominantem Alexandrinus

populus vi abreptum ex regia in gymnasio publico interfecit: Ptolemæum denique Auleten ob multa flagitia regno expulit. Hæc tam nota cum non possit nescire vir doctus, non debuerit qui hæc docere profiteatur, qui fidem tantis in rebus haberi sibi postulet, quis non pudendum & indignissimum esse dicat, hunc, vel tam rudem & indoctum tanta cum infamia bonarum literarum pro doctissimo circumferre se tumidum, & stipendia regum & civitatum ambire, vel tam improbum & mendacem, non insigni aliquâ ignominiâ notatum, ex omnium communitate & consortio tum doctorum tum bonorum exterminari. Postquam Ægyptum lustravimus; ad Æthiopes jam proximos visamus. Regem à Deo electum, ut credunt, quasi Deum quendam adorant: quoties tamen eum Sacerdotes damnant, ipse mortem sibi consciscit. Sic enim, Diodoro teste, omnes alios maleficos puniunt; non ipsi morte afficiunt, sed ipsos reos lictore misso mori jubent. Ad Assyrios deinde & Medos & Persas regum observantissimos accedis: “jus illic regium summa cum licentia quidlibet faciendi conjunctum fuisse” contra omnium Historicorum fidem affirmas. Narrat imprimis Daniel ut regem Nebuchadnezzarem plus nimio superbientem homines à se depulerint, & ad bestias ablegaverint. Jus eorum non regium, sed Medorum & Persarum id est populi jus appellatur; quod cum irrevocabile esset, reges etiam obligavit. Darius itaque Medus eripere manibus satraparum Danielem, quanquam id maximè agebat, non potuit. “Populi,” inquis, “nefas esse tum credebant regem repudiare quòd illo jure abuteretur.” Inter ipsa tamen hæc verba adeò miserè obtorpes, ut dum istorum populorum obedientiam & modestiam laudas, ereptum Sardanapalo regnum ab Arbace tuâ sponte commemoras. Eripuit autem is non solus, sed partim à Sacerdotibus juris peritissimis, partim à populo adjutus, atque hoc præsertim nomine eripuit, quòd is jure regio, non ad crudelitatem, sed ad luxuriam tantummodò & mollitiem abuteretur. Percurre Herodotum, Ctesiam, Diodorum, intelliges omninò contrà esse quàm dicis, “à Subditis ut plurimum ea regna destructa fuisse, non ab externis.” Assyrios reges à Medis, Medos à Persis, utrisque tum Subditis, sublatos fuisse. “Cyrum” ipse “rebellasse, & arreptas tyrannides in diversis imperii locis fateris.” Hoccine est jus regium apud Medos & Persas, & observantiam eorum in reges, quod instituiti, asserere? Quæ te Anticyra tam delirum sanare potest? “Persarum reges quali jure regnârint ex Herodoto,” inquis, “liquet.” Cambyfes, cum sororem in matrimonio habere cuperet, judices regios consulit, delectos “ex populo viros,” legum interpretes, ad quos omnia referri solebant. Quid illi? negant se invenire legem quæ jubeat fratrem secum in matrimonium sororem jungere; aliam tamen invenisse, quâ liceat Persarum regi facere quæ libeat. Primum si rex omnia pro suo jure poterat, quid alio legum interprete quàm ipso rege opus erat? supervacanei isti judices ubivis potius quàm in regia mansissent. Deinde si Regi Persarum quidvis licuit, incredibile est id adeò nescivisse Cambysem dominationis cupidissimum, ut quid licitum esset, judices illos percontaretur. Quid ergò? vel “gratificari” volentes “regi,” ut fateris ipse, vel à tyranno sibi metuentes, ut ait Herodotus, facilem quandam se reperisse legem simulant, palpum regi obtrudentes: quod in judicibus & legum peritis hac etiam ætate novum non est. At verò “Artabanus Persa dixit ad Themistoclem, nullam legem apud Persas esse meliorem illâ quâ sancitum fuerat, regem esse honorandum & adorandum.” Præclaram tu quidem legem de adoratione regum introducis etiam à patribus antiquis damnatam; præclarum etiam legis commendatorem Artabanum, qui ipse haud multò postea suâ manu Xerxem regem suum trucidavit. Probos regum defensores regicidas nobis adfers: suspicor te regibus insidias quasdam moliri. Claudianum citas poëtam, Persarum obedientiæ testem. At ego te ad res eorum gestas & annales revoco, defectionibus Persarum, Medorum, Bactrianorum, Babyloniorum, etiam cædibus regum refertissimos. Proximus tibi author est Otanes Persa, ipse etiam Smerdis interfector sui regis, qui cum odio potestatis regiæ, injurias & facinora regum exponat, violationes legum, cædes indemnatorum, stupra, adulteria, hoc tu jus regium vis appellari, & Samuelis iterum calumniandi in mentem tibi venit.

De Homero qui reges esse ab Jove cecinit, suprâ respondi : Philippo regi jus regium interpretanti tam credam quàm Carolo. Ex Diotogenis deinde Pythagoréi fragmento quædam producis, at quali is de rege dicat taces. Accipe igitur quo ille usus est exordio ; ad quod referri quæ sequuntur cuncta debent. Βασιλεὺς κ' εἴη ὁ δίκαιότατος, &c. “ Rex ille fuerit, qui justissimus est, justissimus autem, qui maximè legitimus,” nam sine justitia nullus “ rex esse poterit, neq; justitia sine lege.” Hæc cum jure tuo regio è regione pugnant. Eadem abs te recitatus Ecphantas philosophatur. Δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν καλῶς ἀνῆλθα, &c. “ oportet qui regnum suscipit purissimum & lucidissimum naturâ esse :” & infra ὁ κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐξάρχων, &c. “ ille qui imperat secundum virtutem, nominatur rex, & est.” Quem tu igitur regem vocas, Pythagoreorum judicio rex non est. Jam tu vicissim Platonem audi in Epistola octava ἀρχὴ γιγνέσθω ὑποῦθουν βασιλική, &c. “ Sit regia potestas reddendæ rationi obnoxia ; leges dominantur & aliis civibus & ipsis etiam regibus, si quid præter leges fecerint. Addo Aristotelem Polit. 3. ἐν μέν τοι ὁμοίοις καὶ ἴσοις ἔτε συμφέρον ἐστίν, &c. “ inter similes & æquales neque utile est neque justum, esse unum omnium dominum, neque ubi leges non sunt, neque ut ipse lex sit, neque ubi sunt leges ; neque bonum bonorum, neque non bonum non bonorum dominum esse.” Et lib. quinto, “ Quem populus non vult, statim is non rex, sed tyrannus est,” c. 10. Hem tibi etiam Xenophontem in Hierone ἀντὶ τῆ τιμωρεῖν αἱ πόλεις αὐτοῖς, &c. “ tantum abest ut tyrannorum necem civitates ulciscantur, ut magnis honoribus afficiant eum, qui tyrannum interfecerit, imagines etiam tyrannicidarum in templis statuunt.” Testem oculatum adjiciam Marcum Tullium pro Milone. “ Græci homines deorum honores tribuunt iis viris qui tyrannos necaverunt : quæ ego vidi Athenis, quæ aliis in urbibus Græciæ, quas res divinas talibus institutas viris, quos cantus, quæ carmina ? prope ad immortalitatem, & religionem, & memoriam consecrantur.” Polybius denique, author gravissimus, Historiarum 6to. τότε δὲ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἐπόμενοι, &c. “ cum principes,” inquit, “ cupiditatibus obsequi cœperunt, tum de regno facta est tyrannis, & conspiratio in caput dominantium inibatur ; cujus quidem authores erant non deterrimi civium, sed generosissimi quique & maximi animi.” Longè plura cùm mihi suppetere, hæc pauca delibavi : obruor enim copiâ. A philosophis ad Poëtas jam provocas, eò te libentissimè sequimur. “ Potestatem nullis legibus, nullis judiciis obnoxiam in Græcia reges obtinuisse vel unus,” inquis, “ Æschylus potest docere ; qui in tragœdia, Supplices, Regem Argivorum ἀκρίον πρύτανιν vocat, non judicabilem rectorem.” Verum tu scito, (præcipitem enim te & nullius judicii esse, quocunque te vertis, eò magis perspicio) scito, inquam, non quid poëta, sed quis apud Poëtam quidque dicat, spectandum esse : variæ enim personæ inducuntur, nunc bonæ, nunc malæ, nunc sapientes, nunc simplices, non semper quid Poëtæ videatur, sed quid cuique maximè conveniat loquentes. Danaï filix quinquaginta ex Ægypto profugæ ad Argivorum regem supplices pervenerant ; orant uti se contra vim Ægyptiorum classe insequentium defendat ; respondet rex non posse se, nisi rem prius cum populo communicet.

Ἐγὼ δ' αὖ ἐκ κραινοίμ' ὑπόσχεσιν πάρος
 Ἀστὼν δὲ πᾶσι τοῖσδε κοινώσας πέρι.

Mulieres peregrinæ & supplices incerta populi suffragia veritæ, regem denuò blandiùs compellant.

Εὐ τοι πόλις, σὺ δὲ τὸ δῆμιον,
 Πρύτανις ἀκρίῳ ὦν.

“ Tu instar urbis es & populi, Prætor injudicatus.

Rursus

Rurfus rex, Εἶπον δὲ καὶ πρὶν, οὐκ ἄνευ δήμου τάδε
Πράξαιμι' ἂν εἰδέπερ κρατῶν.

“ Dixi antea, non sine populo hæc faciam, ne si possem quidem.

De re itaque tota ad populum refert,

Ἐγὼ δὲ λάεες συγκαλῶν ἐγχωρίεες
Πείσω τὸ κοινόν.

Populus itaque decernit opem Danai filiabus ferendam ; unde illa fenis Danai lætantis.

Θαρσεῖτε παῖδες, εὖ τὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων
Δήμου δέδοκται πανήλεϊ ψηφίσματα.

“ Bono estote animo filiæ, benè decreverunt

“ Indigenarum, in conventu populari, perfectissima suffragia.

Hæc nisi protulissem, quàm temere statuisset sciolus iste de jure regio apud Græcos ex ore mulierum, & peregrinarum, & supplicum ; cùm & ipse rex, & ipsa res gesta longè aliud nos doceat. Idem etiam docet Euripidis Orestes, qui, mortuo patre, Argivorum ipse rex, ob cædem matris à populo in judicium vocatus, ipse causam dixit, & suffragiis populi capite damnatus est. Athenis regiam potestatem legibus obnoxiam fuisse testatur idem Euripides etiam in Supplicibus, ubi hæc Theseus Athenarum Rex—

Ὁ γὰρ ἄρχεται
Ἐνὸς πρὸς ἀνδρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐλευθέρα πόλις,
Δῆμος δ' ἀνάσσει---

“ non regitur

“ Ab uno viro, sed est libera hæc civitas,

“ Populus autem regnat---

Sic ejus filius Demophoon Rex item Atheniensium apud eundem poëtam in Heraclidis.

Οὐ γὰρ τυραννίδ' ὥς τε βαρβάρων ἔχω,
Ἄλλ' ἦν δίκαια δρῶ, δίκαια πείσομαι.

“ Non enim iis tyrannicè tanquam barbaris impero,

“ Sed si facio justa quæ sunt, justa mihi rependuntur.

Non aliud Thebis jus regium antiquitatis fuisse testatur Sophocles in Oedipo tyranno, unde & Tiresias & Creon Oedipo ferociter responsant, ille

Ὁ γὰρ τι σοὶ ζῶ δ᾽ ἔλκω

“ Non servus tibi sum.

Hic,

Κάμοι πόλεως μέτεσι τῆς δ' ἐ σοὶ μόνω.

“ Est & mihi jus in hac civitate non tibi solum.

Et Æmon Creonti in Antigone.

Πόλις γὰρ οὐκ ἔσθ', ἥ τις ἀνδρὸς ἔσθ' ἐνός.

“ Non est civitas, quæ unius est viri.”

Jam verò Lacedæmoniorum reges in judicium sæpe adductos, & interdum morte multatos nemo ignorat. Atque hæc quidem antiquum in Græcia jus regum quale fuerit fati declarant. Ad Romanos veniamus. Tu ad illud imprimis recurris non Sallustianum, sed C. Memmii apud Sallustium, “impunè quidvis facere :” cui suprâ responsum est. Sallustius ipse disertis verbis author est, “Romanos imperium legitimum, nomen imperii regum habuisse :” quod cum “se in dominationem convertit,” ut nôsti, expulerunt. Sic M. Tullius in Pisonem, “ego Consulem esse putem, qui Senatum esse in repub. non putavit? & sine eò consilio consulem numerem, sine quo Romæ ne reges quidem esse potuerunt?” Audin’ regem Romæ sine Senatu nihil fuisse? “At Romulus, ut libitum, Romanis imperitaverat, ut ait Tacitus.” Nondum enim fundata legibus, colluvies potiùs convenarum quàm respub. erat: omnes olim mortales sine legibus vivebant, cùm respUBLICÆ nondum essent. Post Romulum autem, auctore Livio, etsi regem omnes volebant, libertatis dulcedine nondum expertâ, “Populo tamen summa potestas permissa est, ut non plus darent juris quàm detinerent; jus illud” à Cæsaribus “vi ademptum fuisse” idem ait. Servius Tullius dolo primum quasi Tarquinii Prisci vicarius regnabat; postea verò ad populum ipse retulit, “vellent juberentne se regnare;” tandem ut ait Tacitus, “sanctorum legum fuit queis etiam reges obtemperarent.” Fecissetne hanc sibi & posteris injuriam, si supra leges priùs fuisse jus regum sensisset? Ultimus illorum regum Tarquinius superbus “morem de omnibus Senatum consulendi primus solvit;” ob hæc & alia flagitia populus L. Tarquinio Regi imperium abrogavit; exulémque esse cum conjuge ac liberis jussit. Hæc ferè ex Livio & Cicerone; quibus alios juris regii apud Romanos haud tu interpretes attuleris meliores. Ad dictaturam quod attinet, temporaria tantùm fuit, nunquam adhibita nisi difficillimis reipub. temporibus, & intra sex menses deponenda. Jus autem imperatorum quod vocas, non jus illud, sed vis planè erat; imperium nullo jure præterquàm armis partum. At “Tacitus,” inquis, “qui sub imperio floruit,” ista scripsit. “Principi summum rerum arbitrium dii dederunt, subditis obsequii gloria relicta est.” Nec dicis quo loco; tibi conscius nimirum insigniter lectoribus imposuisse; quod mihi quidem statim suboluit, quamvis locum illum non statim reperi. Non enim Taciti hæc verba sunt, scriptoris boni, & tyrannis adversissimi, sed apud Tacitum M. Terentii cujusdam equitis Romani, qui capitis reus, inter alia, quæ metu mortis ab eo dicta sunt, sic Tiberium adulatur, annalium 6to. “Tibi summum rerum judicium dii dederunt, nobis obsequii gloria relicta est.” Hanc tu quasi Taciti sententiam profers, qui sententias tibi commodas non ex pistrina solùm, aut tonstrina, sed ex ipsa carnificinâ oblatas non respueres: ita omnia vel ostentationis causâ, vel imbecillitatis conscientia undecunque corradis. Tacitum ipsum si legere maluisses, quàm alicubi decerptum negligentius transcribere, docuisset te is, jus illud imperatorum unde ortum sit. “Post Actiacam victoriam, verso civitatis statu nihil usquam prisce aut integri moris; omnes exutâ æqualitate jussa principis aspectare;” docuisset idem annalium 3tio, unde tuum omne jus regium; “Postquam exui æqualitas, & pro modestia ac pudore ambitio & vis incedebat, provenere dominationes; multosque apud populos æternùm mansere.” Idem ex Dione poteras didicisse, si innata levitas & inconstantia tua quicquam te altius percipere pateretur. Narrat enim is l. 53. abs te citato, ut partim armis, partim dolo & simulatione Octaviani Cæsaris, effectum sit, ut imperatores legibus soluti essent; dum enim pro concione pollicetur se principatu abiturum, legibus & imperiis etiam aliorum obtemperaturum, per causam belli in provinciis suis gerendi, retentis apud se semper legionibus, dum simulatè renuit imperium, sensim invasit. Non est hoc legibus ritè solutum esse, sed legum vincula, quod gladiator ille Spartacus potuit, vi solvere; nomen deinde principis aut imperatoris & ἀυτοκρατορος sibi arrogare, quasi Deus aut naturæ lex omnes & homines & leges illi subjecisset. Vis altius paulò juris Cæsarei originem cognoscere? Marcus Antonius, jussu Cæsaris, qui

qui armis in rempublicam nefariè sumptis tum plurimum poterat, Consul factus, cùm Lupercalia Romæ celebrarentur, ex composito, ut videbatur, diadema capiti Cæsaris cum gemitu & plangore populi imposuit : ascribi deinde jussit in fastis ad Lupercalia, C. Cæsari Antonium Consulem, jussu populi, regnum detulisse. Quâ de re Cicero in secunda Philippica ; “ Ideône L. Tarquinius exactus, Spurius Cassius, Sp. Melius, M. Manlius necati, ut multis post seculis à M. Antonio, quod fas non est, rex Romæ constitueretur ?” Tu verò omni malo cruciatu atque infamiâ sempiternâ etiam ipso Antonio dignior es ; quanquam tu hinc noli superbire, non enim te hominem despiciatissimum, ullâ re aliâ quàm scelere cum Antonio conferendum putem, qui in hisce tuis Lupercalibus nefandis non uni tantùm, sed omnibus tyrannis diadema, cunctis legibus solutum, nullâ solvendum, imponere studuisti. Certè si ipsorum Cæsarum oraculo credendum est, sic enim appellant Christiani imperatores Theodosius & Valens edictum suum, cod. l. 1. tit. 14. de autoritate juris, imperatorum pendet autoritas. Majestas ergò regnantis, vel ipsorum Cæsarum sive judicio sive oraculo, submittenda legibus est, de quibus pendet. Hinc adultâ jam potestate imperatoriâ ad Trajanum Plinius in Panegyrico ; “ Diversa sunt naturâ, dominatio, & principatus. Trajanus regnum ipsum arcet ac summovet, sedémque obtinet principis, ne sit domino locus.” Et infrà, “ omnia quæ de aliis principibus à me dicta sunt, eò pertinent ut ostendam, quàm longâ consuetudine corruptos, depravatósque mores principatûs parens noster reformet, & corrigat.” Quod depravatos principatûs mores Plinius, id ténépudet jus regium perpetuò vocitare ? Verùm hætenùs de jure regio apud Romanos breviter. Quid illi in tyrannos suos, sive reges, sive Imperatores fecerint, vulgò notum est. Tarquiniùm expulerunt. Sed “ quomodo,” inquis, “ expulerunt, an in jus vocârunt ? nequaquam ; Portas venienti clauferunt.” Ridiculum caput, quid ni clauderent advolanti cum parte copiarum ? quid refert exulare jussus fuerit an mori, modò pœnas dedisse constat ? Ca. Cæsarem tyrannum excellentissimi ejus ætatis viri in Senatu interfecerunt ; id factum M. Tullius & ipse vir optimus, & pater patriæ publicè dictus, miris laudibus, cùm alibi passim, tum in 2da Philippica celebravit. Pauca recitabo. “ Omnes boni, quantum in ipsis fuit, Cæsarem occiderunt ; aliis consilium, aliis animus, aliis occasio defuit, voluntas nemini.” Et infrà. “ Quæ enim res unquam, proh sancte Jupiter, non modò in hac urbe, sed in omnibus terris est gesta major, quæ gloriosior, quæ commendatior hominum memoriæ sempiternæ ? in hujus me consilii societatem, tanquam in equum Trojanum, includi cum principibus non recuso.” Illud Senecæ tragici & ad Græcos referri potest, & ad Romanos :

———Victima haud ulla amplior
Poteſt, magiſque opima maſtari Jovi
Quàm rex iniquus.———

Nam si ad Herculem spectes, cujus hæc sententia inducitur, quid senserint illâ ætate Græcorum summi viri ostendit : si ad poëtam, qui sub Nerone floruit (& sensum ferè suum poëtæ personis optimis affingere solent) significabat & quid ipse, & quid omnes viri boni, ætate etiam Neronis, faciendum tyranno censuerint ; quàmque pium, quàmque diis gratum esse duxerint tyrannicidium. Sic optimi quique Romanorum, quantum in se erat, Domitianum occiderunt. Palàm hoc profitetur Plinius secundus in illo ad Trajanum imperatorem Panegyrico. “ Juvabat illidere solo superbissimos vultus, instare ferro, sævire securibus, ut si singulos ictus sanguis dolorque sequeretur : nemo tam temperans gaudii, quin instar ultionis videretur cernere laceros artus, truncata membra, postremò truces horrendâsque imagines abjectas excoctâsque flammis.” Et deinde, “ non satis amant bonos principes, qui malos satis non oderint.” Tum inter flagitia Domitiani ponit, quòd is Epaphroditum Neronis utcunque interfectorem trucidaverit. “ An excidit dolori nostro modò vindicatus Nero, permetteret credo famam

famam vitamque ejus carpi, qui mortem ulcisceretur?" Planè quasi sceleri pròximum esse judicaret, non interfecisse Nerone, scelus gravissimum vindicasse interfectum. Ex his manifestum est, Romanorum præstantissimos quosque viros non solum tyrannos quòquo modo, quoties poterant, occidisse, sed factum illud, ut Græci olim, in maxima laude posuissent: Vivum enim tyrannum quoties judicare non poterant viribus inferiores, mortuum tamen & judicabant, & lege Valerià damnabant. Valerius enim Publicola Junii Bruti collega cum videret non posse stipatos suis militibus tyrannos ad judicium perducere, legem tulit, quàm indemnatum quovis modo occidere liceret; deinde facti rationem reddere. Hinc C. Caligulam, quem Cassius ferro, omnes votis interfecerunt, Valerius Asiaticus, vir consularis, cum non adesset, ad milites tamen ob necem ejus tumultuantes exclamat, "utinam ego interfecissem;" Senatus eodem tempore abolendam Cæsarum memoriam, ac diruenda templa censuit; tantum abfuit ut Cassio irasceretur; Claudium à militibus imperatorem mox salutatum vetant per tribunum plebis principatum capefcere; vis autem militum vicit. Nerone Senatus hostem judicavit, & ut puniretur more majorum, quærebat; id genus pœnæ erat, ut nudi cervix infereretur furcæ, corpus virgis ad necem caderetur. Vide quantò mitius & moderatius Angli cum tyranno egerint suo, qui multorum judicio plus ipso Nerone sanguinis fundendi author fuerat. Sic Domitianum mortuum Senatus damnavit; quod potuit, imagines ejus coràm detrāhi, & solo affligi jussit. Commodus à suis interfectus, non vindicatus à Senatu aut Populo, sed hostis judicatus est, qui etiam cadaver ejus ad supplicium quærebat. Eā de re Senatusconsultum extat apud Lampridium; "Hosti patriæ honores detrahantur, Parricida trahatur, in spoliario lanietur, hostis deorum, carnifex Senatūs unco trahatur, &c." Iidem Didium Julianum imperatorem frequentissimo Senatu capitis dāmnarunt; & misso Tribuno, occidi in Palatio jusserunt. Idem Maximinō imperiū abrogarunt, hostemque judicarunt. Juvat ipsum Senatusconsultum ex Capitolino recitare. "Consul retulit; Patres Conscripti, de Maximinis quid placet?" responsum est, "hostes, hostes, qui eos occiderit præmium merebitur." Vis scire populus Romanus & provinciæ Maximino imperatori an Senatui paruerint? audi eundem Capitolinum. "Literas mittit Senatus" ad omnes provincias, ut communi salutis, libertatiquē subveniant; quæ auditæ sunt ab omnibus. Ubique amici, administratores, duces, tribuni, milites Maximini interfecti sunt: paucae civitates fidem hosti publico servaverunt. Eadem tradit Herodianus. Quid plura de Romanis? Jam apud finitimas nationes quale jus regum illā ætate fuerit videamus. Apud Gallos rex eorum Ambiorix "sua ejusmodi esse imperia" fatetur, "ut non minus haberet in se juris multitudo, quàm ipse in multitudinem." Judicabatur ergò non minùs quam judicabat. Rex item Vercingetorix proditiōis infimulatus est à suis; tradit hæc Cæsar bellum Gallicum scribens. Nec "Germanorum regibus infinita aut libera potestas" erat, "de minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes. Rex aut princeps auditur autoritate suadendi magis quàm jubendi potestate; si displicuit sententia, fremitu aspernantur." Hæc Tacitus. Tu verò quod inauditum prorsus esse modò exclamabas, nunc sæpius factum concedis, "quingenta" nimirum "Scotorum reges aut expulsos aut incarceratos, aut necatos, quosdam etiam in publico capitali supplicio affectos." Quod in ipsa Britannia factitatum est, cur tu, tyrannorum vespillo, infandum, inauditum esse tanta ejulatione vociferaris? Pergis Judæorum & Christianorum erga tyrannos suos religionem extollere, & mendacia ex mendaciis ferere, quæ jam toties refutavimus. Modò Assyriorum & Persarum obedientiam latè prædicabas, nunc eorum rebelliones enumeras; & quos nunquam rebellasse paulò ante dixeras, nunc cur iidem toties rebellaverint multas causas affers. Ad narrationem deinde sumpti de rege supplicii tamdiu intermissam revertis, ut, si tunc fortè satis sedulò ineptus & ridiculus non eras, nunc esses. "Per aulæ suæ membra ductum" narras. Quid per aulæ membra intelligas scire gestio. Romanorum calamitates ex regno in rempub. verso recensens, in quo te tibimet turpissimè mentiri suprā ostendimus. Qui ad Loio-

litam, “ seditiones tantum sub optimatibus & populo, certam sub tyranno perniciem esse” demonstrabas, nunc, hominum vanissime & corruptissime, “ ob reges olim ejectos seditionum illa mala tanquam supplicia illos hausisse” audes dicere? scilicet quia centum Jacobæis donavit te postea rex Carolus, idcirco reges expulsos luent Romani. At malè cessit Julii Cæsaris interfectores. Sanè si cui unquam tyranno, huic paritum vellem; quamvis enim regnum in repub. violentius invadebat, erat tamen regno fortasse dignissimus: nec ideo quenquam magis putem interfecti Cæsaris poenas pependisse, quàm deleti Catilinæ Caium Antonium Ciceronis collegam: quo postea de aliis criminibus damnato, ut inquit Cicero pro Flacco, “ sepulchrum Catilinæ floribus ornatum est.” Fautores enim Catilinæ tunc exultabant, “ iusta Catilinæ tum facta esse dictitabant,” ad invidiam cæteris conflandam, qui Catilinam sustulerant. Hæ sunt improborum artes, quibus viros præstantissimos à supplicio tyrannorum, & puniendis etiam sæpe facinorosissimis deterreant. Dicerem ego contrà, quod facile esset, quoties bene cessit, & prosperè tyrannorum interfectores, si quid certi de eventu rerum colligere quis posset. Objectas, quòd “ regem hæreditarium Angli non illo affecerint supplicio, quo tyranni solent mactari, sed eo, quo latrones & proditoris rei.” Primum hæreditas ad maleficiorum impunitatem quid conferat nescio: conferre quicquam ut credat sapiens fieri vix potest. Quod tu deinde ad “ immanitatem” refers, in eo lenitas potius Anglorum, & moderatio prædicanda erat; qui, cùm tyrannum esse, omnes in patriam impietates, latrocinia, prodisiones, perduelliones in se complectatur, fatis habebant supplicium haud gravius de tyranno sumere, quàm de simplici latrone quovis, aut proditore vulgari sumere solebant. Speras “ exorituos esse aliquos Harmodios & Thrasibulos, qui, nostrorum cæde, tyranni manibus parentent.” At tu citius animum despondebis, & vitam te dignam, omnibus bonis execrandus, antè suspendio finieris, quàm Harmodios Harmodiorum sanguine litantes tyranno videas. Tibi enim illud accidere verisimillimum est, deque te tam scelerato quis augurari rectius possit: alterum est impossibile. Tyrannorum triginta mentionem facis qui sub Gallieno rebellârunt. Quid si tyrannus tyrannum oppugnat, an omnes ergò qui oppugnant tyrannum, aut tollunt, tyranni erunt ipsi? haud tu id persuaseris, mancipium equestre; neque is qui author tibi est, Trebellius Pollio, historicorum propè ignobilissimus. “ Si qui hostes,” inquis, “ à Senatu judicati sunt, factio id fecit, non jus.” Nobis in memoriam revocas quid fecit Imperatores; factio nempe, & vis, & ut planius dicam, furor Antonii, non jus fecit, ut contra Senatum populumque Romanum ipsi prius rebellarent. “ Dedit,” inquis, “ poenas Galba, qui contra Neronem insurrexit.” Dic etiam quas poenas dedit Vespasianus, qui contra Vitellium. “ Tantum,” inquis, “ abfuit Carolus à Nerone, quantum isti Ianiones Anglicani à Senatoribus illius temporis Romanis.” Trifurcifer, à quo laudari vituperium est, vituperari laus magna: Paucis modò periodis interpositis hac ipsa de re scribens, “ Senatum sub imperatoribus togatorum mancipiorum confessum fuisse” aiebas, nunc eundem “ Senatum” ais “ confessum regum fuisse:” hoc si ita est, quid obstat quin reges, te authore, togata mancipia sint. Beatos hoc laudatore reges! quo inter homines nihil nequius, inter quadrupedes nihil amentius: nisi si hoc illi peculiare dicam esse, quòd nemo literatius rudit. Senatum Angliæ Neroni vis esse similiorem quàm Senatu Romano: Cogit me cacoëthes hoc tuum ineptissimas conglutinandi similitudines, ut corrigam te; & quàm similis Neroni fuerit Carolus, ostendam. “ Nero,” inquis, “ matrem suam” ferro “ necavit.” Carolus & patrem & regem veneno; nam, ut alia omittam indicia, qui Ducem veneficii reum legibus eripuit, fieri non potuit quin ipse reus quoque fuerit. Nero multa millia Christianorum occidit, Carolus multa plura. Non defuerunt, teste Suetonio, qui Neronem mortuum laudarent, qui desiderarent, qui per longum tempus, “ vernis æstivisque floribus tumulum ejus ornarent,” ejus inimicis omnia mala ominarentur: non defunt qui Carolum eadem infaniâ desiderarent, & summis laudibus extollant, quorum tu, patibularis eques, chorum ducis.

“ Milites

“ Milites Angli molossis suis ferociore novum & inauditum tribunal instituerunt.” En acutissimum Salmasii sive symbolum sive adagium, jam sexies inculcatum, “ Molossis suis ferociore;” adeste rhetores, vósque ludimagistri, delibate, si sapitis, flosculum hunc elegantissimum, qui tam Salmasio in deliciis est; codicillis vestris & capfulis mandate copiosissimi hominis pigmentum, ne intereat. Adeóne etiám verba tua consumpsit rabies, ut cuculi in modum eadem identidem occinere cogaris? Quid hoc monstri esse dicam? Rabies, ut fabulantur, vertit Hecubam in canem, te S^r Lupi dominum vertit in cuculum. Jam novas exordiris repugnantias: supra p. 113. affirmaveras “ Principem legibus solutum esse, non cogentibus” solum, sed “ dirigentibus, nullas esse omninò quibus teneatur;” nunc dicturum te ais “ infrà de regum differentia quatenus potestate alii minore alii majore in regnando fuerunt.” Vis probare, “ reges non potuisse judicari, nec damnari à subjectis suis argumento,” ut ipse ais, “ firmissimo,” revera stolidissimo; “ nihil,” inquis, “ aliud inter iudices & reges discrimen fuit: atqui Judæi iudicum tædio odióque adducti reges postulabant.” An quia iudices illos magistratum malè gerentes judicare & damnare poterant, ideóne putas tædio odióque eorum adductos postulasse reges quos jura omnia violantes punire, aut in ordinem cogere non poterant? quis, excepto te uno, tam fatuè ratiocinari solet? Aliud igitur quiddam erat cur regem peterent, quàm ut haberent dominum legibus superiorem; de quo nunc divinare nihil attinet: quicquid erat, haud prudenti consilio factum & Deus & Propheta ejus testatus est. Iterum Rabbini tuis, ex quibus probasse te suprà afferebas regem Judæorum non judicari, nunc litem acerrimam intendis, quòd regem & judicari & verberari posse tradiderint: quod idem planè est ac si fate-
rere ementitum te tunc esse, quod ex Rabbini probasse dixeras. Eo demùm descendis ut de numero equilium Solomonis, quot “ is equorum præsepia habuerit,” oblitus regie defensionis, controversias putidulas concites. Tandem ab agasone ad equitem redis aretalogum & tautologum, vel potiùs ad id monstri quod priùs eras, cuculum rabiosum. Quereris enim “ postremis” hisce “ seculis disciplinæ vigorem laxatum, regulam corruptam;” quòd uni scilicet tyranno cunctis legibus soluto disciplinam omnem laxare, mores omnium corrumpere impunè non liceat. Hanc doctrinam “ Brunistas inter reformatos” introduxisse ais. Ita Lutherus, Calvinus, Zuinglius, Bucerus & Orthodoxorum quotquot celeberrimi Theologi fuere, tuo iudicio Brunistæ sunt. Quo æquiore animo tua maledicta perferunt Angli, cùm in ecclesiæ doctores præstantissimos, totàmque adeò ecclesiam reformatam, iisdem propè contumeliis debacchari te audiant.

C A P U T VI.

POST legem Dei & naturæ agitatam abs te frustrà, & pessimè tractatam, unde nihil præter ignorantie simul & improbitatis ignominiam retulisti, quid deinde, in hac causâ regiâ, præter nugas agere possis, non video. Cùm autem omnibus & bonis & doctis viris, huic etiám causæ nobilissimæ abunde me satisfecisse sperem, etiamsi hoc loco finem respondendi facerem, tamen ne interea videar aliis varietatem potiùs & acumen tuum, quàm inmodicam loquacitatem defugisse, quòd voles usque progrediar: eâ tamen brevitate, ut facilè appareat, me iis omnibus perfunctum, si minùs quæ dignitas, at saltem quæ necessitas causæ requirebat, nunc hominum quorumvis expectationi, vel etiam curiositati morem gerere. “ Hinc alius,” inquis, “ & major argumentorum mihi surget ordo.” An major eo argumentorum ordine quem lex Dei & Naturæ suppeditabat? Fer opem, Lucina, parturit Mons Salmasius; non de nihilo nupsit uxori; foetum aliquem ingentem expectate mortales. “ Si is qui rex est ac dicitur, postulari posset apud aliam potestatem, eam omnino regiâ maiorem esse oporteret, quæ autem major statuatur, hanc verè regiam dici & esse necesse esset. Sic enim definienda potestas regia: Quæ summa est in repub. & singularis, & supra quam nulli

nulla alia agnoscitur.” O murem verè montanum, & ridiculum! Succurrite grammatici grammatico laboranti; actum est non de lege Dei, aut naturæ, sed de glossario. Quid si sic responderem tibi? cedant nomina rebus, non est nostrum nomini cavere, qui rem sustulimus; curent id alii quibus cordi sunt reges; nos nostrâ utimur libertate: responsum fanè haud iniquum auferres. Verùm ut me per omnia ex æquo & bono tecum agere intelligas, non ex mea solùm, sed ex optimorum olim & prudentissimorum virorum sententiâ respondebo, qui & nomen & potestatem regiam cum potestate legum & populi majore, posse optimè consistere judicârunt. Lycurgus imprimis, vir sapientiâ clarissimus, cùm vellet maximè potestati regiæ consulere, ut author est Plato, nullam aliam ejus conservandæ rationem invenire potuit, quàm ut Senatûs & Ephororum, id est, populi potestatem regiâ majorem in suâ patriâ constitueret. Idem sensit Theseus Euripidéus, qui cùm Athenarum rex esset, populo tamen Atheniensi in libertatem cum magna sua gloria vindicato, & potestatem popularem extulit supra regiam, & regnum nihilo fecius in illa civitate suis posteris reliquit. Unde Euripides in Supplicibus ita loquentem inducit.

Δῆμον καλεῖσθ' αὐτὸν εἰς μοναρχίαν
Ἐλευθερώσας τήνδ' ἰσόψηφον πόλιν.

“ Populum constitui ipsum in monarchiam,
Liberans hanc Urbem æquale jus suffragii habentem.”

Et rursus ad præconem Thebanum.

Πρῶτον μὲν ἤρξω τῆς λόγου ψευδῶς ξένης
Ζητῶν τύραννον ἐνθάδ', εἰ γὰρ ἄρχεται
Ἐνὸς πρὸς ἀνδρὸς, ἀλλ' ἔλευθερα πόλιν,
Δῆμος δ' ἀνάσσει.---

“ Primùm incœpisti orationem falsò hospes,
Quærens tyrannum hic, non enim regitur
Ab uno viro, sed est libera hæc civitas,
Populus autem regnat.---

Hæc ille; cùm tamen rex in illa civitate & esset & dictus esset. Testis est etiam divinus Plato in epistola octava, “ Induxit Lycurgus senatum & Ephororum potestatem, τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς σωτήριον potestati regiæ maximè salutarem, quæ hac ratione per tot sæcula magna cum laude conservata est; postquam lex domina, rex facta est hominum.” Lex autem rex esse non potest, nisi sit qui in regem quoque, si usus venerit, lege possit agere. Sic temperatam potestatem regiam Siciliensibus commendat, ἐλευθερία γιγνέσθω μετὰ βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς, &c. “ sit libertas cum regia potestate; sit regia potestas υπεύθυνος reddendæ rationi obnoxia; dominetur lex etiam regibus si quid præter legem fecerint.” Aristoteles denique politicorum 3^{to}, “ In repub. Spartanorum videtur,” inquit, “ regnum esse maximè, eorum regnorum quæ sunt secundum legem:” omnes autem regni species secundum legem fuisse ait, præter unam, quam vocat παμβασιλείαν, neque talem usquam extitisse meminit. Tale itaque regnum maximè omnium propriè & dici & esse regnum sensit Aristoteles, quale apud Spartanos fuit; talem proinde regem non minùs propriè & dici & esse regem, ubi tamen populus supra regem erat, negare non potuit. Cùm tot tantique authores & nomen & rem regiam suâ fide salvam regi præstiterint, etiam ubi populus penès se summam potestatem, tametsi exercere non solet, tamen, quoties opus est, obtinet, noli tam angusto animo summæ rerum Grammaticalium, hoc est vocabulorum, sic timere, ut potiùs quàm glossarii tui ratio turbetur, aut detrimenti quid capiat, prodere libertatem

tem omnium, & rempub. velis. Scito etiam dehinc, nomina rebus servire, non res nominibus; ita plus sapiens, nec "in infinitum," quod metuis, "ibis. Frustrà ergò Seneca tria illa genera statuum ita describit." Frustratur Seneca, nos liberi sumus; & nisi fallor, non ii sumus quos Flores Senecæ in servitutem reducant. Seneca autem, si summam in uno potestatem esse dicit, "populi" tamen "eam" dicit "esse," commissam videlicet regi ad salutem omnium, non ad perniciem; nec mancipio, sed usu duntaxat à populo datam. "Non jam ergò per Deum reges regnant, sed per populum." Quasi verò Deus non ita regat populum, ut cui Deus vult, regnum tradat populus; cum in ipsis institutionibus Imperator Justinianus palàm agnoscat, exinde Cæsares regnâsse, ex quo "lege regiâ populus iis & in eos omne imperium suum, & potestatem concessit." Sed quousque ista recoquamus, quæ jam toties refutavimus? Rursus, quod ingenium tuum importunum & agreste, mores odiosissimos indicat, in nostra repub. quæ ad te nihil pertinet, alienigena & peregrinus curiosum te infers. Accede igitur, ut te tanto ardelione dignum est, cum insigni solœcismo. "Quicquid," inquis, "illi perditii homines dicunt, ad populum decipiendum pertinent." O scelerate! hoccine erat, quòd deminutus capite Grammaticus in nostram rempub. te ingerere cupiebas, ut solœcismis nos tuis & barbarismis oppleres? Verùm tu dic populum quo modo decepimus? "Forma regiminis quam introducere non popularis est, sed militaris." Ista scilicet grex ille perfugarum mercedulà conductum iussit te scribere: non tibi igitur, qui ea blatis, quorum nihil intelligis, sed iis qui te pretio conduxerunt respondebitur. Quis "ordinem procerum è parlamento ejecit? an populus?" Immo populus; eoque facto servitutis jugum à cervicibus suis haud ferendum dejecit. Ipsi milites, à quibus hoc factum dicis, non exteri, sed cives, & magna pars populi fuere; idque cætero ferè consentiente populo & cupiente, nec sine Parlamenti etiam autoritate fecerunt. "An populus," inquis, "plebeium ordinem domûs inferioris mutilavit, alios fugando, &c." Populus inquam; quod enim Senatus pars potior, id est sanior, fecit, in quo vera populi potestas residebat, quid nunc id populum fecisse dicam? Quid si servire, quid si vœnum rempub. dare, in Senatu plures maluerint, annon id impedire, & libertatem retinere, si in manu est suâ, paucioribus licebit? "At duces hoc fecerunt cum militibus suis." Habenda igitur gratia est ducibus, quòd operas & tabernarios Londinenses qui paulò antè, veluti sœx illa Clodiana, ipsam curiam obsederant, ferocientes repulerint, reipub. non defuerint. Tunc idcirco jus Parlamenti primarium ac proprium, ut libertati imprimis populi sive pace sive bello prospiciat, "militarem dominationem" appellabis? Verùm hoc à perduellibus dici, qui tibi ista dictârunt, non est mirum; sic enim perditissima olim Antoniorum factio Senatum Romanum contra hostes patriæ ad saga euntem, "Castra Pompeii" appellare solebat. Jam verò fortissimo nostri exercitus ductori Cromuello, quòd is amicorum læto agmine stipatus, non sine favore populi secundo, votis etiam bonorum omnium prosequentibus, in bellum Hibernicum Deo gratissimum proficisceretur, invidisse tuos gaudeo; auditis enim postea tot ejus victoriis, jam arbitror eos livore contabuisse. Multa prætereo quæ de Romanis militibus proluxè nugaris: quod sequitur à veritate remotissimum esse quis non videt? "Populi," inquis, "potestas esse definit ubi regis esse incipit." Quo tandem jure? cùm satis constet, omnes ferè ubique gentium reges sub certis conditionibus traditum sibi regnum à populo accipere: quibus si rex non steterit, cur illa potestas, quæ fiduciaria tantum fuit, ad populum redire non debeat, tam à rege quàm à consule, vel ab alio quovis magistratu, tu velim doceas: nam quòd "salutem reipub. id" ais "postulare," ineptias dicis; cùm salutis ratio eadem omninò sit, sive à rege, sive ab optimatibus, sive à triumviris imperio sibi tradito perperam utentibus "potestas illa ad populum revertatur;" posse autem à magistratibus quibuscunque præterquam à rege solo ad populum reverti ipse concedis. Sanè si neque regi, neque ullis magistratibus imperium in se populus mentis compos dederit, nisi tantummodò communis omnium salutis causâ, nihil potest obistere.

obstare quo minùs ob causas planè contrarias ne interitus omnium sequatur, haud secus regi quàm aliis magistratibus, quod dedit imperium adimere possit : quid quòd uni etiam faciliùs quàm pluribus ademerit ? & potestatem in se plusquam fiduciariam cuiquam mortalium tradere summæ esset insanix : neque credibile est ullum ab orbe terrarum condito populum, qui quidem suæ spontis esset, adeò miserè desipuiffe, ut vel omnem prorsus potestatem ab se alienaret, aut suis magistratibus conceditam sine causis gravissimis ad se revocaret. Quod si discordiæ, si bella intestina indè oriantur, regium certè jus nullum indè oritur illius potestatis per vim retinendæ, quam populus suam sibi vendicat. Ex quo efficitur, quod ad prudentiam populi, non ad jus regis referendum est, quòdque nos non negamus, “ rectorem non facilè mutandum esse : ” nunquam ergò aut nulla prorsus de causa, nullo modo sequitur : neque tu adhuc quicquam allegasti, neque jus ullum regis expromisti, quo minùs liceat consentienti populo, regem haud idoneum regno privare ; siquidem id, quod etiam in Gallia tua sæpiùs factum est, sine tumultu ac civili bello fieri possit. Cùm itaque salus populi suprema lex sit, non salus tyranni, ac proinde populo in tyrannum, non tyranno in populum prodesse debeat, tu, qui tam sanctam legem, tam augustam tuis præstigiis pervertere es ausus, qui legem inter homines supremam, & populo maximè salutarem ad tyrannorum duntaxat impunitatem valere voluisti, tu inquam scito, quandoquidem Angli “ Enthusiastæ, & Enthei, & vates ” toties tibi sumus, me vate scito, Deum tibi atque homines tanti piaculi ultores imminere : quanquam universum genus humanum subicere tyrannis, id est, quantum in te fuit, ad bestias damnare, hoc ipsum scelus tam immane sua partim in te ultio est, suis te furiis quocunque fugis terrarum, atque oberras, vel citiùs vel seriùs insequetur ; & pejore etiam eâ, quam nunc insanis, insanix agitabit. Venio nunc ad alterum argumentum tuum, prioris haud dissimile ; si populo resumere liceret potestatem suam, “ nihil tum esset discriminis inter popularem & regalem statum, nisi quòd in hoc singuli rectores constituuntur, in illo plures : ” quid si nihil aliud interesset, numquid indè respub. detrimenti caperet ? Ecce autem aliæ differentiæ à temetipso allatæ, “ temporis ” nimirum “ & successionis ; cùm populares magistratus annui ferè sint, ” reges, nisi quid committant, perpetui ; & in eadem plerunque familia. Differant ergò inter se aut non differant, de istis enim minutiis nihil laboro, in hoc certè conveniunt, quod utrobique populus quoties id interest reipub. potest quam alteri potestatem salutis publicæ causâ tradiderat, eam ad se rursus nec injuriâ eandem ob causam revocare. “ At lege regia Romæ sic appellata, de quâ in institutis, populus Romanus principi & in eum omne imperium suum, & potestatem concessit. ” Nempe vi Cæsarum coactus, qui honesto legis titulo suam tantummodo violentiam sanxerunt ; de quo suprâ, id quòd ipsi jurisconsulti in hunc locum non dissimulant. Quod igitur legitimè, & volente populo concessum non est, id revocabile quin sit non dubitamus. Veruntamen rationi maximè consentaneum est, populum Romanum non aliam potestatem transtulisse in principem, atque priùs concesserat suis magistratibus ; id est imperium legitimum & revocabile, non tyrannicum & absurdum ; quocirca & consularem, & tribunitiam potestatem Cæsares recepere ; dictatoriam nemo post Julium ; populum in Circo adorare etiam solebant, ut ex Tacito & Claudiano suprâ meminimus. Verùm ut “ multi olim privati se in servitutem alteri vendiderunt, sic potest populus universus. ” O equitem ergastularium & mangonem, patriæ etiam tuæ æternum opprobrium ! quem servitutis tam fœdum procuratorem ac lenonem publicum etiam servitia infima cujuscvis catastæ abhorreere atque conspuere deberent ! Sanè si populus hunc in modum se regibus mancipasset, possent & reges eundem populum alteri cuivis domino mancipare, aut pretio addicere ; & tamen constat regem ne patrimonium quidem coronæ posse alienare. Qui igitur coronæ, quod aiunt, & patrimonii regii usum fructum solùm à populo concessum habet, is populi ipsius manceps erit ? Non si pertusis auribus utrisque perforatus eques, non si gypsatis pedibus cursitares, tam esses omnium servorum vilissimus, quam nunc es, hujus tam pudendæ author sententiæ. Perge pœnas tuorum scelerum invitus, quod

nunc

nunc facis, de temetipso sumere. Multa postremò de jure belli balbutis, quæ hic locum non habent ; nam neque Carolus nos bello vicit, & majores ejus, etsi maximè vicissent, isti tamen juri sæpius renuntiaverant ; nec verò tam unquam victi fuimus, ut nos in eorum nomen, illi in nostras leges non vicissim jurarent ; quas cùm Carolus insigniter violasset, vel olim victorem, vel nunc regem perjurum priùs ab ipso laceffiti armis debellavimus : ex tua autem sententia “ quod armis quæritur, transit in ejus dominium qui acquisivit.” Sis itaque deinceps hac in parte quàm voles verbosus, sis quod in Solino dudùm fuisti, exercitator Plinianus, blateronum omnium verbosissimus, quicquid exinde argutaris, quicquid turbas, quicquid rabbinicaris, quicquid rauces ad finem usque hujus capituli, id totum non jam pro rege devicto, sed pro nobis divinâ ope victoribus contra regem desudare te scias.

C A P U T VII.

PROPTER duo incommoda sanè maxima, & pro tuo pondere gravissima, potestatem populi esse regiâ majorem proximo capite negasti : quippe, si concederes, quærendum regi aliud nomen esset, translato in populum regis vocabulo ; & partitiones quædam politicæ conturbarentur : quorum alterum vocabularii dispendium foret, alterum, tuorum Crux politicorum. Ad ea sic à nobis responsum est, ut primum salutis & libertatis nostræ, deinde etiam nomenclaturæ tuæ & politices habita nonnulla ratio esset. Nunc “ aliis rationibus evincendum esse ” ais, “ regem à sibi subjectis judicari non posse, quarum hæc erit maximè potens & valida, quod rex parem in suo regno non habeat.” Quid ais ? non habet rex in suo regno parem ? quid ergò illi duodecim vetustissimi Franciæ Pares ? an fabulæ sunt & nugæ ? an frustra & ad ludibrium sic nominati ? Cave istam viris Galliæ Principibus contumeliam dixeris. An quia inter se pares ? quasi verò nobilitatis totius Gallicæ duodenos tantùm inter se pares esse ; aut dicendos idcirco Franciæ Pares existimandum sit. Quod nisi revera sint regis Franciæ Pares, quod cum eo rempub. pari jure atque consilio administrent, vide ne in Franciæ regno potius quàm in nostra repub. quod unicum tuâ interest, glossario illudatur. Age verò, fac planum, non esse regi in regno suo parem. “ Quia,” inquis, “ populus Romanus post reges exactos, duos constituit Consules, non unum ; ut si unus peccaret, coerceri à collega posset.” Vix fingi quicquam potuit ineptius : cur igitur unus duntaxat Consul fasces apud se habuit, non uterque, si ad alterutrum coercendum alter datus erat ? quid si etiam uterque contra rempub. conjurasset, an meliore loco res fuisset, quàm si collegam alteri nullum dedissent ? Constat autem & ambos Consules & Magistratus omnes obtemperare Senatui semper debuisse, quoties id è repub. esse, patribus & plebi visum est. Hujus rei Marcum Tullium in oratione pro Sestio locupletissimum testem habeo : à quo simul brevissimam Romanæ civitatis descriptionem accipe ; quam is & “ sapientissimè constitutam,” & omnes bonos cives nôsse eam oportere dicebat, quod idem & nos dicimus. “ Majores nostri cùm regum potestatem non tulissent, ita magistratus annuos creaverunt, ut consilium Senatûs reipub. præponerent sempiternum : deligerentur autem in id consilium ab univërso populo ; aditûsque in illum summum ordinem omnium civium industriæ ac virtuti pateret : Senatum reipub. custodem, præsidem, propugnatorem collocaverunt : hujus ordinis autoritate uti magistratus, & quasi ministros gravissimi consilii esse voluerunt.” Exemplo illustri esse poterunt Decemviri ; qui cùm potestate consulari, & summâ præditi essent, eos tamen omnes simul, etiam renitentes, patrum autoritas in ordinem coëgit ; Consules etiam nonnullos, antequàm magistratum deposuerant, hostes judicatos & contra eos sumpta arma esse legimus : hostilia enim facientem, esse consulem nemo putabat. Sic bellum contra Antonium Consulem Senatûs autoritate est gestum : in quo victus poenas capitis dedisset,

dedisset, nisi Octavianus Cæsar regnum affectans evertendæ reipub. consilium cum eo iniisset. Jam quòd “ hoc proprium esse ” ais “ Majestatis regalis, ut imperium penès unicum sit,” haud minùs lubricum est, & à te quidem ipso statim refellitur : “ Judices,” enim “ Hebræorum & singuli, & toto vitæ spatio imperium obtinebant ; Scriptura quoque reges eos vocat ; & tamen à Synedrio magno ” judicabantur. Ita fit, dum dixisse omnia vis videri, ut nihil ferè nisi pugnancia loquaris. Quæro deinde qualem tu formam regiminis esse dicas, cùm Romanum imperium duo simul trêsvē imperatores habuerunt ; an imperatores tibi, id est reges, an optimates, an triumviri videntur fuisse ? An verò dices Romanum imperium sub Antonino & Vero, sub Diocletiano & Maximiano, sub Constantino & Licinio, non unum imperium fuisse ? Jam ista tua “ statuum tria genera ” tuismet ipsius argutiis periclitantur, si reges isti non fuere : si fuere, non est ergò proprium imperii regii, ut penès unicum sit. “ Alter,” inquis, “ horum si delinquat, potest alter de eo referre ad populum vel ad senatum, ut accusetur & condemnetur.” Annon ergò judicat vel populus vel Senatus ad quos alter ille refert ? Si quid igitur ipse tribuis tibi, collegâ opus non erat ad judicandum collegam. Heu te defenforem, nisi execrabilis potiùs esses, planè miserandum ! undiquaque istibus adeò opportunum, ut si fortè per lusum destinare quis vellet, quovis te loco punctim ferire, vix esse credo ubi temere possit aberrare. “ Ridiculum ” esse statuis, “ regem in se judices dare velle à quibus capite damnetur.” Atqui ego non ridiculum, sed optimum tibi oppono imperatorem Trajanum ; qui præfectum prætorio Saburanum, cum ei insigne potestatis, uti mos erat, pugionem daret, crebrò sic monuit. “ Accipe hunc gladium pro me, si rectè agam, sin aliter, in me magis, quòd moderatorem omnium vel errare minùs fas sit.” Hæc Dion & Aurelius Victor. Vides ut judicem in se statuerit imperator egregius quamvis non parem. Hoc idem Tiberius per simulationem & vaniloquentiam fortasse dixisset ; Trajanum autem virum optimum & sanctissimum non id ex animo dixisse quod verum, quod jus & fas esse sentiebat, sceleratus penè sit qui arbitretur. Quanto justius ergò Senatui, cùm viribus superior potuerit non parere, planè ex officii ratione paruit ; & jure superiorem est fassus. De quo Plinius in Panegyrico. “ Senatus ut susciperes quartum Consulatum & rogavit & jussit ; imperii hoc verbum, non adulationis esse, obsequio tuo crede : ” & paulò pòst, “ hæc nempe intentio tua ut libertatem revoces ac reducas.” Quod Traianus de se, idem Senatus de Traiano sensit, suamque authoritatem revera esse supremam ; nam qui imperatorem jubere potuit, potuit eundem & judicare. Sic Marcus Aurelius imperator, cùm præfectus Syriæ Cassius regnum ei eripere conaretur, obtulit se in judicium vel Senatui vel Populo Romano ; paratus regno cedere, siquidem iis ita videretur. Jam verò quis rectius aut melius de jure regio existimare & statuere queat, quàm ex ore ipso regum optimorum. Profectò jure naturali rex quisque bonus vel senatum vel populum habet sibi semper & parem & superiorem : Tyrannus autem cùm naturâ infimus omnium sit, nemo non illi par atque superior existimandus est, quicumque viribus plus valet. Quemadmodum enim à vi olim ad leges duce naturâ deventum est, ita, ubi leges pro nihilo habentur, necessariò, eadem etiam duce, ad vim est redeundum. “ Hoc sentire,” inquit Cicero pro Sestio, “ prudentiæ est ; facere, fortitudinis ; & sentire verò & facere, perfectæ cumulatæque virtutis.” Maneat hoc igitur in natura, nullis parasitorum artibus concutiendum, rege sive bono, sive malo, vel senatum vel populum esse superiorem. Quod & ipse confiteris, cùm potestatem regiam à populo in regem transiisse dicis. Quam enim regi potestatem dedit, eam naturâ, ac virtute quâdam, vel ut ita dicam virtualiter, etiam cum alteri dederit, tamen in se habet : Quæ enim causæ naturales isto modo per eminentiam quandam quidvis efficiunt, plus semper suæ retinent virtutis quàm impertiunt ; nec impertiendo se exhauriunt. Vides, quòd propiùs ad naturam accedimus, eò evidentius potestatem populi supra regiam eminere. Illud etiam constat, populum, modò id ei liberum sit, potestatem regi suam simpliciter & mancipio nunquam dare, neque naturâ posse dare ; sed tantum salutis & libertatis publicæ

publicæ causâ, quam cùm rex procurare destiterit, intelligitur populum nihil dedisse; quia certo fini tantummodò dedit, monente ipsâ naturâ; quem finem si neque natura, neque populus assequitur, non erit magis ratum quod dedit, quàm pactum quodvis aut fœdus irritum. His rationibus firmissimè probatur superiorem rege esse populum; unde argumentum hoc tuum “maximè potens & validum, non posse regem judicari, quia parem in suo regno non habet, nec superiorem,” diluitur. Id enim assumis quod nullo modo concedimus. “In populari statu,” inquis, “Magistratus à populo positus ab eodem ob crimen plecti potest; in statu Aristocratico optimates, ab iis quos habent collegas, sed pro monstro est, ut rex in regno suo cogatur causam capitis dicere.” Quid nunc aliud concludis quàm miserrimos esse omnium & stultissimos, qui regem sibi constituunt? Sed quamobrem, quæso, non poterit populus tam regem punire reum, quàm popularem magistratum, aut optimates? An putas omnes populos qui sub regibus vivunt, amore servitutis usque eò deperiisse, ut, liberi cùm essent, servire maluerint, sêque omnes, sêque totos in unius dominium viri sæpe mali, sæpe stulti ita tradere, ut contra dominum, si fors ferat, immanissimum, nullum in legibus, nullum in natura ipsa præsidium salutis, aut perfugium sibi reliquerint? cur ergò regibus primò regnum ineuntibus conditiones ferunt, cur leges etiam dant regnandi, an ut sperni se eò magis atque irrideri paterentur? adeóne populum universum se abjicere, se deserere, sibi deesse, spem omnem in uno homine, eoque ferè vanissimo, collocare? cur item jurant reges nihil se contra legem facturos? ut discant nempe miseri mortales suo maximo malo, solis licere regibus impunè pejerare. Id quod hæc tua nefanda confectaria demonstrant. “Si rex qui eligitur, aliqua vel cum sacramento promiserit, quæ nisi promississet, fortasse nec sumptus esset, si stare nolit conventis, à populo judicari non potest. Immò si subditis suis juraverit in electione, se secundum leges regni justitiam administraturum, & nisi id faciat, eos sacramento fidelitatis fore solutos; & facto ipso abiturum esse potestate, à Deo non ab hominibus pœna in fallentem exposcenda est.” Descripsi hæc, non ob elegantiam, sunt enim incultissima, nec quod ampliùs refutationis indigeant, etenim ipsa se refutant, se explodunt, se damnant apertissimâ falsitate suâ, atque turpitudine; sed eò feci, ut ob merita tua egregia commendarem te regibus: qui inter officia aulæ tam multa aliquem dignitatis locum, aut munus idoneum tibi prospiciant: cum enim alii sint à rationibus, alii à poculis, alii à voluptatibus, tu iis commodissimè sanè eris à perjuriis; tu regiæ non elegantiae, nam inscitus nimium es, sed perfidiæ summus arbiter eris. Verùm ut summam in te stultitiam summâ improbitatè conjunctam esse omnes fateantur, expendamus paulo accuratiùs præclara illa, quæ proximè affirmasti: “Rex,” inquis, “etsi subditis juraverit in electione, se secundum leges regnaturum,” & si faciat, “eos sacramento fidelitatis solutos fore, & se facto ipso abiturum potestate,” abdicari tamen aut puniri ab iis non poterit. Quî minùs quæso rex quàm popularis magistratus? quia in eo regimine populus non omnem transfundit potestatem suam ad magistratum. An hic igitur in regem? cui regnum in se non diutius tradunt, quàm id benè gesserit. Tam itaque rex juratus in leges, reus abjici aut punire poterit, quàm popularis magistratus. Nam argumento illo Pancratico omnis in regem translata potestatis, ampliùs uti non potes, quod tuis ipse machinis imprudens arietasti. Cognoscite nunc “aliā potentissimā & invictā ejus rationem cur subditi regem” judicare nequeant, “quia legibus solutus est, quia reges solus rex omnes fert;” quæ cum falsissima esse jam toties probaverim, hæc etiam invicta tua ratio cum priore ad nihilum recidit. Cæterùm rex ob delicta quævis privata, utpote stuprum, adulterium, & similia, si rarò plectitur, non tam justitiā quàm æquitatē id fit, ne plus barbarum ex morte regis, & rerum mutatione populo eveniat, quàm boni ex uno atque altero vindicato. Ex quo verò omnibus gravis & intolerandus esse incipit, tum quidem, quoquo possunt modo, judicatum vel injudicatum omnes nationes tyrannum occidere fas esse semper credidere. Unde Marcus Tullius in secunda Philippica de Cæsaris interfectoribus. “Hi primi cum gladiis non in regnum appetentem, sed in regnantem impetum fecerunt:

fecerunt: quod cum ipsum factum per se præclarum atque divinum est, tum est positum ad imitandum." Quàm hujus tu dissimilis! "Homicidium, adulterium, injuria, non hæc crimina regia sunt, sed privata." Euge parasite, lenones jam omnes & propudia aulica hac voce demeruisti; O quàm lepidè simul & parasitaris, & eadem operâ lenocinaris! "Rex adulter benè potest regnare, & homicida, ideóque vitâ privari non debet, quia cum vita regno quoque exueretur; at nunquam hoc fuit probatum legibus divinis aut humanis, ut duplex vindicta de uno crimine sumeretur." Os impurum & infame! eadem ratione nec populares magistratus, nec optimates, ne duplici poenâ afficerentur, ne judex quidem, aut senator flagitiosus poenas capite ullas persolvere debet; cum vita enim & ipsi suo magistratu privarentur. Ut potestatem, sic majestatem etiam populo adimere & in regem conferre studes; vicariam si vis & translatitiam, primariam certè non potes, uti nec potestatem. "Crimen," inquis, "majestatis non potest committere rex adversus populum suum; potest autem populus adversus regem." Et tamen rex propter populum duntaxat rex est, non populus propter regem. Populus igitur universus aut pars major plus semper rege debet posse: negas, & calculos ponis, "plus potest quàm singuli, bini, terni, deni, centeni, milleni, decies milleni." Esto. "Plus quàm dimidia pars populi." Non repugno. "Quid si alterius dimidiæ pars altera accedat, annon adhuc plus poterit?" Minimè. Progredere; quid aufers abacum, peritissime Logista, an progressionem Arithmeticam non calles? Vertit rationes, & "annon rex cum optimatibus plus potestatis habeat," quærit; iterum nego, Vertumne, si pro optimatibus procures intelligas; quoniam accidere potest, ut nemo inter eos optimatis nomine sit dignus: sit etiam sæpius, ut multò plures de plebe sint, qui virtute & sapientiâ procures antecellant; quibus cum pars populi major vel potior accedit, eos universi populi instar esse haud verear dicere. "At si plus quàm universi non potest, ergò rex erit tantum singulorum, non omnium universim sumptorum," rectè; nisi ipsi voluerint. Rationes jam subducito; comperies te imperitè supputando sortem perdidisse. "Dicunt Angli penès populum jus majestatis ex origine & natura residere, hoc verò est omnium statuum eversioem inducere." Etiámne Aristocratiae, & Democratiae? Credibile sanè narras: quid si etiam Gynæcocratiae, sub quo statu ferunt te domi propemodum vapulare, annon bearent te Angli, O perpusilli homo animi? sed hoc frustra speraveris; æquissimè enim est comparatum, ut qui tyrannidem foris imponere omnibus cupias, ipse domi tuæ servitutem servias turpissimam, & minimè virilem. "Doceamus te oportet," inquis, "quid nomine populi intelligi velimus." Permulta sunt, quæ te doceri potius oporteret; nam quæ te propius attingunt, videris ea penitus nescire, & præter literulas nihil unquam didicisse, ne percipere quidem potuisse. Hoc tamen scire te putas, nos populi nomine plebem solum intelligere quòd "optimatum confessum abrogavimus." At illud est ipsum quod demonstrat nos populi vocabulo omnes ordinis cujuscunque cives comprehendere; qui unam tantummodo populi curiam supremam stabilivimus, in qua etiam procures, ut pars populi, non pro sese quidem solis, ut antea, sed pro iis municipiis, à quibus electi fuerint, suffragia ferendi legitimum jus habent. Inveheris deinde in plebem, "cæcam" eam & "brutam, regendi artem non habere, nil plebe ventosius, vanius, levius, mobilius." Conveniunt in te optimè hæc omnia; & de infima quidem plebe sunt etiam vera, de media non item; quo ex numero prudentissimi ferè sunt viri, & rerum peritissimi: cæteros hinc luxus & opulentia, inde egestas & inopia à virtute, & civilis prudentiæ studio plerunque avertit. "Plures" nunc esse "modos" asseris "regum constituendorum, qui nihil populo debent hoc nomine," & imprimis illi, "qui regnum habent hæreditarium." At verò servæ sint istæ nationes oportet, & ad servitutem natæ, quæ talem agnoscant dominum, cui se sine assensu suo hæreditate obvenisse credant: pro civibus certè, aut ingenuis & liberis haberi non possunt; nec rempub. habere ullam censendæ; quinimmò inter facultates, & possessiones quasi heri sui, & herilis filii numerandæ sunt: nam quod ad jus domini, quid distent à servitiis & pecoribus non video. Secundò, "qui armis sibi regnum.

regnum fecit, populum," inquis, " non potest authorem agnoscere imperii prolati vel usurpati." At nobis non de victore, sed de subacto rege sermo nunc est; quid victor possit, aliàs disputabimus, tu hoc age. Quod autem regi jus patrisfamilias antiquum toties attribuis, ut inde " absolutæ potestatis in regibus exemplum " petas, dissimillimum id esse jam sæpiùs ostendi: Aristoteles etiam ille quem crepas vel initio politico- rum, si legisses, idem te docuisset: ubi ait malè eos judicare, qui inter patremfamilias & regem parùm interesse existimant; " regnum enim à familia, non numero solùm, sed speciè differre." Postquam enim pagi in oppida & urbes crevere, evanuit paulatim jus illud regale familiæ, & agnosci desitum est. Hinc scribit Diodorus, l. i. regna antiquitus dari non regum filiis, sed iis quorum maxima in populum beneficia extiterunt. Et Justinus, " Principio rerum, gentium, nationumque imperium penès reges erat; quos ad fastigium hujus majestatis, non ambitio popularis, sed spectata inter bonos moderatio provehebat." Unde perspicuum est, in ipso gentium principio, imperium paternum & hæreditarium virtuti, & populari statim juri cessisse. Quæ origo imperii regii & ratio & causa maximè naturalis est. Ob eam enim ipsam causam primò homines in unum convenère, non ut unus omnes insultaret, sed ut quocunque alterum lædente, ne lex deesset, neve judex inter homines, quo læsus aut defendatur aut saltem vindicetur. Dispersos olim homines & dispalatos disertus aliquis, & sapiens ad vitam civilem traduxit: tu " hoc maximè consilio," inquis, " ut in congregatos imperium haberet." Nimbrotum fortasse intelligis, qui tyrannorum primus fuisse dicitur: vel hæc tua solius malitia est, quæ in illos olim magnos & excelsi animi viros cadere non potuit, tuum solius commentum, à nemine, quod sciam, ante te traditum; cum utilitatem & salutem generis humani, non sua commoda, suumque dominatum respexisse illos primos urbium conditores, antiquorum omnium monumentis proditum sit. Unum præterire non possum, quo tu veluti emblemate quodam exornare credo cætera hujus capitis voluisti: si " consulem," inquis, " in judicium venire oportuisset, priusquam magistratu abisset, dictator ad hoc creandus fuisset," cum initio dixeris, " ideo collegam ei fuisse datum." Sic tua semper inter se congruunt, & quid de quaque re dicas, quidve scribas, quàm nullius momenti sit, paginis ferè singulis declarant. " Sub antiquis regibus Anglo-saxonicis plebem," ais, " ad comitia regni nunquam vocari solitam esse." Si quis nostrorum hoc affirmasset, possem eum haud multo negotio erroris arguere; tuâ istâ peregrinâ affirmatione res nostras hallucinante minùs moveor. Et de communi regum jure quæ habuisti hæc ferè sunt. Reliqua multa, nam & sæpissimè devius esse soles, prætermitto, vel quæ fundamento nituntur nullo, vel quæ extra causam posita sunt: non enim id operam do, ut tibi par esse loquacitate videar.

C A P U T VIII.

SI de communi regum jure, Salmasi, quæ sentires, ea fine contumelia cujusquam protulisses, quamvis in hac rerum apud Anglos mutatione, tamen, cùm libertate scribendi uterere tuâ, neque erat cur quisquam Anglorum tibi succenseret, neque in asserendâ, quam tueris, sententiâ minus effecisses. Nam si hoc & Mosis & Christi præceptum est, " omnes regibus suis tam bonis quàm malis subjici, sive Hispanos, sive Gallos, sive Italos, sive Germanos, sive Anglos, sive Scotos," quòd suprà (p. 127.) affirmabas, quid attinebat te exterum & ignotum jura nostra balbutire, eaque velle nobis è cathedra quasi schedulas quas, & miscellanea prælegere, quæ utcunque legibus divinis debere cedere multis antea verbis docueras. Nunc satis constat non tam tuo ingenio ad causam regiam adjecisse te animum, quàm partim pretio, pro ejus, qui te conduxit, copia, maximo, partim spe præmii cujusdam majoris conductum fuisse, ut Anglos vicinorum nemini molestos, rerum tantummodò suarum arbitros libello infamari

lacerates. Hoc nisi esset, quenquàmne tantà credibile est impudentià esse aut infanià, ut longinquus & extraneus immergere se gratis in res nostras, ad partes etiam se adjungere non dubitaret? Nam quid tuà malum refert, quid rerum Angli inter se gerant? Quid tibi vis Ole, quid tibi quæris? nihilne domi habes quod ad te pertinet? Utinam eadem haberes quæ habuit ille notissimus in epigrammate Olus; & fortasse habes; dignus profectò es. An uxor tua stimulatix illa, quæ ut in gratiam exulis Caroli hæc scriberes etiam currentem incitasse fertur, ampliores fortè in Anglia professiones, & honoraria nescio quæ, redeunte Carolo, ominata tibi est? At scitote foemina Virque, non esse locum in Anglia neque lupo neque Lupi Domino. Unde mirum non est te toties in molossos nostros tantam rabiem effudisse. Quin redis ad illustres illos in Gallia titulos tuos, & imprimis ad famelicum illum Lupi dominatum, deinde ad consistorium illud regis Christianissimi sacrum; nimis longo intervallo consiliarius peregrè abes à patrià. Verùm illa, quod planè video, neque te desiderat neque consilia tua; ne cum redires quidem paucis ab hinc annis, & culinam Cardinalitiam olfacere & sectari cœpisses: sapit mehercule, sapit, téque oberrare semivirum Gallum cum uxore viro, & refertissimis inaniarum scriniis facilè finit; donec stipem sive equiti grammatistæ, sive illustri Hippocritico satis largam alicubi gentium inveneris; si cui fert animus regi vel civitati, doctorem erraticum & venalem mercede maximà liceri. Sed eccum tibi licitatore; vendibilis necne sis, & quanti, jam statim videbimus. “Pertendunt,” inquis, “Parricidæ, regni Anglicani statum mixtum esse, non merè regium.” Pertendit idem sub Edvardo 6to Smithus noster, juris consultus idem bonus, & politicus, quem fuisse parricidam non dices, ejus libri ferè initio, quem de repub. Anglicanâ scripsit; neque id de nostrâ solùm, sed de omni penè repub. idque ex Aristotelis sententià verum esse affirmat; neque aliter ullam repub. stare posse. At enim quasi piaculum esse crederes quicquam dicere sine repugnantis, ad priores illas & jam tritissimas fœdè revolveris. “Nullam gentem” ais “esse nec fuisse unquam quæ regis appellatione non intellexerit eam potestatem quæ solo Deo minor est, quæque solum Deum judicem haberet;” & tamen paulo post fateris, “nomen regis datum vel olim fuisse ejusmodi potestatibus & magistratibus qui plenum & liberum jus non haberent, sed à populi nutu dependens,” ut “sufetes Carthaginensium, judices Hebræorum, reges Lacedæmoniorum,” & postremo “Aragonensium.” Satisne bellè tibi constas? Tum quinque monarchiæ species ex Aristotele recenset, quarum una tantùm jus illud obtinuit quod tu regibus commune omnibus esse dicis. De qua haud semel jam dictum est, nullum ejus exemplum vel ab Aristotele allatum, vel usquam extitisse: quatuor reliquas, & legitimas, & legibus fuisse minores dilucidè ostendit. Primum horum erat regnum Laconicum, & maximè quidem ejus sententià regnum, eorum quatuor quæ legitima erant. Secundum erat barbaricum hoc solo diuturnum quia legitimum, & volente populo: nolente autem, omnis rex continuò non erit rex sed tyrannus, si invito populo regnum retinuerit, eodem teste Aristotele, l. 5. Idem de tertia regum specie dicendum est, quos ille Æsymnetas vocat, electos à populo, & ad certum plerunque tempus, certasque causas, quales ferè apud Romanos fuere Dictatores. Quarta species eorum est, qui Heroicis temporibus regnabant, quibus ob egregia merita regnum ultro à populo delatum erat, sed legitimum tamen; neque verò hi nisi volente populo regnum tenebant, nec aliâ re magis differre has quatuor regni species à tyrannide ait, quàm quòd illic volente, hîc invito populo regnetur. Quinta denique regni species, quæ *παρβασιλεία* dicitur, & est cum summa potestate, quale tu jus regum omnium esse vis, à philosopho planè damnatur, ut neque utile, neque justum, neque naturale, nisi sit ut populus ferre possit istiusmodi regnum, isque deferat qui virtute aliis omnibus longè prælucent. Hæc 3tio politico- rum, cuivis obvia sunt. Verùm tu, credo, ut vel semel ingeniosus & floridus esse viderere, “has quinque monarchiæ species quinque zonis” mundi assimilare gestiebas; “Inter duo extrema potentiae regalis tres aliæ species interpositæ magis temperatæ videntur, ut inter zonas torridam & frigidam, quæ mediæ jacent.” Festivum caput! quàm

quàm pulchras nobis similitudines semper concinnas ! Tu igitur, quò regnum “ absolutæ potestatis ” ipse damnas, ad zonam frigidam hinc ocyùs amolire ; quæ post adventum illic tuum plus duplo frigebit : nos interim à te novo Archimede sphæram illam, quam describis, mirabilem expectamus, in qua duæ sint extremæ zonæ, una torrida, altera frigida, tres mediæ temperatæ. “ Reges,” inquis, “ Lacedæmoniorum in vincula conjici fas erat, morte multari fas non erat.” Quare ? an quia damnatum capite Agidem lictores & peregrini milites rei novitate percussî, regem ducere ad mortem non esse fas existimabant ? Et populus quidem Spartanus ejus mortem ægrè tulit, non quòd rex capitali supplicio affectus fuerit, sed quòd bonus, & popularis, factione divitum judicio illo circumventus esset. Sic itaque Plutarchus, “ primus rex Agis ab ephoris est morte multatus ;” quibus verbis non quid fas, sed quid factum sit, tantummodò narrat. Nam qui regem in jus ducere, vel etiam in vincula possunt, illos non posse eundem supplicio ultimo afficere, puerile est credere. Accingeris jam tandem ad jus regum Anglicorum. “ Rex,” inquis, “ in Anglia unus semper fuit.” Hoc eo dicis, quia modò dixeras, “ rex non est nisi unus sit & unicus.” Quid si ita est, aliquot sanè quos credebam Angliæ reges fuisse, non erant : nam ut multos omittam Saxoniorum, qui consortes imperii vel filios vel fratres habuere, constat Henricum 2dum è stirpe Normantica cum filio regnâsse. “ Ostendant,” inquis, “ aliquod regnum sub unius imperio, cui non potestas absoluta adjuncta fuerit, in quibusdam tamen magis remissa, in aliis magis intenta.” Ostende tu potestatem absolutam remissam, asine ; annon absoluta est summa ? Quomodo ergò summa & remissa simul erit ? quoscunque fateberis reges cum remissa potestate esse, eos non esse cum absoluta facilè vincam ; inferiores proinde esse populo naturâ libero, qui & suus ipse legislator est, & potestatem regiam vel intendere, vel remittere potest. Britannia, an tota olim regibus paruerit, incertum : Verisimilius est, prout tempora ferebant, nunc hanc nunc illam reipub. formam adhibuisse. Hinc Tacitus, “ Britanni olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus & studiis trahuntur.” Deserti à Romanis, xl. circiter annos sine regibus fuere : “ regnum ” itaque “ perpetuum,” quod affirmas, antiquitus non fuit ; fuisse autem hæreditarium præcisè nego ; quod & regum series, & mos creandi eorum demonstrat : desertis enim verbis petuntur populi suffragia. Postquam enim rex consuetum juramentum dedit, accedens archiepiscopus ad quatuor partes exstructi suggesti, toties rogat populum universum his verbis, “ consentire vultis de habendo ipsum regem ? ” planè ac si Romano more dixisset, vultis, jubetis hunc regnare ? quod opus non foret, si regnum jure esse hæreditarium ; verùm apud reges usurpatio pro jure sæpissimè obtinet. Tu Caroli bello toties victi jus regium jure belli fundare adniteris : Guilielmus scilicet cognomento “ Conquæstor ” nos subjugavit. At sciunt qui in nostra historia peregrini non sunt, Anglorum opes uno illo prælio Hastingeni non adeò attritas fuisse, quin bellum facilè instaurare potuissent. Sed regem accipere, quàm victorem & tyrannum pati malebant. Dant itaque jusjurandum Guilielmo, se fidem ei servaturos : dat pariter Guilielmus juramentum illis, admotus altari, se omnia, quæ par est bonum regem, iis esse vicissim præstiturum. Cum falleret fidem, & rursus Angli arma caperent, diffusus ipse suis viribus juravit denuò, tactis Evangeliiis, antiquas se leges Angliæ observaturum. Si postea igitur Anglos miserè afflixit, non id jure belli, sed jure perjurii fecit. Certum est præterea jam multis ab hinc seculis victos & victores in unam gentem coaluisse ; ut jus illud belli, si quod unquam fuit, antiquari jam diu necesse sit. Ipsius verba morientis quæ ex libro Cadomeni fide dignissimo descripta reddimus, omnem dubitationem tollunt. “ Neminem,” inquit, “ Anglici regni constituo hæredem.” Qua voce jus illud belli, simulque illud hæreditarium, cum ipso mortuo Guilielmo conclamatum atque sepultum est. Video nunc aliquam te in aula dignitatem, quod prædixi fore, esse adeptum, summus nimirum aulicæ astutiæ quæstor regius & procurator es factus. Unde hoc quod sequitur videris ex officio scribere, Vir magnifice.

“ Siquis

“ Siquis prædecessorum regum factionibus procerum, vel seditionibus plebis coactus, aliquid de suo jure remiserit, id non potest successori obesse, quin id iterum sibi vindicet.” Rectè mones: itaque si quo tempore majores nostri aliquid de jure suo per ignaviam amisere, an id oberit nobis, eorum posteris? Pro se illi quidem servitutem spondere, si vellent, pro nobis certè non poterant; quibus idem semper jus erit nosmet liberandi, quod illis erat in servitutem se cuilibet tradendi. Miraris “ quid faciat,” ut “ rex Britanniae hodie debeat haberi pro magistratu tantum regni, qui autem alia regna in Christianitate obtinent, plenâ & liberâ potestate polleant.” De Scotia remitto te ad Buchananum, de Gallia etiam tua, ubi hospes esse videris, ad Francogalliam Hotomani, & Girardum Franciae Historicum, de cæteris ad alios, quorum nulli quod sciam Independentes erant: ex quibus de jure regio longè alia poteras didicisse, quàm quæ doces. Cùm jure belli tyrannidem regibus Angliæ asserere nequiveris, facis jam periculum in jure parasitico. Edicunt reges se regnare “ Dei gratiâ:” quid si Deos se esse edixissent? te credo flaminem facillè erant habituri: sic Pontifex Cantuariensis “ Dei providentiâ” archiepiscopari præ se tulit. Tūne istâ fatuitate Papam non vis esse regem in Ecclesia, ut regem constituere plusquam Papam in repub. possis? At in regni statutis appellatur “ rex Dominus noster.” Mirus tu quidem statutorum nostrorum nomenclator repente evasisti; nescis tamen multos dici dominos qui non sunt; nescis quàm iniquum sit ex titulis honorariis, ne dicam adulatoriis, de jure & veritate rerum statuere. Eodem referendum quod “ Parlamentum regis ” dicitur: nam & frænum regis vocatur; adeoque non magis rex Parlamenti est dominus, quàm equus est sui dominus fræni. At “ cur non regis Parlamentum, cum ab eo convocetur.” Dicam tibi, quia convocatur etiam senatus à Consule, neque propterea dominus illius concilii erat. Quod itaque rex Parlamentum convocat, id facit pro officio suo ac munere quod à populo accepit, ut etiam quos convocat, eos de arduis regni negotiis consularet, non de suis: aut siqua dici sua possunt, de iis postremo semper loco agi solitum erat; ad arbitrium etiam Parlamenti, non suum. Nec verò ignorant, quorum id interest scire, Parlamentum sive vocatum, sive non vocatum bis intra vertentem annum antiquitùs ex lege potuisse convenire. At “ regis etiam leges nuncupantur.” Sunt istæ quidem ad regem phaleræ; rex autem Angliæ legem ferre per se potest nullam; neque enim ad leges ferendas, sed ad custodiendas à populo latas constitutus erat. Tūque hic fateris “ congregari” idcirco “ Parlamentum ut leges conderet.” Quapropter & lex Terræ vocatur, & lex populi: Unde Ethelstanus rex in præfatione legum, ubi omnes alloquitur, “ vobis,” inquit, “ lege vestrâ ” omnia largitus sum: & in formula juramenti quo reges Angliæ antequam crearentur obstringere se solebant, sic populus à rege stipulatur. “ Concedis justas leges quas vulgus elegerit?” respondet rex, “ concedo.” Erras etiam tota Anglia, “ qui regem quo tempore Parlamentum non habetur, plenè planèque totum regni statum regio jure gubernare” ais. Nam neque de bello, neque de pace quod magni sit momenti, quicquam decernere, ne in jure quidem dicundo curiarum decretis intercedere potest. Jurant itaque iudices nihil se in judiciis exercendis nisi ex lege facturos, etiamsi rex ipse dicto, aut mandato, vel etiam literis proprio annulo obsignatis aliter imperaret. Hinc sæpius in nostro jure rex “ infans ” dicitur; nec sua jura aut dignitates, nisi pueri aut pupilli in modum, possidere. Spec. Just. c. 4. sect. 22. hinc etiam illud apud nos crebro dici solitum, “ rex non potest facere injuriam.” Quod tu hoc modo sceleratè interpretaris, “ non est injuria quam facit rex, quia in eo non punitur.” Admirabilem hominis impudentiam & improbitatem vel hoc solo interpretamento quis non perspiciat? “ Capitis est imperare,” inquis, “ non membrorum, rex Parlamenti caput est.” Siccine nugarere, si cor tibi faperet? erras iterum (sed quis finis errorum est tuorum) in quo regis consiliarios à Parlamenti ordinibus non distinguis; nam neque illos quidem omnes, horum verò nullos reliquis non probatos eligere debebat rex; in plebeium autem ordinem ut quenquam eligeret, id sibi ne sumebat quidem unquam. Quibus id muneris

neris populus delegabat, per municipia singuli suffragiis omnium eligebantur; notissima loquor, eoque brevior sum. “Falsum” autem “esse” ais, “quod sanctæ Independentiæ cultores asserunt, Parlamentum à populo fuisse institutum.” Video jam quid sit cur papatum tanto impetu evertere contendas: alium ipse papatum in alvo, quod aiunt, gestas: quid enim aliud uxor uxoris, lupus ex lupa gravidus, nisi aut portentum, aut papatum aliquem novum parturire te oportebat? certè Papa germanus quasi jam esses, sanctos & sanctas pro arbitrio facis; reges etiam omni peccato absolvis, &, quasi strato jam hoste, ejus exuviis opimum te ornas. Verùm, quia papa nondum per te planè cecidit, dum libri illius tui “de Primatu,” secunda & tertia, & fortassè quarta & quinta pars prodierit, qui multos mortales tædio priùs enecabit, quàm tu papam eo libro subegeris, sit satis interea, quæso, ad Antipapatum saltem aliquem posse ascendere; est altera, quam tu, præter illam Independentiam abs te irrifam, sanctorum in numerum seriò retulisti, Tyrannis regia: sanctæ ergò Tyrannidis regiae tu Pontifex eris Maximus; & nequid desit tibi ad Papales titulos, “Servus etiam servorum” eris, non Dei, sed aulæ; quoniam illa Chenaani maledictio adhæsisse tibi ad præcordia videtur. “Bestiam” appellas “populum.” Quid interim es ipse? Non enim sacrum illud consistorium, neque sanctus ille Lupus te dominum suum aut populo exemerit aut vulgo; neque effecerit, quin, sicuti es, teterrima ipse bestia sis. Certè libri sacri prophetici magnorum regum monarchiam & dominationem immanis Bestiæ nomine ac specie adumbrare solent. “Sub regibus ante Guilielmum,” inquis, “nulla Parlamenti mentio exstat.” De vocabulo Gallicano altercari non libet: res semper fuit: & Saxonis temporibus “Concilium Sapientum” vocari solitum concedis. Sapientes autem tam sunt plebis, quàm procerum ex numero. At “in statuto Mertonensi, vigesimo Hen. tertii comitum & baronum tantum fit mentio.” Ita te semper nomina decipiunt, qui tantum in nominibus ætatem omnem contrivisti; nobis enim satis constat, & Quinque-portuum curatores, & decuriones urbicos, nonnunquam & mercatores illo seculo baronum nomine appellatos fuisse; neque dubium omnino est, quin Parlamenti quosque Senatores quantumvis plebeios, ætas illa jure multò potiore barones nuncupaverit: nam & anno ejusdem regis 52 tam nobiles, quàm plebeios fuisse convocatos, Marlbrigii statutum, sicut & reliqua fere statuta omnia disertis verbis testantur: quos etiam plebeios, comitatum magnates Edouardus tertius in præfatione Statuti Stapli, quam perdoctè pro me recitas, vocavit; eos nimirum “qui de singulis civitatibus pro toto comitatu venerant;” qui quidem plebeium ordinem constituiebant, neque erant proceres, aut esse poterant: Tradit etiam liber statutis illis vetustior, qui inscribitur, “Modus habendi Parlamenta,” licere regi cum plebe sola Parlamentum habere, legesque ferre, quamvis Comites & Episcopi non adsint; non itidem licere regi cum comitibus & episcopis, si plebs non aderit. Hujus rei ratio quoque adjicitur; quia cum nondum Comites aut episcopi constituti essent, reges cum populo tamen Parlamenta, & Concilia peragebant: deinde comites pro se tantum veniunt; plebei pro suo quisque municipio. Ex quo iste ordo universi populi nomine adesse intelligitur; eoque nomine & potiore, & nobiliorem ordine patricio, omnique ex parte anteponendum esse. Sed “judicandi potestas,” inquis, “penès domum plebeiam nunquam fuit.” Neque penès regem Angliæ fuit unquam: illud tamen memineris, principio omnem potestatem à populo fluxisse, & etiamnum proficisci. Quod & Marcus Tullius de lege agraria pulcherrimè ostendit. “Cum omnes potestates, imperia, curationes ab universo populo proficisci convenit, tum eas profectò maximè, quæ constituuntur ad populi fructum aliquem, & commodum; in quo & universi deligant quem populo maximè consulturum putent, & unusquisque studio & suffragio suo viam sibi ad beneficium impetrandum munire possit.” Vides Parliamentorum veram originem, illis Saxonis archivis longè vetustiorum. Dum in hac luce veritatis & sapientiæ versari licebit, frustra nobis obscuriorum ætatum tenebras offundere conaris. Quod non eò dici à me quisquam existimet, quasi ego de authoritate & prudentiâ majorum nostrorum detrahi quicquam velim; qui in legibus

bonis ferendis plus sanè præstiterunt, quàm vel illa secula, vel illorum ingenium & cultus tulisse videatur : & quamvis leges rarò non bonas irrogarent, ignorantia tamen, & imbecillitatis humanæ sibi conscii, hoc veluti fundamentum legum omnium posteris tradi voluerunt, quod & nostri Jurisperiti omnes agnoscunt, ut si qua lex aut consuetudo legi divinæ aut naturali, aut rationi denique repugnaret, ea ne pro lege sancitâ habeatur. Unde tu, etiamsi edictum fortasse aliquod aut statutum in jure nostro, quo regi tyrannica potestas attribuitur, invenire posses, id, cùm & divinæ voluntati, & naturæ, & rationi contrarium sit, intelligito, ex generali & primariâ ista lege nostra quam attuli, rescindi apud nos, & ratum non esse; verùm tu jus nullum tale regium apud nos invenies. Cum enim judicandi potestas primitùs in ipso populo fuisse constet, Anglos autem eam ab se in regem nullâ lege regia unquam transfuisse, neminem enim judicare aut solet aut potest rex Angliæ, nisi per leges provisas jam & approbatas : Fleta l. 1. c. 17. sequitur eandem adhuc integram atque totam in populo sitam esse; nam parium domui aut nunquam traditam, aut recuperari jure posse non negabis. At, “regis est,” inquis, “de vico municipium,” de eo “civitatem facere, ergò illos creat qui constituunt domum inferiorem.” At inquam, oppida & municipia regibus antiquiora sunt; etiam in agris populus est populus. Jam Anglicismis tuis magnopere delectamur; **Countie Court, The Turn, hundreda**; mirâ nempe docilitate centenos Jacobæos tuos Anglicè numerare didicisti.

“Quis expedit” Salmasio suam Hundredam,
 Picàmque “docuit nostra verba conari?”
 “Magister artis venter,” & Jacobæi
 Centum, exulantis viscera marsupii regis.
 “Quòd si dolosi spēs refulserit nummi,”
 Ipse Antichristi qui modò primatum Papæ
 Minatus uno est dissipare sufflatu,
 “Cantabit” ultrò Cardinalitium “melos.”

Longam deinde de comitibus & Baronibus dissertationem subtexis; ut ostendas regem esse eorum omnium creatorem, quod facilè concedimus, eoque nomine regibus plerumque serviebant; idèoque ne gentis liberæ deinceps judices essent rectè providimus. “Potestatem convocandi parlamentum quoties libet, & quando vult dissolvendi ex omni temporis memoria penès regem esse” affirmas. Tibine igitur balatroni mercenario & peregrino, perfugarum dictata exscribenti, an disertis legum nostrarum verbis fides habenda sit, infrà videbimus. “At,” inquis, “reges Angliæ parlamento majus imperium habuisse alio argumento probatur, eoque invincibili; regis potestas perpetua est & ordinaria, quæ per se sine Parlamento regnum administrat; Parlamenti extraordinaria est autoritas, & ad certas tantùm res, nec sine rege quicquam validi statuere idonea.” Ubinam dicamus vim magnam latere hujus argumenti? an in “ordinaria & perpetuâ?” Atqui minores multi magistratus habent potestatem ordinariam & perpetuam, quos Irenarchas vocamus; an summam ergò habent? suprâ etiam dixi potestatem regi idcirco traditam à populo fuisse, ut videret autoritate sibi commissâ ne quid contra legem fiat; útque leges custodiret nostras, non ut nobis imponeret suas: regis proinde potestatem nisi in regni curiis & per eas, esse nullam: immo populi potiùs ordinaria est omnis, qui per duodecim viros de omnibus judicat. Atque hinc est quòd interrogatus in curiâ reus, “Cui te permittis judicandum?” respondet semper ex more atque lege, “Deo & populo,” non Deo & regi, aut regis vicario. Parlamenti autem autoritas, quæ re & veritate, summa populi potestas in illum senatum collata est, si extraordinaria est dicenda, id tantùm propter ejus eminentiam dicitur; alioqui, ut notum est, ipsi ordines appellantur, non extra ordinem ergò; & si non actû, quod aiunt, virtute tamen perpetuum habent in omnes curias & potestates ordinarias jus atque autoritatem; idque
 fine

sine rege. Offendunt nunc limatulas, opinor, aures tuas nostrorum barbaræ locutiones : cujus ego si vacaret, aut operæ pretium esset, tot barbarissimos hoc uno libro notare possem, quot si pro merito lueres, profectò omnes puerorum ferulas in te frangi oporteret, nec tot aureos tibi dari, quot illi quondam pessimo poëtæ; colaphos longè plures. “Prodigium esse” ais, “omnibus portentis opinionum monstrosius, quòd fanatici personam regis à potestate ejus sejungant.” Equidem dicta singulorum non præstitero : personam autem si pro homine vis dici, separari à potestate ejus nec absurdè posse Chrysostomus haud fanaticus docere te potuit ; qui præceptum Apostoli de potestatibus ita explanat, ut potestatem ibi & rem, non hominem intelligi asserat. Quidni dicam regem, qui contra leges quid facit, id agere ut privatum vel tyrannum, non ut regem legitimâ potestate præditum ? Tu si uno in homine posse plures esse personas, easque ab ipso homine, sensu & cogitatione separabiles non intelligis, & sensus communis & latinitatis planè expers es. Sed hoc eò dicis, ut reges peccato omni absolves, utque erepto Papæ primatu indutum te esse existimemus : “Rex,” inquis, “non posse peccare intelligitur, quia peccatum ejus pœna non consequitur.” Quisquis ergò non punitur, non peccat ; non furtum, sed pœna facit furem ; Salmasius Grammaticus non facit solæcismos, quia manum ferulæ subduxit : post eversum à te Papam sint isti sanè Pontificatûs tui canones, vel certè indulgentiæ tuæ, sive sanctæ Tyrannidis, sive sanctæ Servitutis Pontifex dici mavis. Congesta extremo capite maledicta tua in “Anglicanæ reipub. & Ecclesiæ statum” prætereo : hoc enim habent tui similes, homo contemptissime ; ut quidque plurimâ dignum est laude, id solent per calumniam maximè vituperare. Sed de jure regio apud nos, seu potius de jure populi in regem ne quid temere affirmâsse videar, proferre ex ipsis monumentis non gravabor, quamvis pauca quidem de multis, ea tamen quibus liquidò satis constabit, Anglos ex lege & instituto, & more etiam majorum suorum, regem nuper judicavisse. Post Romanorum ex insula discessum sui juris Britanni circiter annos 40. sine regibus fuere ; quos primos creârunt, eorum nonnullos, supplicio affecere. Britannos eo nomine Gildas, contrà quàm tu facis, reprehendit, non quòd reges necavere, sed quòd injudicatos, vel ut ejus verbis utar, “non pro veri examinatione.” Vortigernus ob incestas cum filia nuptias, teste Nennio historicorum nostrorum post Gildam antiquissimo, damnatur “à beato Germano, & omni concilio Britonum,” ejusque filio Guorthemiro regnum traditur. Haud multò hæc post Augustini obitum gesta sunt : unde vanitas tua facilè redarguitur, qui suprà asseruisti, primum omnium Papam, & nominatim Zachariam docuisse, judicari reges posse. Circa annum Christi 600. Morcantius, qui tunc temporis in Cambria regnabat, propter cædem patrui ab Oudoceo Landaviæ Episcopo in exilium damnatur ; quamquam in exilii sententiam latifundiis quibusdam ecclesiæ donatis redemit. Ad Saxones jam veniamus ; quorum jura cum reperiantur, facta prætermittam. Saxones Germanis oriundos memineris ; qui nec infinitam aut liberam potestatem regibus dedere, & de rebus majoribus consultare omnes solebant ; ex quibus intelligere est, Parlamentum, si solum nomen excipias, etiam apud Saxonum majores summâ autoritate viguisse. Et ab iis quidem Concilium Sapientum passim nominatur ; ipsis Ethelberti temporibus, quem “decreta judiciorum juxta exempla Romanorum cum Concilio Sapientum constituisse” memorat Beda ; sic Edwinus Northanybrorum, Inas occidentalium Saxonum rex, “habito cum sapientibus & Senioribus concilio,” novas leges promulgavit ; alias Aluredus edidit “ex concilio” item “prudenterum ; atque iis,” inquit, “omnibus placuit edici earum observationes.” His atque aliis multis hujusmodi locis luce clarius est, delectos etiam ex plebe conciliis maximis interfuisse ; nisi si quis Procures solos sapientes esse arbitratur. Extat etiam apud nos perantiquus legum liber cui titulus “Speculum Justiciariorum,” in quo traditur primos Saxones, post Britanniam subactam, cum reges crearent, ab iis jusjurandum exigere consuevisse, se, ut quemvis alium è populo, legibus ac judiciis subiectos fore, cap. 1. sect. 2. ibidem aut jus esse & æquum ut rex suos in Parlamento habeat pares, qui de injuriis quas vel rex vel regina fecerit, cognoscerent ;

cognoscerent ; regnante Alredo sancitum legibus fuisse, ut singulis annis Parliamentum bis Londini, vel eo sæpius, si opus esset, haberetur. Quæ lex cum pessimo juris neglectu in defuetudinem abiisset, duabus sub Edouardo 3^{to} sanctionibus renovata est. In alio etiam antiquo manuscripto, qui “Modus Parlamenti” inscribitur, hæc legimus ; si rex Parliamentum prius dimiserit, quàm ea omnia transigantur quorum causa concilium indictum erat, perjurii reus erit ; & juramentum illud quod regnum initurus dederat, violasse censetur. Quomodo enim, quod juratus est, justas leges concedit, quas populus elegerit, si earum eligendi facultatem petenti populo non dat, vel rariùs Parliamentum convocando, vel citiùs dimittendo quàm res populi ferunt ? Jus autem illud jurandum, quo rex Angliæ se obligat, nostri jurisperiti pro sanctissimâ lege semper habuere. Quod autem maximis reipub. periculis remedium inveniri potest (qui solus convocandi Parlamenti finis erat) si conventus ille magnus, & augustissimus ad regis libitum stultissimi sæpe & pervicacissimi dissolvitur ? Possè à Parlamento abesse, proculdubio minus est, quàm Parliamentum dissolvere : at rex per leges nostras illo Modorum libro traditas abesse à Parlamento, nisi planè ægrotaret, neque potuit, neque debuit : & ne tum quidem nisi inspecto ejus corpore à duodecim regni paribus, qui de adversa regis valetudine testimonium perhibere in senatu possent : solèntne servi cum domino sic agere ? Contrà verò plebeius ordo, sine quo Parliamentum haberi non potest, etiam à rege convocatus potuit non adesse, & secessione factâ, de repub. malè gestâ cum rege exposulare : quod & prædictus liber testatur. Verùm, quod caput est, inter leges Edouardi regis vulgò Confessoris, una est eximia, quæ de regis officio tractat ; cui rex officio si desit, “nomen regis in eo non constabit.” Hoc quid esset, ne non satis intelligeretur, Chilperici Francorum regis exemplum subnectit, cui idcirco regnum à Populo abrogatum erat. Puniri autem malum regem ex legis hujus sententia oportere, significabat ille S. Edouardi gladius cui nomen Curtana erat, quem in regum creatione & pompâ gestare Comes Palatii solebat ; “in signum,” inquit noster Matthæus Paris, “quod & regem, si oberret, habeat de jure potestatem cohibendi :” gladio autem nemo ferè nisi capite punitur. Hanc legem, cum aliis boni illius Edouardi, Guilielmus ipse conquæstor anno regni quarto ratam habuit : & frequentissimo Anglorum Concilio prope Verulamium religiosissimè juratus confirmavit : quo facto non solum jus omne belli, si quod in nos habuit, ipse extinxit, sed etiam hujus legis judicio atque sententiæ se subjecit. Ejus etiam filius Henricus cum in omnes Edouardi leges, tum in hanc quoque juravit ; atque iis duntaxat conditionibus, vivente adhuc fratre Roberto natu majore, in regem est electus. Jurârunt eadem omnes deinceps reges, antequam insignia regni acciperent. Hinc celebris ille & antiquus noster jurisconsultus Bractonus. l. 1. c. 8. “Non est rex, ubi dominatur voluntas, & non lex.” Et l. 3. c. 9. “rex est dum benè regit ; tyrannus, dum populum sibi creditum violentâ opprimit dominatione.” Et ibidem, “exercere debet potestatem juris, ut vicarius & minister Dei : potestas autem injuriæ diaboli est, non Dei : cum declinat ad injuriam rex, diaboli minister est.” Eadem ferme habet vetustus alter jurisconsultus, libri illius author qui Fleta inscribitur, memor nempe uterque & legis illius Edvardinæ, verè quidem regiæ, & regulæ illius in jure nostro primariæ à me suprâ dictæ, quâ nihil Dei legibus & rationi contrarium haberi pro lege potest ; uti nec tyrannus pro rege, nec minister diaboli pro ministro Dei. Cum itaque lex maximè ratio recta sit, siquidem regi, siquidem Dei ministro obediendum est, eadem prorsus & ratione & lege, tyranno & diaboli ministro erit resistendum. Et quoniam de nomine sæpius quàm de re ambigitur, tradunt iidem, regem Angliæ, etiamsi nomen regis nondum perdiderit, judicari tamen, ut quilibet è vulgo, & posse & debere. Bracton. l. 1. c. 8. Fleta. l. 1. c. 17. “non debet esse rege major quisquam in exhibitione juris ; minimus autem esse debet in judicio suscipiendo, si peccat,” alii legunt, “si petat.” Judicari igitur cum debeat rex noster, sive tyranni sub nomine, sive regis, quos habeat item judices legitimos dictu difficile

difficile non debet esse. Eosdem consulere authores haud pejus erit. Bracton. l. 2. c. 16. Fleta. l. 1. c. 17. "In populo regendo rex habet superiores, legem, per quam factus est rex, & curiam suam, videlicet comites & Barones : comites dicuntur quasi focii regis, & qui habet focium, habet magistrum ; & ideo si rex fuerit sine fræno, id est sine lege, debent ei frænum ponere." Baronum autem nomine plebeium ordinem comprehendi suprâ ostendimus ; quin & Pares etiam Parlamenti eosdem fuisse dictos, libri légum nostrarum antiqui passim tradunt : & imprimis liber ille cui titulus, Parlamenti modus ; "Eligentur" inquit "de omnibus regni paribus 25," quorum erunt "quinque milites, quinque cives" id est urbium delegati, "quinque municipales : & duo milites pro comitatu majorem vocem habent in concedendo & contradicendo quàm major comes Angliæ ;" & meritò quidem, illi enim pro tota aliqua provincia, aut municipio suffragia ferunt, isti pro se quisque duntaxat. Comites autem illos "Codicillares," quos vocas, & "rescriptitios," cùm feudales jam nulli sint, ad judicandum regem à quo creabantur minimè omnium idoneos esse, quis non videt? Cùm itaque jus nostrum sit, ut est in illo speculo antiquo, regem habere pares, qui in Parlamento cognoscant & judicent, "si quid rex in aliquem populi sui peccaverit," si notissimum sit licere apud nos cuivis è populo in minoribus quibusque curiis injuriarum actionem regi intendere, quantò justius est, quantòque magis necessarium, si rex in universos peccaverit, ut habeat qui eum non refrænare solum & coërcere, sed judicare & punire possint. Pessimè enim & ridiculè institutam esse eam necesse est rempub. in qua de minimis regum injuriis etiam privato cuivis cautum sit, de maximis nihil in commune provisum, nihil de salute omnium, quo minùs liceat ei universos sine lege perdere, qui ne unum quidem lædere per legem poterat. Comites autem esse regis judices, cùm ostensum sit neque decere neque expedire, sequitur judicium illud totum ad plebeium ordinem, qui & pares regni, & Barones, & populi totius potestate sibi delegatâ præditi sunt, jure optimo pertinere. Cùm enim (ut in nostro jure scriptum est, quod suprâ attuli) plebs sola cum rege sine comitibus aut episcopis parlamentum constituat, quia rex cum sola plebe, etiam ante comites aut episcopos natos, Parlamenta peragere solebat, eâdem prorsus ratione plebs sola supremam & sine rege, & regem ipsum judicandi potestatem habebit, quòd etiam ante ullum regem creatum, ipsa universi populi nomine concilia & parlamenta peragere, judicare, ferre leges, ipsa reges creare solita erat ; non ut populo dominarentur, sed ut rem populi administrarent. Quem si rex contra injuriis afficere, & servitute opprimere conatus fuerit, ex ipsa legis nostræ sententiâ nomen regis in eo non constat, rex non est ; quòd si rex non sit, quid est quod ei pares ampliùs quæramus ? Tyrannum enim jam re ipsa ab omnibus bonis judicatum nulli non satis pares atque idonei sunt, qui supplicio mactandum esse pro tribunali judicent. Hæc cum ita sint, tot testimoniis, tot legibus prolatis, abundè hoc demùm, quod erat propositum, evicisse arbitror, cùm judicare regem penès plebem jure optimo sit, cùmque plebs regem de repub. deque ecclesia, sine spe ulla sanitatis, pessimè meritum supplicio ultimo affecerit, rectè atque ordine, exque repub. suâque fide, dignitate, legibus denique patriis fecisse. Neque possum hic non gratulari mihi de majoribus nostris, qui non minore prudentiâ ac libertate, quàm Romani olim, aut Græcorum præstantissimi, hanc rempub. instituerunt ; neque poterunt illi, siquid nostrarum rerum sentiunt, non sibi etiam gratulari de posteris suis ; qui tam sapienter institutam, tantâ libertate fundatam ab impotenti regis dominatione, cùm redacti penè in servitutem essent, tam fortiter, tamque prudenter vindicârunt.

CAPUT IX.

SATIS jam arbitror palàm esse, regem Angliæ etiam Anglorum legibus judicari posse; suos habere judices legitimos; quod erat probandum. Quid tu porrò? (nam quæ tu repetis, ad ea non repetam mea) “ex rebus nunc ipsis propter quas comitia indici solent, proclive,” inquis, “est ostendere regem esse supra Parlamentum.” Sit fanè proclive quantum voles, in quo præcipitem te dari jam statim senties. “Parlamentum,” inquis, “congregari solet ad majoris momenti negotia in quibus regni salus & populi versatur.” Si rex Parlamentum convocat ad procurandas res populi, non suas, neque id nisi assensu eorum atque arbitrio quos convocat, quid aliud est, obsecro, nisi minister populi & procurator? cùm, sine suffragiis eorum quos populus mittit, ne tantillum quidem, neque de aliis, neque de seipso decernere possit. Quod etiam argumento est, officium esse regis, toties Parlamentum convocare, quoties populus id petit: quandoquidem & res populi, non regis, iis comitiis tractantur, idque populi arbitrio. Quamvis enim regis quoque assensus honoris causâ peti soleret, quem in rebus minoris momenti ad privatorum duntaxat commoda spectantibus poterat non præbere, poterat pro illa formula dicere, “rex deliberabit,” de iis tamen, quæ ad salutem omnium communem & libertatem pertinebant, prorsus abnuere nullo modo poterat; cùm id & contra juramentum regium esset, quo veluti lege firmissimâ tenebatur, & contra præcipuum magnæ Chartæ articulum, c. 29. “Non negabimus, non differemus cuiquam jus aut justitiam.” Non negabit rex justitiam, negabit ergò justas leges? non cuiquam, an ergò omnibus? ne in Curiâ quidem ullâ minori, an ergò in Senatu supremo? an verò rex ullus tantum sibi arrogabit, ut quid justum sit, quid utile, se unum universo populo scire meliùs existimet? Cùm “ad hoc creatus & electus sit, ut justitiam faciat universis,” Bracton. l. 3. c. 9. per eas nimirum leges “quas vulgus” elegerit. Unde illud in archivis nostris 7. H. 4. Rot. Parl. num. 59. “non est ulla regis prærogativa, quæ ex justitia & æquitate quicquam derogat.” Et reges olim acta Parlamenti confirmare recusantes, Chartam videlicet magnam & hujusmodi alia, majores nostri sæpenumerò armis coëgere; neque propterea minùs valere illas leges, aut minùs legitimas esse jurisperiti nostri statuunt: quandoquidem assensum rex iis decretis coactus præbuit, quibus jure atque sponte assentiri debebat. Tu dum contendis aliarum etiam gentium reges in potestate vel Synedrii vel Senatûs, vel Concilii sui æquè fuisse, non nos in servitutem asseris, sed eas in libertatem: in quo idem facere pergis quod ab initio fecisti, quòdque faciunt pragmaticorum stultissimi, ut incauti seipsum in lite sæpiùs contra veniant. At nos scilicet fatemur “regem, ubicunque absit, in Parlamento tamen censerì præsentem vi potestatis: ergò quodcunque illic agitur à rege ipso actum intelligi.” Tum quasi bolum aliquem nactus esses aut mercedulam, illorum recordatione Caroleorum delinitus, “accipimus,” inquis, “quod dant:” accipe igitur, quo dignus es, magnum malum; non enim damus, quod sperabas, inde sequi “curiam illam non alia potiri potestate quàm à rege delegata.” Si enim dicitur, potestas regis, quæcunque ea sit, à Parlamento abesse non potest, an suprema continuò dicitur? annon potiùs transferri in Parlamentum potestas regia videtur, utque minor majore contineri? fanè si Parlamentum potest, nolente & invito rege, acta ejus & privilegia quibuscvis data revocare atque rescindere, si ipsius regis prærogativas, prout videtur, circumscribere, si proventus ejus annuos & impensas aulæ, si famulitium ipsum, si totam denique rem domesticam regis moderari, si vel intimos ejus consiliarios atque amicos amovere, vel etiam è sinu abripere ad supplicium potest, si cuivis denique de plebe à rege ad Parlamentum quacunque de re provocatio est lege data, non itidem à Parlamento ad regem, quæ omnia & posse fieri, & fuisse sæpiùs facta, cùm monumenta publica, tum legum

nostrarum consultissimi testantur, neminem esse arbitror, modò mens ei sana sit, qui Parlamentum supra regem esse non fateatur. Nam in interregno etiam Parlamentum viget; & quod historiis nostris testatissimum est, nullâ hæreditatis ratione habitâ, sæpe, quem sibi visum est, suffragiis liberrimis regem creavit. Ut summatim dicam quod res est, Parlamentum est supremum gentis Concilium, ad hoc ipsum à Populo planè libero constitutum, & potestate plenâ instructum, ut de summis rebus in commune consulat; rex ideo erat creatus, ut de consilio & sententiâ illorum Ordinum consulta omnia exequenda curaret. Quod cum Parlamentum ipsum edicto nuper suo publicè declararet, neque enim pro æquitate sua recusabat vel externis gentibus actionum suarum rationem ultrò ac sponte reddere, ecce tibi è gurgustio nullius homo authoritatis, aut fidei, aut rei, Burgundus iste Verna, qui summum Angliæ Senatum, jus patrium atque suum scripto asserentem, “detestandæ & horribilis imposturæ” insimulat. Patriam mehercule tuam pudebit, verbero, se tantæ impudentiæ homuncionem genuisse. Sed habes fortasse quæ salutariter monitos nos velis; agedum, auscultamus. “Quas,” inquis, “leges sancire potest Parlamentum, in quo nec præsulum ordo comparet?” Tunc ergo, furiose, præsules ex ecclesia extirpatum ibas, ut in Parlamenta induceres? O hominem impium, & Satanæ tradendum, quem neque ecclesia non ejicere hypocritam & atheum, neque ulla respub. recipere communem libertatis pestem atque labem deberet; qui etiam quod nequit ex Evangelio, id ex Aristotele & Halicarnassæo, deinde ex statutis papisticis pravissimorum temporum probare adnititur, regem Angliæ caput esse Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ, ut episcopos compranfores suos & necessarios nuper factos, quos ipse Deus exturbavit, novos iterum prædones & tyrannos, pro virili suâ parte, sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ imponat; quorum universum ordinem, tanquam religioni Christianæ perniciosissimum, eradicandum esse stirpitibus, editis antea libris clamose contenderat. Quis unquam Apostata, non dico à sua, quæ nulla certa est, sed à Christiana doctrina, quam ipse asseruerat, defectione tam foedâ atque nefariâ descivit? “Episcopis de medio sublati, qui sub rege, & ex ejus arbitrio de causis ecclesiæ cognoscebant,” quæris “ad quos redibit ea cognitio.” O perditissimè, verere tandem vel conscientiam tuam; memineris dum licet; nisi si hoc serò nimis te moneo, memineris quàm non impunè tibi erit, quàm inexpiabile demùm sit, sanctum Dei Spiritum sic illudere. Subsiste aliquando, & pone aliquem furori modum, ne te accensa ira numinis repentè corripiat; qui Christi gregem, unctosque Dei minimè tangendos, iis hostibus & sævissimis tyrannis obterendos iterum & persultandos tradere cupis, à quibus elata modò & mirifica Dei manus eos liberavit: túque ipse, nescio eorumne ad fructum ullum, an ad perniciem & obdurationem tuam, liberandos esse docuisti. Quod si jus nullum dominandi in ecclesiam est episcopis, certè multo minùs est regibus; quicquid hominum statuta edicunt. Sciunt enim qui labris aliquanto plusquam primoribus Evangelium gustârunt, ecclesiæ gubernationem divinam esse totam ac spiritualem, non civilem. “In secularibus” autem, quòd ais “supremam jurisdictionem habuisse regem Angliæ,” id falsum esse jura nostra ubertim declarant. Curias omnes ubi judicia exercentur, non rex, sed Parlamenti authoritas vel constituit, vel tollit; in quibus tamen minimo cuivis è plebe licebat regem in jus vocare; neque rarò judices contra regem pronuntiare solebant; id si rex vel interdicto, vel mandato, vel scriptis literis impedire conaretur, ex juramento & lege non parebant judices, sed ejusmodi mandata rejiciebant, & pro nihilo habebant: non poterat rex quenquam in vincula conjicere, aut ullius bona in publicum addicere; poterat neminem supplicio punire, nisi in aliquam curiam priùs citatum, ubi non rex, sed consueti judices sententias tulere; idque sæpe, ut suprà dixi, contra regem. Hinc noster Bractonus l. 3. c. 9. “regia potestas juris est, non injuriæ; & nihil aliud potest rex, nisi id solum quod de jure potest.” Aliud tibi suggerunt Causidici tui, qui nuper solum verterunt; ex statutis nempe quibusdam haud antiquis sub Edvardo 4to, Henrico 7imo, Edvardo 6to promulgatis: neque viderunt, quamcunque regi potestatem statuta illa concedunt, eam à Parlamento concessam esse omnem & quasi precariam; quam & eadem authoritas poterat revocare. Cur sic passus es nasuto tibi

tibi imponi, ut quo maximè argumento regis potestatem ex decretis Parlamenti pendere demonstratur, eo absolutam esse & supremam probare te crederes? Nam & monumenta nostra sanctiora testantur, reges nostros non hæreditati, non armis, non successioni; sed populo suam omnem potestatem debere. Talis potestas regia Henrico quarto, talis ante eum Richardo secundo à plebeio ordine concessa legitur; Rot. Parlament. 1 Hen. 4. num. 108. haud secùs atque rex aliquis præsidibus suis præfecturas & provincias edicto & diplomate solet concedere. Id nempe literis publicis consignari disertè jussit Communium Domus, “concessisse se regi Richardo, ut tali bonâ libertate” frueretur, “qualem ante eum reges Angliæ habuere;” quâ cum rex ille “contra fidem Sacramenti sui” ad everfionem legum abuteretur, ab iisdem orbatus regno est. Idem etiam, quod & eadem rotula testatur, in Parlamento edicunt, se prudentiâ & moderatione Henrici 4ti confisos, “velle ac jubere ut in eadem magnâ libertatè regiâ sit, quam ejus progenitores obtinuerunt.” Illa autem nisi fiduciaria planè fuisset, quemadmodum hæc fuit, necesse est profectò & Parlamenti illius ordines, qui concederent quod suum non erat, ineptos ac vanos, & reges illos qui, quod suum jam erat, concessum ab aliis vellent accipere, & sibi & posteris injurios nimis fuisse: quorum utrumvis credibile non est. “Tertia pars,” inquis, “regiæ potestatis versatur circa militiam; hanc partem reges Angliæ sine pari & æmulo tractârunt.” Neque hoc veriùs quàm cætera quæ per fugarum fide scripsisti. Primùm enim pacis & belli arbitrium penès magnum regni senatum semper fuisse, & historiæ passim nostræ, & exterorum, quotquot res nostras paulò accuratiùs attigere, testantur. Sancti etiam Edvardi leges, in quas jurare nostri reges tenebantur, certissimam fidem faciunt, capite de Heretochiis, “fuisse quasdam potestates per provincias & singulos comitatus regni constitutas, quæ Heretoches vocabantur, latinè ductores exercitus,” qui provincialibus copiis præerant, non “ad honorem coronæ” solum, sed “ad utilitatem regni.” Isti vero eligebantur “per commune concilium, & per singulos comitatus in pleno conventu populari, sicut & vicecomites eligi debent.” Ex quo facilè perspicitur, & copias regni & copiarum ductores in potestate populi, non regis & antiquitùs fuisse, & esse oportere: illâque legem æquissimam nostro in regno haud minùs valuisse, quàm olim in populari Romanorum statu valebat. De qua & M. Tullium audire non abs re fuerit. Philipp. 10. “Omnes legiones, omnes copię quæ ubique sunt, Populi R. sũt. Neque enim legiones, quæ Antonium Consulem reliquerunt, Antonii potiùs quàm reipub. fuisse dicuntur.” Sancti autem Edouardi legem illam, cum aliis illius legibus Guilielmus ille conquæstor dictus, populo sic volente ac jubente, juratus confirmavit; sed & hanc insuper adjecit, c. 56. “Omnes civitates, burgos, castella, singulis noctibus ita custodiri, prout vicecomes, & Aldermanni, cæterique præpositi per commune concilium ad utilitatem regni meliùs providebunt;” & lege 62, “ideo castella, burgi, civitates ædificatæ sunt ad tuitionem gentium & populorum regni, idcirco & observari debent cum omni libertate, integritate, & ratione.” Quid ergo? custodientur arces & oppida in pace contra fures & maleficos non nisi per commune Concilium ejusdem loci, non custodientur in maximo belli metu contra hostes sive externos sive intestinos per commune concilium totius gentis? sanè illud nisi concedatur, neque “libertas,” neque “integritas,” nec “ratio” denique in iis custodiendis ulla esse poterit; neque earum rerum quicquam assequemur, quarum causâ fundari primùm urbes & arces lex ipsa dicit. Majores certè nostri quidvis potiùs regi quàm sua arma & oppidorum præsidia tradere solebant; idem esse rati ac si libertatem ipsi suam ferocitati regum & impotentiæ proditum irent. Cujus rei exempla in historiis nostris uberrima cum sint, & jam notissima, inferere huic loco supervacaneum esset. At “protectionem rex debet subditis, quomodo eos protegere poterit, nisi arma viròsque habeat in sua potestate?” At, inquam, habebat hæc omnia ad utilitatem regni, ut dictum est, non ad civium interitum & regni disperditionem: quod & Henrici 3tii temporibus, prudenter Leonardus quidam vir doctus in episcoporum conventu respondit Rustando Papæ nuntio & regis procuratori: “omnes ec-

clesiæ sunt Domini Papæ, ut omnia principis esse dicimus, ad tuitionem, non ad fruitionem vel proprietatem," quod aiunt; ad defensionem, "non ad dispersionem:" eadem & prædictæ legis Edouardi sententia erat; quid est hoc aliud nisi potestate fiduciariâ; non absolutâ? qualem cum imperator bellicus ferè habeat, id est delegatam, non planè propriam, non eò segniùs populum, à quo eligitur, sive domi sive militiæ defendere solet. Frustra autem Parlamenta, & impari sane congressu de legibus Sancti Edouardi & libertate olim cum regibus contendissent, si penès regem solum arma esse oportere existimassent; nam & leges quamlibet iniquas ipse dare si voluisset, frustra se "chartâ" quantumvis "magnâ" contra ferrum defendissent. "At quid proderit," inquis, "Parlamento militiæ magisterium habere, cùm ne teruncium quidem ad eam sustinendam queat, nolente rege, de populo cogere." Ne sit ea tibi cura: primùm enim hoc falsò ponis, Parlamenti ordines "non posse sine rege tributa populo imponere," à quo & ipsi missi sunt, & cujus causam suscipiunt. Deinde non potest te fugere tam sedulum de alienis rebus percontatorem, suâ sponte populum, vasis aureis atque argenteis confatis, magnam vim pecuniæ in hoc bellum contra regem impendisse. Amplissimos exinde regum nostrorum annuos redditus recensens: nil nisi "millies quingenties quadragies" crepas; "ex patrimonio regis maximas largitiones" fieri solitas ab iis "regibus qui liberalitatis laudibus emicuerunt," avidus audieras: hac te illecebrâ veluti Bileamum illum infamem proditores patriæ ad suam causam perduxere; ut Dei populo maledicere, & divinis judiciis obstrepere auderes. Stulte; quid tandem regi injusto ac violento tam immensæ opes profuere? Quid etiam tibi? ad quem nihil prorsus eorum, quæ spe ingenti devoraveras, pervenisse audio, præter unam illam crumenulam vitreis globulis vermiculatam, & centenis aureolis confertam. Cape istam Balaame, quam adamâsti, iniquitatis mercedem, ac fruire. Pergis enim desipere; "Erectio standardi," id est "vexilli ad regem solum pertinet." Quapropter? quia

—Belli signum Laurenti Turnus ab arce
Extulit.

Tunc verò nescis, Grammaticæ, hoc idem cujusvis imperatoris bellici munus esse? At "ait Aristoteles, necesse est regi præsidium adstare, quo leges tueri possit; ergo oportet regem plus armis posse quàm populum universum." Tales hic homo consequentias torquere solet, quales Ocnus funes apud inferos; quæ nulli sunt usui, nisi ut comedantur ab asinis: aliud enim est præsidium à populo datum, aliud armorum omnium potestas, quam Aristoteles hoc ipso, quem protulisti, loco à regibus abjudicat. Oportet, inquit, habeat rex tantam circa se manum armatorum, "quanta singulis vel compluribus fortior sit, populo verò minor; εἶναι δὲ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ὥστε ἐκάστω μὲν καὶ ἐνὸς καὶ συμπλερίωνων κρείττω, τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἥττω. Polit. l. 3. c. 11. Alioqui fanè, sub specie tuendi, possit statim & populum & leges sibi subdicere. Hoc autem rex & tyrannus interest; rex à senatu & populo volente, ac libente, quid satis est præsidii circa se habet contra hostes, & seditiosos: tyrannus invito senatu ac populo, vel hostium, vel perditorum civium præsidium sibi quàm maximum comparare studet, contra senatum ipsum & populum. Concessit itaque Parlamentum regi, ut alia omnia, sic "standardi erectionem;" non ut infesta patriæ signa inferret, sed ut populum contra eos defenderet, quos Parlamentum hostes judicat; si secus fuisset, ipse hostis judicandus erat; cùm juxta ipsam Sancti Edouardi, vel quod sanctius est, ipsam naturæ legem, nomen regis perdiderit. Unde in prædictâ Philippicâ, "amittit is omne exercitûs & imperii jus, qui eo imperio & exercitu rempub. oppugnat." Neque licebat regi "feudales" illos "equites" ad "bellum" evocare, quod Parlamenti autoritas non decrevisset; id quod ex statutis pluribus manifestum est. Idem de vectigalibus & censu navali censendum; quem imperare civibus sine senatusconsulto rex non potuit: atque ita gravissimi legum

legum nostrarum interpretes annis abhinc plus minus duodecim, tum cùm adhuc firmissimum erat regium imperium, publicè statuerunt. Sic diu ante eos Fortescutius Henrici 6ti cancellarius juris nostri consultissimus; rex Angliæ, inquit, neque leges mutare potest, neque tributa, nolente populo, imponere. Sed nec probaverit quisquam ullis testimoniis antiquorum "regni Angliæ statum merè" esse "regalem. Habet rex," inquit Bractonus, "jurisdictionem super omnes." Id est in curiâ; ubi regis quidem nomine nostris autem legibus jus redditur. "Omnis sub rege est;" id est singuli: atque ita se explicat ipse Bractonus locis à me suprâ citatis. Ad ea quæ restant, ubi eundem volvis lapidem, in quo vales ipsum, credo, Sisyphum delassare, ex suprâ dictis abunde respondetur. De cætero, si quando Parlamenta suum regibus bonis obsequium amplissimis verbis citra assentionem & servitutem detulere, id quasi eodem modo tyrannis delatum esset, intelligi, aut populo fraudi esse non debet; neque enim justo obsequio libertas imminuitur. Quod autem ex Edvardo Coco & aliis citas, "Angliæ regnum absolutum est imperium," id est si ad ullum regem externum, aut Cæsarem respicias; vel, ut Cambdenus ait, "quia in imperii clientela non est:" alioqui adjicit uterque imperium hoc consistere non "ex rege" solo, sed "ex corpore politico." Unde Fortescutius, de laud. legum Angl. c. 9. "rex," inquit, "Angliæ" populum gubernat "non merà potestate regiâ, sed politicâ: populus enim iis legibus gubernatur quas" ipse fert. Externos hoc etiam scriptores non latebat. Hinc Philippus Cominæus author gravissimus commentariorum quinto; "inter omnia orbis terræ regna, quorum ego notitiam habeo, non est meâ quidem sententiâ, ubi publicum moderatiùs tractetur, neque ubi regi minus liceat in populum, quàm in Angliâ." Postremò "ridiculum est," inquis, "argumentum, quod afferunt, regna ante reges fuisse, quasi dicas lucem ante solem extitisse." At nos, ô bone vir, non regna, sed populum ante reges fuisse dicimus. Quem interim te magis ridiculum dicam, qui lucem ante solem extitisse, quasi ridiculum, negas. Ita dum in alienis curiosus esse vis, elementa dedidicisti. Miraris denique, "eos qui regem in comitiis regni viderunt folio sedentem, sub aureo & serico cœlo, potuisse in dubium vocare utrùm penès regem an penès Parlamentum majestas sit." Incredulos profectò homines narras, quos tam lucidum argumentum è cœlo ipso petatum nihil movit. Quod tu cœlum aureum homo stoïcus adeò es religiosè & unicè contemplatus, ut & cœli Mosaïci & Aristotelici oblitus esse penitus videre: cum in illo "lucem ante solem extitisse" negaveris, in hoc tres Zonas temperatas esse suprâ docueris. Quot Zonas in illo regis aureo & serico cœlo observaveris, nescio: hoc scio, te Zonam unam centum stellis aureis bene temperatam ex illa tua cœlesti contemplatione abstulisse.

C A P U T X.

CUM hæc omnis controversia de jure, sive generatim regio, sive separatim regis Angliæ, obstinatis partium contentionibus, quàm ipsa rei natura difficilior facta sit, spero, qui studium veritatis factionibus anteponunt, iis ea me ex lege Dei, jurèque gentium, ex institutis denique patriis, copiosè attulisse, quæ regem Angliæ judicari posse, atque etiam capite puniri indubitatum reliquerint. Cùm cæteris, quorum animos aut superstitio occupavit, aut mentis aciem anticipata regii splendoris admiratio ità perfrinxit, ut nihil in virtute ac libertate verâ illustre ac splendidum videre possint, sive ratione & argumentis agamus, sive exemplis, frustra contendimus. Tu verò, Salmasi, ut reliqua omnia, ita hoc etiam absurdè admodum facere videris, qui cum omnes independentes omnibus probris onerare non desinas, regem ipsum quem defendis, maximè omnium independentem fuisse statuis: neque "regnum populo, sed generi debuisse: deinde

deinde quem “capitis causam dicere coactum” initio graviter dolebas, eum nunc “inauditum periisse” quereris. At verò totam causæ dictionem ejus, fide summâ Gallicè editam, inspicere si libet, persuasum tibi aliud fortasse erit. Carolo certè cum per aliquot dies continuos amplissima loquendi facta copia esset, non ille quidem est eâ usus ad objecta sibi crimina diluendum, sed ad iudicium illud ac iudices omninò rejiciendum. Qui autem reus aut tacet, aut aliena semper respondet, eum non est injuria, si manifestus criminum sit, vel inauditum condemnari. Carolum si “mortem” ais “planè egisse vitæ respondentem,” assentior: si dicis piè & sanctè & “securè” vitam finivisse, scito aviam ejus Mariam, infamem fœminam, pari in speciem pietate, sanctitate, constantiâ in pegmate occubuisse: ne animi præsentia, quæ in morte quibusvis è vulgo maleficis permagna sæpè est, nimium tribuas: sæpè desperatio aut obfirmatus animus fortitudinis quandam speciem & quasi personam induit; sæpè stupor tranquillitatis: videri se bonos, intrepidus, innocens, interdum & sanctos pessimi quique non minùs in morte quàm in vita cupiunt; inque ipsa scelerum suorum capitali poenâ solent ultimam simulationis suæ & fraudum, quàm possunt speciocissimè, pompam ducere; &, veluti poëtæ aut histriones deterrimi, plausum in ipso exitu ambiciosissimè captare. Nunc “ad istam quæstionem pervenisse te” ais, “quâ tractandum est quinam fuerint illius regiæ condemnationis præcipui authores.” Cum de te potiùs inquirendum sit, quomodo tu, homo exterus, & Gallicanus erro, ad quæstionem de rebus nostris, tibi jam alienis, habendam perveneris? quo pretio emptus? verùm de eo satis constat. Te verò percontantem de rebus nostris quis demùm docuit? ipsi nimirum perfugæ, & perduelles patriæ, qui te hominem vanissimum nacti, mercede ad maledicendum facilè adduxerunt. Data deinde tibi est aliqua aut furibundi cujuspian facellani semipapistæ, aut servientis aulici, de statu rerum scriptiuncula; eam ut latinè verteres negotium tibi dabatur: hinc istæ narrationes confectæ, quas, si videtur, paulùm excutiamus. “In hanc condemnationem non centena millesima pars populi consensit.” Quid ergò cæteri, qui sese nolentibus tantum facinus fieri sunt passi? an stipites, an trunci hominum, an fortè quales illi in scena Virgiliana,

Purpurea intexti tollunt aulæa Britanni?

Non enim veros tu quidem Britannos, sed pictos nescio quos, vel etiam acu pictos videris mihi velle dicere. Cùm itaque incredibile sit gentem bellicosam à tam paucis, iisque infimis de plebe sua, sub jugum mitti, quod in narratione tua primum occurrit, id esse falsissimum apparet. “Ordo ecclesiasticus erat ab ipso senatu ejectus.” Eo inferior itaque tua est insania, necdum enim te sentis insanire, qui eos è Parlamento quereris ejectos, quos tute ex ecclesia ejiciendos esse, libro longissimo scribis? “Senatus alter ordo qui in proceribus consistebat, ducibus, comitibus, vicecomitibus, statione sua dejectus est.” Et meritò, à nullo enim municipio missi pro se tantùm sedebant, nihil juris in populum habebant, juri tamen ejus & libertati, suo quodam instituto, refragari in plerisque consueverant; erant à rege constituti, ejus comites, & famuli, & quasi umbræ, quo amoto, ipsi necesse est ad plebem, unde orti sunt, redigerentur. “Una & deterrima portio Parlamenti potestatem sibi vindicare non debuit reges judicandi.” At plebeius ordo, quod te suprâ docui, non solùm Parlamenti pars erat potissima, etiam sub regibus, sed per se ipse Parlamentum omnibus numeris absolutum & legitimum, etiam sine Comitibus, nedum Ecclesiasticis, constituebat. Atqui “ne tota quidem hæc ipsa pars ad sententiam de regis capite ferendam admissa est.” Pars illa nempe non admissa, quem verbo regem, re hostem toties judicaverat, ad eum animis atque consiliis palàm defecerat. Parlamenti ordines Anglicani cum iis qui à Scotiæ itidem Parlamento missi erant legati, idibus Januarii 1645. rescripserant regi, dolosas inducias & habenda secum Londini colloquia petenti, non posse se eum in urbem admittere, donec is de bello civili tribus jam regnis ejus operâ excitato, de cædibus tot civium ejus jussu factis reipub. satisfecisset; deque pace firma atque sincerâ iis conditio-

nibus cavisset, quas ei utriusque regni Parlamenta & tulerant sæpiùs, & latura essent : ipse è contrario postulata eorum æquissima jam septies humillimè oblata, responsionibus aut furdis repudiaverat, aut ambiguis eluserat. Ordines tandem post tot annorum patientiam ut ne fraudulentus rex, quam debellare rempub. in acie non valebat, eam in vinculis per dilationes everteret, & jucundissimum ex nostris dissidiis fructum capiens, de victoribus etiam suis restitutus hostis insperatum sibi triumphum ageret, decernunt, se regis deinceps rationem non habituros, nullas se ei postulationes ampliùs esse missuros, aut ab eo accepturos : post hæc tamen decreta reperti sunt ex ipso Ordinum numero, qui invictissimi exercitûs odio, cujus maximis rebus gestis invidebant, quémque post ingentia merita, dimittere cum ignominia cupiebant, & ministris aliquot seditiosis, quibus miserè serviebant, morem gerentes, opportunum sibi tempus nacti, cum eorum multi, quos à se longè dissentire sciebant, ad sedandos Presbyterianorum gliscentes jam tumultus, missi ab ipso ordine, in provinciis abessent, mirâ levitate, ne dicam perfidiâ, decernunt, inveteratum hostem, verbotenùs duntaxat regem, nullâ penè ab eo satisfactione priùs acceptâ, aut cautione factâ, ad urbem esse reducendum ; in summam dignitatem atque imperium æquè esse restituendum, ac si de repub. præclarè meritis esset. Ita religioni, libertati, fœderi denique illi à se toties jactato regem præponebant. Quid illi interea qui integri tam pestifera agitari consilia videbant ? An ideo deesse patriæ, salutis suorum non prospicere debuerant, eo quod istius mali contagio in ipsorum Ordinem penetraverat ? At quis istos exclusit malè sanos ? “ Exercitus,” inquis, “ Anglicanus,” id est, non externorum, sed fortissimorum & fidissimorum civium ; quorum tribuni plerique, Senatores ipsi erant, quos illi boni exclusi patriâ ipsa excludendos, & in Hiberniam procul ablegandos esse censuerant ; dum Scoti interim dubiâ jam fide quatuor Angliæ provincias suis finibus proximas magnis copiis infidebant, firmissima earum regionum oppida præfidiis tenebant, regem ipsum in custodia habebant : dum ipsi etiam factiones suorum atque tumultus, Parlamento plusquam minaces, & in urbe & in agris passim fovebant, qui tumultus paulò post in bellum non civile solum, sed &oticum illud erupere. Quod si privatis etiam consiliis aut armis subvenire reipublicæ laudatissimum semper fuit, non est certè cur exercitus reprehendi possit, qui Parlamenti autoritate ad urbem accersitus imperata fecit ; & regionum factionem atque tumultum ipsi curiæ sæpiùs minitantem faciliè compescuit. In id autem discrimen adducta res erat, ut aut nos ab illis, aut illos à nobis opprimi necesse esset. Stabant ab illis Londinensium plerique institores atque opifices, & ministrorum factiosissimi quique ; à nobis exercitus magnâ fide, modestiâ, virtute cognitus. Per hos cum retinere libertatem, rempub. salutem liceret, an hæc omnia per ignaviam & stultitiam prodenda fuisset censes ? Debellati regiarum partium duces arma quidem inviti, animum hostilem non deposuerant : omnibus belli renovandi occasionibus intenti ad urbem se receperant. Cum his, quamvis inimicissimis, quamvis sanguinem eorum avidè sitientibus, Presbyteriani, postquam non permitti sibi in omnes tam civilem quàm ecclesiasticam dominationem viderunt, clandestina consilia, & prioribus tum dictis tum factis indignissima consociare cœperant : eoque acerbioris processere, ut mallent se regi denuò mancipare, quàm fratres suos in partem illam libertatis, quam & ipsi suo sub sanguine acquisiverant, admittere ; mallent tyrannum tot civium cruore perfusum, irâ in superstitibus, & conceptâ jam ultione ardentem rursus experiri dominum, quàm fratres, & amicissimos æquo jure ferre sibi pares. Soli Independentes qui vocantur, & ad ultimum sibi constare, & suâ uti victoriâ sciebant : qui ex rege hostem se fecerat, eum ex hoste regem esse ampliùs, sapienter, meo quidem judicio, nolebant : neque pacem idcirco non volebant, sed involutum pacis nomine aut bellum novum, aut æternam servitutem prudentes metuebant. Exercitum autem nostrum quo fusiùs infamare possis, narrationem quandam rerum nostrarum inconditam & strigosam exordiris : in qua tametsi multa falsa, multa frivola reperio, multa abs te vitio data, quæ laudi ducenda essent, huic tamen alteram ex adverso narrationem opponere nihil arbitror attinere. Rationibus enim hîc non narrationibus certatur ; atque illis utrobique,

non

non his fides habebitur. Et sanè sunt ejusmodi res istæ, ut nisi iusta historia dici pro dignitate nequeant. Melius itaque puto, quod de Carthagine Sallustius, filere tantis de rebus, quàm parùm dicere. Neque committam ut non solùm virorum illustrium, sed Deipræcipuè maximi laudes, in hac rerum serie mirabili sæpissimè iterandas, tuis hoc libro intexam opprobriis. Ea igitur duntaxat, quæ argumenti habere speciem videntur, pro more decerpam. “Anglos & Scotos” quòd aïs “solenni conventionem promississe, se regis majestatem conservaturos,” omittis quibus id conditionibus promissere; si salvâ nimirum religione & libertate id fieri possët: quibus utrisque ad extremum usque spiritum iniquus adeò & insidiosus rex iste erat, ut, vivente illo, & religionem periclitaturam, & libertatem interituram esse facillè appareret. Sed redis jam ad illos regii supplicii auctores. “Si res ipsa ponderibus suis, & momenti rectè æstimetur, exitus facti nefandi ita Independentibus imputari debet, ut principii & progressus gloriam Presbyteriani sibi possent vindicare.” Audite Presbyteriani, ecquid nunc juvat, ecquid confert ad innocentiae & fidelitatis opinionem vestræ, quòd à rege puniendo abhorre tantopere videremini? Vos isto regis actore verbosissimo, accusatore vestro, “plusquam dimidium itineris confecistis;” vos “ad quartum actum & ultra in dramate hoc desultando frigultientes spectati istis;” vos “meritò regis occisi crimine notari debetis; ut qui viam ad ipsum occidendum muniistis;” vos “nefariam illam securim cervicibus ejus inflixistis, non alii.” Væ vobis imprimis, si unquam stirps Caroli regnū posthac in Anglos recuperabit: in vos, mihi credite, cudetur hæc faba. Sed Deo vota persolvite, fratres diligite liberatores vestros, qui illam calamitatem, atque certam perniciem ab invitis etiam vobis hæcenus prohibuere. Postulamini vos item, quòd “aliquot annos antè per varias petitiones jus regis imminuere moliti estis, quòd voces contumeliosas regi illis ipsis libellis quos nomine Senatūs regi porrexistis, insertas publicastis;” videlicet “in illa declaratione dominorum & communium, Maii 26. 1642. apertè quid sensistis de regis auctoritate aliquot perduellionem spirantibus & insanis positionibus fassi estis. Hullæ oppidi portas Hothamus, tali mandato à senatu accepto, venienti regi occlusit;” vos “quid rex pati possët, hoc primo rebellionis experimento cognoscere concupivistis.” Quid hoc dici potuit accommodatiùs ad conciliandos inter se Anglorum animos, atque à rege penitus abalienandos? cum intelligere hinc possint, si rex revertatur, se non solùm regis mortem, sed etiam petitiones quondam suas, & frequentissimi Parlamenti acta de liturgia & episcopis abolendis, de triennali Parlamento, & quæcunque summo populi consensu ac plausu sancita sunt, tanquam seditiosas atque “insanas Presbyterianorum positiones” luituros. Sed repentè mutat animum homo levissimus; & quod modò “rem ipsam rectè æstimanti” sibi videbatur solis Presbyterianis deberi, id nunc “rem” eandem “ab alto revolventi” Independentibus totum deberi videtur. Modò Presbyterianos “vi apertâ atque armis contra regem grassatos esse,” eumque ab iis “bello victum, captum, in carcerem conjectum” affirmabat, nunc omnem “hanc rebellionis doctrinam” Independentium esse scribit. O hominis fidem & constantiam! quid aliam jam opus est narrationem comparare contra tuam, quæ ipsa sibi tam turpiter decoxit? Verùm de te si quis dubitat, albūne an ater homo sis, tua legat quæ sequuntur. “Tempus est,” inquis, “pandere unde & quando proruperit inimica regibus secta: belli isti sanè Puritani sub regno Elisabethæ prodire tenebris Orci, & Ecclesiam inde turbare primùm cœperunt, immo rempub. ipsam: non enim sunt minores reipub. pestes quàm ecclesiæ.” Nunc te verè Balaamum vox ipsa sonat; ubi enim virus omne acerbitalis evomere cupiebas, ibi insciens atque invitus benedixisti. Hoc enim tota Anglia notissimum est, si qui ad exemplum ecclesiarum vel Gallicarum vel Germanicarum, ut quasque reformatiores esse judicabant, puriorem cultus divini rationem sequi studebant, quam penè omnem Episcopi nostri cæremoniis & superstitionibus contaminaverant, si qui tandem pietate erga Deum, aut vitæ integritate cæteris præstabant, eos ab Episcoporum fautoribus Puritanos fuisse nominatos. Hi sunt quorum doctrinam regibus inimicam esse clamitas; neque hi solùm, nam “plerique reformatorum,” inquis, “qui

in alios disciplinæ ejus articulos non jurârunt, hunc tamen unum videntur approbâsse, qui regiæ adversatur dominationi." Ita Independentes, dum gravissimè insectaris, laudas; qui eos ab integerrima Christianorum familia deducis; & quam doctrinam Independentium esse propriam ubique asseris, eam nunc "reformatorum plerosque approbâsse" confiteris; eò usque demùm audaciæ, impietatis, apostasiæ provectus es, ut etiam Episcopos, quos tanquam pestes & Antichristos ex Ecclesia radicitùs evellendos, atque exterminandos esse nuper docuisti, eos nunc "à rege tuendos fuisse" affirmas, ne quid "Sacramento" scilicet "inaugurationis derogatum iret." Nihil est ulterius jam sceleris aut infamiæ quò possis procedere, quàm, quod solum superest, ut reformatam, quam polluis, religionem quamprimùm ejures. Quòd autem nos ais "omnes sectas & hæreses tolerare," id noli accusare; quandiu te impium, qui Christianorum sanctissimos, & plerosque etiam reformatos tibi adversos "è tenebris orci prodire" audes dicere, te vanum, mendacem, & conductitium calumniatorem, te denique Apostatam ecclesia tamen toleret. Tuas autem exinde sycophantias, quibus magnam reliqui capitis partem infumis, & quæ monstrosa dogmata Independentibus, ad cumulandam iis invidiam, affingis, quidni omittam? cùm neque ad causam hanc regiam omninò pertineant, & ea ferè sint quæ risum potiùs aut contemptum cujusvis quàm refutationem mereantur.

C A P U T XI.

AD undecimum hoc caput videre mihi, Salmasi, quamvis nullo cum pudore, cum aliqua tamen conscientia futilitatis tuæ accedere. Cùm enim hoc loco perquirendum tibi proposueris "quâ authoritate" pronuntiatum de rege fuerit, subjungis, quod à te nemo expectabat; "frustra id quæri;" scilicet "quæstioni huic vix locum reliquit qualitas hominum qui id fecere." Cùm igitur, quàm es importunitatis & impudentiæ in hac causa suscipienda compertus, tam sis nunc etiam loquacitatis tibi conscius, eò à me brevius responsum feres. Quærenti jam tibi "quâ authoritate" ordo plebeius vel judicavit ipse regem, vel aliis id judicium delegavit, respondeo supremâ: supremam quemadmodum habuerit, docebunt te ea quæ tunc à me dicta sunt, cùm te suprâ, hac ipsa de re graviter ineptientem redarguerem. Quòd si tibi saltem crederes, posse te ullo tempore quod satis est dicere, non eadem toties cantare odiosissimè soleres. Aliis autem delegare suam judicandi potestatem ordo plebeius eadem sanè ratione potuit, qua tu regem, qui & ipse omnem potestatem à populo accepit, eandem aliis delegare potuisse dicis. Unde in illa solenni conventionem, quam nobis objecisti, cùm Angliæ tum Scotiæ summi ordines religiosè profitentur ac spondent, ea se supplicia de perduellibus esse sumpturos, "quibus utriusque gentis potestas judiciaria suprema, aut qui ab ea delegatam potestatem accepturi erant," plectendos judicarent. Audis hic utriusque gentis Senatuum unâ voce testantem se posse suam authoritatem judicariam, quam "supremam" ipsi vocant, aliis delegare: vanam ergò & frivolum de istâ potestatis delegatione controversiam moves. At "cum his," inquis, "judicibus è domo inferiori selectis juncti etiam judices fuere ex cohortibus militaribus sumpti; nunquam autem militum fuit civem judicare." Paucissimis te retundam; non enim de cive nunc, sed de hoste memineris nos loqui: quem si imperator bellicus cum tribunis militaribus suis, bello captum, & è vestigio, si ita videretur, occidendum, pro tribunali judicare voluerit, an quicquam præter jus belli aut morem censebitur fecisse? qui autem hostis reipublicæ, & bello captus est, ne pro cive quidem is, nedum pro rege in ea repub. haberi potest. Hanc ipsa lex Regis Eduardi sacrosancta sententiam tulit; quæ negat malum regem aut esse regem, aut oportere regis nomine appellari. Ad illud autem quod ais non "integram" plebis domum, sed "mancam & mutilam de regis capite judicâsse," sic habeto; eorum, qui regem plectendum esse censebant, longè majorem fuisse numerum, quàm qui res quæcunque

cunque in Parlamento transigere, etiam per absentiam cæterorum, ex lege debebant ; qui cum suo vitio atque culpâ abessent (defectio enim animorum ad communem hostem pessima absentia erat) nullam iis, qui in fide permanserant, afferre moram conservandæ reipub. poterant ; quam vacillantem, & ad servitutem atque interitum prope redactam, populus universus eorum fidei, prudentiæ, fortitudini primò commiserat. Atque illi quidem strenuè rem gessere ; exulcerati regis impotentia, furori, insidiis sese objecere ; omnium libertati atque saluti suam posthabuere ; omnia antehac Parlamenta, omnes majores suos prudentiâ, magnanimitate, constantiâ supergressi. Hos tamen populi magna pars, quamvis omnem illis fidem, operam, atque auxilium pollicita, ingratum animis in ipso cursu deseruit. Pars hæc servitutem & pacem cum ignavia atque luxuria ullis conditionibus volebat : pars altera tamen libertatem poscebat, pacem non nisi firmam atque honestam. Quid hîc ageret Senatus ? partem hanc sanam, & sibi & patriæ fidelem defenderet, an desertricem illam sequeretur ? Scio quid agere oportuisse dices ; non enim Euryloclus, sed Elpenor es, id est vile animal Circæum, porcus immundus, turpissimâ servitute etiam sub fœmina assuetus ; unde nullum gustum virtutis, & quæ ex ea nascitur, libertatis habes ; omnes esse servos cupis, quòd nihil in tuo pectore generosum aut liberum sentis, nihil non ignobile atque servile aut loqueris aut spiras. Injicis porrò scrupulum quòd “ & Scotiæ rex erat, de quo statuimus,” quasi idcirco in Angliâ impune quidvis illi facere liceret. Ut hoc caput denique præ cæteris elumbe atque aridum aliquo saltem facetè dicto queas concludere, “ duæ,” inquis, “ sunt voculæ iisdem ac totidem elementis constantes, solo literarum situ differentes, sed immane quantum significatione differentes, Vis, & Jus.” Minimè profectò mirum est, te trium literarum hominem tam scitam ex tribus literis argutiolam exculpere potuisse ; hoc magis mirandum est quod toto libro asseris, duas res tam inter se cæteroqui “ differentes,” in regibus unum atque idem esse. Quæ enim vis est unquam à regibus facta, quam non jus regium tu esse affirmasti ? Hæc sunt quæ novem paginis bene longis responsione digna animadvertere potui ; cætera sunt ea, quæ aut identidem repetita haud semel refutavimus, aut ad hanc causam disceptandam nullum habent momentum. Itaque solito nunc brevior si sum, id non meæ diligentia, quam in hoc summo tædio languescere non patior, sed tuæ loquacitati, rerum & rationum tam cassæ atque inani, imputandum erit.

C A P U T XII.

VELLEM equidem, Salmasi, ne cui fortè videar in regem Carolum, suo fato atque supplicio defunctum, iniquior esse aut acerbior, ut totum hunc de “ criminibus ejus” locum, quod & tibi & tuis consultius fuisset, silentio præteriisses. Nunc verò quoniam id magis placuit, ut de iis præfidenter & verbosè diceres, faciam profectò ut intelligas, nihil à te fieri incogitantius potuisse, quàm ut deterrimam causæ tuæ partem, nempe ejus crimina ad extremum refricanda & accuratius inquirenda reservares ; quæ, cum vera & atrocissima ostendero fuisse, & ejus memoriam omnibus bonis ingratam atque invisam, & tui defensoris odium quàm maximum in animis legentium novissimè relinquant. “ Duæ,” inquis, “ partes ejus accusationis fieri possunt ; una in reprehensione vitæ versatur, altera in delictis quæ tanquam rex potuit committere. Et vitam quidem ejus inter convivia, & ludos, & fœminarum greges dilapsam facilè tacebo : quid enim habet luxus dignum memoratu ? Aut quid hæc ad nos, si tantum privatus fecisset ? postquam voluit rex esse, ut nec sibi vivere, ita ne peccare quidem sibi solum potuit. Primùm enim exemplo suis vehementissimè nocuit ; secundo loco, quod temporis libidinibus & rebus ludicris impendit, quod erat plurimum, id totum reipub. quam susceperat gubernandam, subduxit ; postremò immensas opes, innumerabilem pecuniam non suam,

suam, sed publicam luxu domestico dilapidavit. Itaque domi rex malus primum esse coepit. Verum ad ea potius crimina “ quæ malè regnando commisisse arguitur ” transferamus. Hic doles “ tyrannum ” eum, “ proditorem, ” & “ homicidam ” fuisse judicatum. Id non injuriâ factum demonstrabitur. Tyrannum autem prius, non ex vulgi opinione, sed ex Aristotelis & doctorum omnium judicio definiamus. Tyrannus est qui suam duntaxat, non populi utilitatem spectat. Ita Aristoteles ethicorum decimo, & alibi, ita alii plerique. Suane commoda an populi spectarit Carolus, pauca hæc de multis, quæ tantummodò perstringam, testimonio erunt. Cum aulæ sumptibus patrimonium & proventus regii non sufficerent, imponit gravissima populo tributa; iisque absumptis nova excogitavit; non ut rempub. vel auget, vel ornaret, vel defenderet, sed ut populi non unius opes vel unam in domum congerendas inferret, vel una in domo dissiparet. Hunc in modum sine lege cum pervolaret omnia, quod unicum sciebat sibi fræno fore, Parlamentum aut funditus abolere, aut convocatum haud sæpius quàm id suis rationibus conduceret, sibi soli reddere obnoxium conatus est. Quo fræno sibi detracto, aliud ipse populo frænum iniecit: Germanos equites, pedites Hibernos per urbes, pèrque oppida quasi in præsidiis, cum bellum esset nullum, collocandos curavit: parùmne tibi adhuc tyrannus videtur? In quo etiam, ut in aliis multis rebus, quod suprà per occasionem abs te datam ostendi (quanquam tu Carolum Neroni crudelissimo conferri indignaris) Neroni perquam similis erat: nam & Senatum ille è repub. se sublaturum persæpe erat minatus. Interea conscientis religiosorum hominum supra modum gravis, ad cæremonias quasdam & superstitiosos cultus, quos è medio papismo in ecclesiam reduxerat, omnes adigebat; renuentes aut exilio aut carcere multabat; Scotos bis eam ob causam bello adortus est. Huc usque simplici saltem vice nomen tyranni commeruisse videatur. Nunc cur adjectum in accusatione proditoris nomen fuerit exponam. Cum huic Parlamento sæpius pollicitis, edictis, execrationibus confirmasset, se nihil contra rempub. moliri, eodem ipso tempore aut papistarum delectus in Hibernia habebat, aut legatis ad regem Daniæ clanculùm missis, arma, equos, auxilium diserte contra Parlamentum petebat, aut exercitum nunc Anglorum nunc Scotorum pretio sollicitabat; illis Urbem Londinum diripiendam, his quatuor provincias Aquilonares Scotorum ditioni adjungendas promisit, si sibi ad Parlamentum quoquo modo tollendum commodare suam operam vellent. Cùm hæc non succederent, cuidam Dillonio perduelli dat secretiora ad Hibernos mandata, quibus juberentur omnes Anglos ejus insulæ colonos repente armis adoriri. Hæc ferè proditorum ejus monumenta sunt, non vanis rumoribus collecta, sed ipsis literis ipsius manu subscriptis atque signatis comperta. Homicidam denique fuisse, cujus acceptis mandatis Hiberni arma ceperint, ad quinquies centena millia Anglorum in summa pace nihil tale metuentium exquisitis cruciatibus occiderint, qui etiam tantum reliquis duobus regnis bellum civile conflarit, neminem puto negaturum. Addo enim quod in illo Vectensi colloquio hujus belli & culpam & crimen rex palàm in se suscepit, eoque omni Parlamentum notissimâ confessione suâ liberavit. Habes nunc breviter quamobrem rex Carolus & tyrannus & proditor & Homicida judicatus fuerit. At “ cur non prius, ” inquis, neque in illo “ solenni fœdere, ” neque postea cum dedititiis esset, vel “ à Presbyterianis ” vel “ ab independentibus ” sic judicatus est, sed potius, “ ut regem decuit accipi, omni reverentiâ est exceptus? ” Vel hoc solo argumento persuaderi cuivis intelligenti queat, non nisi serò tandem, & postquam omnia sustinuerant, omnia tentaverant, omnia perpeffi erant, deliberatum Ordinibus fuisse regem abjicere. Tu id solus malitiosè nimis in invidiam rapis, quod summam eorum patientiam, æquanimitem, moderationem, fastusque regii tolerantiam nimis fortasse longam apud omnes bonos testabitur. At “ mense Augusto qui præcessit ejus supplicium, domus Communium quæ sola jam tum regnabat & Independentibus erat obnoxia, scripsit literas ad Scotos, quibus testabatur nunquam sibi in animo fuisse mutare statum qui huc usque in Anglia obtinuerat sub rege, domo dominorum & Communium. ” Vide jam quàm non doctrinæ Independentium abrogatio regis attribuenda sit.

fit. Qui suam dissimulare doctrinam non solent, etiam potiti rerum profitentur “nunquam sibi in animo fuisse statum regni mutare.” Quod si id postmodum in mentem venit, quod in animo non fuit, cur non licebat quod rectius, & è repub. magis esse videbatur, id potissimum sequi? præsertim cum Carolus. neque exorari, neque flecti ullo modo potuerit, ut iustissimis eorum postulatis, quæque semper eadem ab initio obtulerant, assentiretur. Quas initio de religione, quas de jure suo sententias perversissimas tuebatur, nobisque adeò calamitosas, in iisdem permanebat: ab illo Carolo nihil mutatus, qui & pace & bello tanta nobis omnibus mala intulerat. Siquid est assensus, id & invitè facere, & quamprimum sui juris foret, pro nihilo se habiturum haud obscuris indiciis significabat: idem apertè filius, abductâ secum per eos dies classis parte, scripto, idem ipse per literas ad suos quosdam in urbe declarabat. Interea cum Hibernis Anglorum hostibus immanissimis, reclamante Parlamento, foedis conditionibus occultè pacem coagmentaverat, Anglos ad repetita inutiliter colloquia & pacem quoties invitabat, toties contra eos omni studio bellum coquebat. Hic illi quibus concredita respub. erat, quò se vertèrent? an commissam sibi nostram omnium salutem in manus hosti acerbissimo traderent? An alterum belli propè internecini septennium, nequid pejus ominemur, gerendum nobis iterum, & exantlandum relinquerent? Deus meliorem illis mentem injecit, ut prioribus de rege non movendo cogitationibus, non enim ad decreta pervenerant, rempub. religionem, libertatem ex ipso illo foedere solenni anteponebant; quæ quidem stante rege constare non posse, tardiùs ille quidem quàm oportuit, sed aliquando tamen viderunt. Sanè Parlamento nunquam non liberum atque integrum esse debet, ex re natâ quàm optimè reipub. consulere; neque ita se prioribus addicere sententiis, ut religio sit in posterum, etiamsi Deus dederit, vel sibi, vel reipub. plus sapere. At “Scoti non idem sentiunt, quinimo ad filium Carolum scribentes, sacratissimum regem appellant parentem ejus, & facerrimum facinus quo necatus est.” Cave plura de Scotis, quos non novisti; nos novimus, cum eundem regem “facerrimum,” & homicidam & proditorem; facinus quo tyrannus necaretur “sacratissimum” appellarent. Nunc regi quam dicam scripsimus, quasi parùm commodè scriptam cavillaris, & “quid opus fuerit ad Elogium illud tyranni addere proditoris & homicidæ titulos,” quæris: “cum tyranni appellatio omnia mala comprehendat:” tum quis tyrannus sit grammaticè & glossematicè etiam doces. Aufer nugas istas literator, quas una Aristotelis definitio modò allata nullo negotio difflabit; quæque te doctorem docebit nomen tyranni, quoniam tuâ nihil interest præter nomina intelligere, posse citra prodicionem & homicidium stare. Atqui “leges Anglicanæ non dicunt prodicionis crimen regem incurrere si procuraverit seditionem contra se vel populum suum.” Neque dicunt, inquam, Parlamentum læsæ Majestatis reum esse, si malum regem tollat, aut unquam fuisse, cum sæpius olim sustulerit: posse autem regem suam majestatem lædere atque minuere, immò amittere, clarâ voce testantur. Quod enim in illa lege Sancti Edouardi legitur, “nomen regis perdere,” nihil aliud est quàm regio munere ac dignitate privari; quod accidit Chilperico Franciæ regi, cujus exemplum illustrandæ rei causâ eodem loco lex ipsa ponit. Committi autem summam perduellionem tam in regnum, quàm in regem non est apud nos jurisperitus qui inficias ire possit. Provoco ad ipsum, quem profers Glanvillanum. “Siquis aliquid fecerit in mortem regis, vel seditionem regni, crimen prodicionis esse.” Sic illa machinatio quâ Papistæ quidam Parlamenti curiam cum ipsis ordinibus uno ictu pulveris nitrati in auras disjicere parabant, non in regem solum, sed in Parlamentum & regnum, ab ipso Jacobo & utraque ordinum domo “summa proditio” judicata est. Quid plura attinet in re tam evidenti, quæ tamen facilè possem, statuta nostra allegare? cum ridiculum planè sit & ratione ipsa abhorrens, committi perduellionem in regem posse, in populum non posse, propter quem & cujus gratiâ, cujus, ut ita dicam, bonâ veniâ, rex est id quod est. Frustra igitur tot statuta nostra deblateras, frustra in vetustis legum Anglicarum libris exerces te atque volutas; ad quas vel ratas vel irritas habendas Parlamenti autoritas semper valuit; cujus etiam

folius est, quid sit perduellio, quid læsa majestas interpretari : quam majestatem nunquam sic à populo in regem transiisse, ut non multo celsior atque augustior in Parlamento conspiciatur, jam sæpius ostendi. Te verò vappam & circulatorem Gallum jura nostra interpretantem quis ferat ? Vos verò Anglorum perfugæ, tot episcopi, doctores, jurisconsulti, qui literaturam omnem & eruditionem vobiscum ex Anglia aufugisse prædicatis, adeone ex vestrûm numero nullus causam regiam atque suam defendere satis strenuè satisque latinè sciebat, gentibûsque exteris dijudicandam exponere, ut cerebrosus iste & crumenipeta Gallus mercede accersendus in partes necessariò esset, qui regis inopis, tot doctorum & sacerdotum infantia stipati, patrocinium susciperet ? magnâ, mihi credite, infamia etiam hoc nomine apud exterarum nationes flagrabitis ; & meritò vos utique cecidisse causâ omnes existimabunt, quâ ne verbis quidem, nedum armis aut virtute sustinere valuistis. Sed ad te redeo, vir bone, dicendi perite, si tute modò ad te rediisti ; nam stertentem te tam prope finem & de “ morte ” voluntaria nescio quid abs re somniantem offendo ; tum statim negas “ cadere in regem suæ mentis compotem, ut populum seditionibus distrahat, exercitus suos hostibus debellandos tradat, ut factiones contra se suscitet.” Quæ omnia cum & alii multi reges, & Carolus ipse fecerit, dubitare non potes, præsertim Stoicus, quin ut omnes improbi, sic omnes quoque tyranni prorsus insaniant. Flaccum audi.

Quem mala stultitia, & quæcunque inscitia veri
Cœcum agit, insanum Chrysippi porticus & grex
Autumat, hæc populos, hæc magnos formula reges,
Excepto sapiente, tenet. —

Si igitur infani cujuscumque facti crimen à rege Carolo amovere cupis, debebis improbitatem ab eo prius amovere quàm insaniam. At enim “ rex non potuit prodicionem in eos committere, qui vassalli ipsius & subjecti fuere.” Primum, cum æquè atque ulla gens hominum liberi simus, nullum barbarum morem fraudi nobis esse patiemur : fac deinde “ vassallos ” fuisse nos regis, ne sic quidem tyrannum perferre dominum tenemur. Omnis ea subjectio, ut ipsæ leges nostræ loquuntur, “ honesto & utili ” definita est. Leg. Hen. 1. c. 55. Fidem eam esse “ mutuam ” jurisconsulti omnes tradunt, si dominus “ ligeam,” quod aiunt, “ defensionem ” præstiterit : sin è contrario nimium sævus fuerit, aut atrocem aliquam injuriam intulerit, “ dissolvi & penitus extinguere omnem homagii connexionem.” Hæc ipsa Bractoni verba & Fletæ sunt. Unde vassallum est ubi lex ipsa in dominum armat ; eumque singulari certamine à vassallo, si acciderit, interimendum tradit. Idem si universæ civitati aut nationi in tyrannum non licuerit, deterior liberorum hominum conditio quàm servorum erit. Nunc Caroli homicidia aliorum regum partim homicidiis, partim justè factis excusare contendis. De lanienâ Hiberniensi “ remittis lectorem ad opus illud regium Iconis Basilicæ ; ” & ego te remitto ad Iconoclastem, “ Captam Rupellam,” proditos Rupellenses, “ ostentatam potiùs quàm datam open,” imputari Carolo non vis : imputetur necne meritò, non habeo dicere ; satis superque ab eo peccatum est domi, ne externa persequi curem : omnes interim ecclesias protestantium, quotquot ullo tempore se contra leges religionis hostes armis defenderunt, eodem nomine rebellionis damnas. Quam contumeliam ab alumno suo sibi illatam quanti intersit ad disciplinam ecclesiasticam, suamque tuendam integritatem, non negligere, secum ipsi cogitent : nos etiam Anglos eâ expeditione proditos acerbè tulimus. Qui enim regnum Angliæ in tyrannidem convertere diu meditatus erat, non, nisi extincto prius militari civium robore ac flore, cogitata perficere se posse arbitrabatur. Aliud erat crimen regis quod ex jurejurando à regibus regnum capeffentibus dari solito verba quædam ejus jussu erasa fuerint, antequam jurasset. O facinus indignum & execrandum ! impium qui fecit, quid dicam qui defendit ? nam quæ potuit, per Deum immortalem, quæ perfidia, aut juris violatio esse major ? quid illi sanctius

sanctius post sacratissima religionis mysteria illo jurejurando esse debuit? Quis quæso sceleratior, isne qui in legem peccat, an qui secum legem ipsam ut peccare faciat dat operam? aut denique ipsam legem tollit ne peccasse videatur? Agedum, jus hoc religiosissimè jurandum rex iste violavit; sed ne palàm tamen violasse videretur, turpissimo quodam adulterio per dolum corrumpit; & ne pejerasse diceretur, jus ipsum jurandum in perjurium vertit. Quid aliud potuit sperari, nisi injustissimè, veritissimè, atque infelicissimè regnaturum esse eum, qui ab injuria tam detestanda auspicatus regnum est; júsque illud primum adulterare auderet, quod solum impedimento sibi fore, ne jura omnia perverteret, putabat. At enim "Sacramentum" illud, sic enim defendis, "non magis obligare reges potest, quàm leges; legibus autem se devinciri velle præ se ferunt, & secundùm eas vivere, cum tamen re vera iis soluti sint." Quemquàmne tam sacrilego, tamque incesto ore esse, ut sacramentum religiosissimum tactis Evangeliiis datum, quasi per se leviculum solvi sine causa posse asserat? Te verò, scelus atque portentum, ipse Carolus redarguit; qui cum sacramentum illud non esse per se leve quidpiam existimaret, idcirco ejus religionem aut subterfugere, aut fallaciâ quavis eludere satius duxit, quàm apertè violare; & corruptor jusjurandi hujus & falsarius esse maluit, quàm manifestè perjurus. At verò "jurat quidem rex populo suo, ut populus vicissim regi, sed populus jurat regi fidelitatem, non populo rex." Lepidum sanè hominis commentum! annon qui juratus promittit atque spondet se quidpiam fideliter præstiturum, fidem suam iis obligat qui jusjurandum ab eo exigunt? Rex sanè omnis quoad præstanda ea quæ promittit, & "fidelitatem," & "obsequium," & "obedientiam populo" jurat. Hic ad Guilielmum Conquæstorem recurris, qui ipse, non quod sibi collibitum erat, sed quod populus ab eo & magnates postulabant, id omne haud semel jurare est coactus se præstiturum. Quòd si multi reges "coronam" solenni ritu non "accipiunt," & proinde non jurant, & tamen regnant, idem de populo responderi potest; cujus pars magna fidelitatem nunquam juravit. Si rex ob eam causam solutus erit, erit & populus. Quæ autem pars populi jurabat, non regi solùm, sed regno & legibus jurabat, à quibus rex factus est, & quidem eatenus tantùm regi, quoad is leges observaret, "quas vulgus," id est, communitas sive plebeius ordo "elegerit." Stultior enim sit, qui legum nostrarum loquelam ad puriorem semper latinitatem exigere velit. Hanc clausulam, "quis vulgus elegerit," Carolus, antequam coronam acciperet, ex formula juramenti regii eradendam curavit. At, inquis, "sine regis assensu nullas leges vulgus elegerit;" eoque nomine duo statuta citas, unum Anni xxxvii. Hen. 6. c. xv. alterum "decimo tertio," Edouardi iv. c. viii. Tantum autem abest, quo minùs eorum alterutrum in libro statutorum usquam appareat, ut annis abs te citatis, neque rex iste neque ille ullum omninò statutum promulgaverit. Tu fidem jam perfugarum, statuta tibi dictantium, elusus querere; dum alii tuam admirantur impudentiam simul & vanitatem, quem non pudebat iis in libris versatissimum videri velle, quos inspexisse nunquam, ne vidisse quidem tam facilè argueris. Clausulam autem istam jusjurandi, quam tu perfricti oris balatro "commentitiam" audes dicere, "regis," inquis, "defensores fieri posse aiunt," ut in aliquot antiquis exemplaribus extiterit, "sed in defuetudinem abiisse, quòd commodam significationem non haberet." Verùm ob id ipsum majores nostri illam clausulam in hoc regis jurejurando posuere, ut significationem tyrannidi semper non commodam haberet. In defuetudinem autem si abierat, quod tamen falsissimum est, quis neget multò meliori jure revocandam fuisse? frustra, si te audiam: quippe "in regibus" mos ille "jurandi qui hodie receptus est, cæremonialis est tantùm." Atqui rex, cum episcopos aboleri oportuit, per illud jusjurandum non licere sibi causatus est. Atque ita sacramentum illud sanctissimum, quoties ex usu est regis, vel solidum quiddam & firmum erit, vel inane tantùm & "cæremoniale." Quod ego vos obtestor, Angli, etiam atque etiam animadvertatis: & qualem estis regem habituri, si redierit, vobiscum reputetis: non enim in mentem venisset unquam huic Grammatico sceleroso & extraneo de jure regis Anglorum velle scribere, aut posse, nisi Carolus ille

extorris, disciplinâ patriâ imbutus, unâque illi monitores ejus profligatissimi, quid hac de re scribi vellent omni studio suggessissent. Dictabant huic illi, "totum Parlamentum prodicionis in regem insimulari posse," vel ob hoc solum, quod "sine assensu regis declaravit omnes esse proditores qui arma contra Parlamentum Angliæ sumpserunt; vassallum scilicet regis esse Parlamentum;" jusjurandum verò regium "cæremoniale tantum" esse, quidni "vassallum" etiam? Ita neque legum ulla sanctitas, neque sacramenti ulla fides, aut religio, quicquam valebit ad cohibendam à vita atque fortunis vestrâ omnium vel libidinem effrænati regis, vel ultionem exacerbati: qui ita institutus à pueritia est, ut leges & religionem, ipsam denique fidem vassallari sibi, & servire suis libitis arbitretur debere. Quanto præstabilius esset, vobisque dignius, si opes, si libertatem, si pacem, si imperium vultis, à virtute, industria, prudentia, fortitudine vestra indubitanter petere hæc omnia, quàm sub regio dominatu incassum sperare? Certè qui sine rege ac dōmino parari hæc posse non putant, dici non potest, quàm abjectè, quàm non honestè, non dicò quàm indignè, de se ipsi statuunt: quid enim aliud nisi se inertes, imbecillos, mentis inopes, atque consilii, corpore atque animo ad servitium natos, fatentur esse? Et servitus quidem omni homini ingenuo turpis est; vobis autem post libertatem Deo vindice, vestroque Marte recuperatam, post tot fortia facinora, & exemplum in regem potentissimum tam memorabile editum, velle rursus ad servitutem, etiam præter fatum, redire, non modò turpissimum, sed & impium erit, & sceleratum: pârque vestrum scelus illorum sceleri erit, qui servitutis olim Ægyptiacæ desiderio capti, multis tandem cladibus ac variis divinitus absumpti, liberatori Deo pœnas tam fervilis animi dedere. Quid tu interim, servitutis conciliator? "Potuit," inquis, "rex prodicionis & delictorum aliorum gratiam facere; quod satis evincit legibus eum solutum fuisse." Proditionis quidem, non quæ in regnum, sed quæ in se commissa erat, poterat rex, ut quivis alius, gratiam facere: poterat & quorundam aliorum fortasse maleficiorum, quanquam non id semper: an ideò qui maleficum servandi nonnunquam jus quoddam habet, idem continuo omnes bonos perdendi jus ullum habebit? Citatus in curiam, eamque inferiorem, respondere non tenetur, nisi per procuratorem, rex, uti nec de populo quidem ullus; an ideo in Parlamentum citatus ab universis non veniet? non ipse respondebit? "Conari" nos aïs "Batavorum exemplo factum nostrum tueri," atque hinc, stipendio scilicet metuens quo te Batavi luem atque pestem alunt, ne Anglos infamando etiam Batavos altores tuos infamasse videaris, demonstrare cupis quàm "dissimile sit quod hi & quod illi fecerunt." Quam ego collationem tuam, quanquam in ea quædam sunt falsissima, alia, ne salario fortasse tuo non satis litares, palpum olent, omittam. Negant enim Angli opus sibi esse ut exterorum quorumvis exemplo facta sua tueantur. Habent leges, quas secuti sunt, patrias, hac in parte, sicubi terrarum aliæ sunt, optimas: habent quos imitentur, majores suos, viros fortissimos, qui immoderatis regum imperiis nunquam cessere; multos eorum intolerantius se gerentes per supplicium necavere. In libertate sunt nati, sibi sufficiunt, quas volunt leges, possunt sibi ferre; unam præ cæteris colunt antiquissimam, à natura ipsa latam, quæ omnes leges, jus omne atque imperium civile non ad regum libidinem, sed ad bonorum maximè civium salutem refert. Jam præter quisquilias & rudera superiorum capitum restare nihil video; quorum quidem acervum cum satis magnum in fine congesseris, nescio quid aliud tibi volueris, nisi hujus tuæ fabricæ ruinam quasi præfagire. Tandem aliquando post immentam loquacitatem rivos claudis; "Deum testatus te hanc causam tuendam suscepisse, non tantum quia rogatus, sed quia meliorem nullam te potuisse defendere conscientia tibi suggessit." Rogatus tu in res nostras tibi alienissimas, nobis non rogantibus, te interponas? Tu populi Anglicani summos magistratus pro autoritate pròque imperio sibi commissio quod suum munus est in sua ditione agentes, nulla injuriâ laceffitus (neque enim natum te esse sciebant) indignissimis verborum contumeliis laceres, libròque infami edito proscindas? A quo autem rogatus?

tus? An ab uxore, credo, quæ jus regium, ut perhibent, in te exercet; quæque tibi, quoties libet, ut illa Fulvia, cujus, ex epigrammate obsceno, centones modò consuisti (p. 320.) “aut” scribere “aut pugnemus” ait: unde tu, ne signa canerent, scribere malebas. An rogatus fortasse à Carolo minore, & perditissimo illo peregrinantium aulicorum grege, quasi alter Balaamus ab altero Balacco rege accersitus, ut jacentem regis causam, & malè pugnando amiſſam maledicendo erigere dignarere? Sic fanè fieri potuit; nisi quod hoc ferè interfuit; ille enim vir sagax asino insidens locutuleio ad execrandum venit; tu asinus loquacissimus infessus à foemina, & fanatis quos vulneraveras episcoporum capitibus obſitus, apocalypticæ illius bestię parvam quandam imaginem exprimere videris. Sed ferunt pœnituisse te hujus libri, post paulò quàm scripsisses. Benè profectò habet; tuam itaque ut testere omnibus pœnitentiam, nihil tibi prius faciendum erit, quàm ut pro libro tam longo unam tantummodò literam adhuc longam ex te facias. Sic enim pœnituit Iscarioten illum Judam cui similis es; idque novit puer Carolus, qui crumenam idcirco tibi, insigne illud Judæ proditoris, dono misit, quòd priundum audierat, & postmodum sciebat, te apostatam esse & Diabolum. Judas ille Christum prodidit, tu Christi Ecclesiam; Episcopos Antichristos esse docueras, ad eos defecisti: quos inferis damnaverās, eorum causam suscepisti: Christus omnes homines liberavit, tu omnes ad servitutem redigere conatus es: ne dubita, postquàm in Deum, in ecclesiam, in omne genus hominum tam impius fuisti, quin te etiam idem exitus maneat, ut desperatione magis quàm pœnitentiā ductus, tuique pertæsus, ab infelici tandem arbore pendens, sicut & par ille tuus olim, medius crepes; illamque malefidam & fallacem conscientiam, bonorum & sanctorum infectatricem, ad destinatas tibi quandoque supplicii sedes præmittas. Hactenus, quod initio institueram ut meorum civium facta egregia contra insanam & lividissimam furentis sophistæ rabiem, & domi & foris defenderem, júsque populi commune ab injusto regum dominatu assererem, non id quidem regum odio, sed tyrannorum, Deo bene juvante videor jam mihi absolviſſe: neque ullum sine responſo vel argumentum, vel exemplum, vel testimonium ab adversario allatum sciens prætermiſi, quod quidem firmitatis in se quicquam, aut probationis vim ullam habere videretur; in alteram fortasse partem culpæ propior, quòd sæpiusculè ineptiis quoque ejus, & argutiis tritissimis, quasi argumentis, respondendo, id iis tribuisse videar, quo dignæ non erant. Unum restat, & fortasse maximum, ut vos quoque, ô Cives, adversarium hunc vestrum ipsi refutetis; quod nulla alia ratione video posse fieri, nisi omnium maledicta vestris optimè factis exuperare perpetuò contendatis. Vota vestra & preces ardentissimas Deus, cum servitutis haud uno genere oppressi, ad eum confugistis, benignè exaudivit. Quæ duo in vita hominum mala fanè maxima sunt, & virtuti damnosissima, Tyrannis & superstitio, iis vos gentium primos gloriosè liberavit; eam animi magnitudinem vobis injecit, ut devictum armis vestris & dedititium regem judicio inclyto judicare, & condemnatum punire primi mortalium non dubitaretis. Post hoc facinus tam illustre, nihil humile aut angustum, nihil non magnum atque excelsum & cogitare & facere debebitis. Quam laudem ut assequamini, hac sola incedendum est via, si ut hostes bello domuistis, ita ambitionem, avaritiam, opes, & secundarum rerum corruptelas, quæ subigunt cæteras gentes hominum, ostenderitis posse vos etiam inermes media in pace omnium mortalium fortissimè debellare: si, quam in repellenda servitute fortitudinem præstitistis, eam in libertatè conservanda justitiam, temperantiam, moderationem præstiteritis. His solis argumentis & testimoniis evincere potestis, non esse vos illos, quos hic probri inſequitur, “Perduelles, latrones, ficarios, parricidas, fanaticos;” non vos ambitionis aut alieni invadendi studio, non seditione, aut pravis ullis cupiditatibus, non amentia aut furore percitos, regem trucidasse, sed amore libertatis, religionis, justitiæ, honestatis, patriæ denique charitate accensos, tyrannum puniſſe. Sin autem, quod, bone

Deus, ne unquam siveris, aliter in animum induxeritis, si in bello fortes, in pace turpes eritis, qui manifestum sensistis numen vobis tam propitium, hostibus tam grave, neque exemplo tam insigni & memorando ante oculos posito, Deum vereri, & justitiam colere didiceritis; quod ad me attinet, concedam fanè & fatebor, neque enim potero negare, ea omnia quæ nunc maledici & mendaces de vobis pessimè aut loquuntur aut sentiunt, vera esse: vósque multò iratiorem brevi tempore experturi estis Deum, quàm aut infensum inimici vestri, aut vos benignum & faventem & paternum, præ cæteris omnibus terrarum orbis gentibus hodiernis, experti estis.

DEFENSIO

D E F E N S I O
S E C U N D A
P R O P O P U L O A N G L I C A N O ,
C O N T R A
I N F A M E M L I B E L L U M A N O N Y M U M ,
C U I T I T U L U S ,
R e g i i S a n g u i n i s c l a m o r a d C o e l u m , a d v e r s u s P a r r i -
c i d a s A n g l i c a n o s .

QUOD in omni vita hominum, omnique genere officii est primum, ut grati semper erga Deum, ejusque memores beneficiorum simus, tum praesertim, si qua supra spem votumque evenerint, uti, ob ea, singulares atque solennes gratias quamprimum referamus, id mihi nunc in ipso limine orationis tribus potissimum de causis video esse faciendum. Primum iis me natum temporibus patriae, quibus civium virtus eximia, & supergressa omnes majorum laudes magnitudo animi atque constantia, obtestata prius Deum, eundemque sequuta manifestissimum ducem, editis post orbem conditum exemplis factisque fortissimis, & gravi dominatione rempublicam, & indignissimam servitute religionem liberavit. Deinde, cum extitissent subito multi, qui, ut est ferè ingenium vulgi, egregiè facta odiosè criminarentur, unusque, praeter ceteris, literatorio fastu, & concepta de se gregalium suorum opinione inflatus ac fidens, conscripto in nos libro admodum infami, tyrannorum omnium patrociniū nefariè suscepisset, me potius quam alium quemvis, neque tanti nominis adversario, neque tantis rebus dicendis visum imparem, ab ipsis patriae liberatoribus hae partes accepisse communi omnium consensu ultrò delatas, ut causam & populi Anglicani, & ipsius adeò Libertatis, siquis unquam alius, publicè defenderem. Postremò, in re tam ardua & expectationis plenā, neque civium meorum de me sive spem, sive judicium illud fefellisse, neque exterorum quamplurimis cum doctis viris, tum rerum peritis non satisfecisse; adversarium verò, quamvis audacissimum, ita profligasse, ut animo simul & existimatione fracta cederet; triennioque toto, quo postea vixit, multa licet minatus ac fremens, nullam tamen amplius molestiam nobis exhiberet, nisi quòd vilissimorum quorundam hominum obscuram operam subsidio sibi corrogaret, & laudatores nescio quos ineptos atque immodicos, ad inopinatam ac recentem infamiam, siquomodo posset, farniendam subornaret; quod statim patebit. Hæc ego divinitus mihi accidisse bona, & magna quidem ratus, appositissima denique non modò ad persolvendas numini ex debito gratias, sed ad auspiciū quoque optimum instituti operis capiendum, cum veneratione, ut facio, imprimis commemoranda esse duxi. Nam quis est qui patriae decora non arbitretur sua? quid patriae cujusquam esse magis decori aut gloriae:

gloriæ potest, quàm libertas, non civili tantùm vitæ, sed divino etiam cultui restituta? quæ gens, quæ civitas aut felicius aut fortius hanc sibi utrobique peperit? Etenim fortitudo, cùm non tota in bello atque armis eniteat, sed contra omnes æquè formidines diffundat vim suam atque intrepida sit, Græci quidem illi, quos maximè admiramur, & Romani, ad tollendos ex civitatibus tyrannos nullam ferè virtutem, præter studium libertatis, expedita arma, promptasque manus attulere; Cætera omnia in proclivi, inter laudes omnium & plausus, & læta omnia, peragebant; nec tam ad discrimen & ambiguum facinus quàm ad certamen virtutis gloriosissimum atque pulcherrimum, ad præmia denique & coronas spemque immortalitatis certissimam properabant. Nondum enim Tyrannis res sacra erat; nondum tyranni, Christi scilicet proreges atque vicarii repentè facti, cùm benevolentia non possent; cæcâ vulgi superstitione sese munierant: nondum Clericorum malis artibus attonita plebs, ad barbariem eâ fœdiorem, quæ stolidissimos mortalium infamat Indos, degeneraverat. Illi enim noxios sibi Dæmonas, quos abigere non possunt, pro Diis colunt; hæc Tyrannos nè liceret tollere cùm posset, impotentissimos creabat in se Deos; & humani generis pestes in suam perniciem consecrabat. At contra has omnes traditarum diu opinionum, religionum, calumniarum, atque terrorum densissimas acies, hoste ipso vehementius ab aliis formidatas, decertandum Anglis erat. Quæ omnia, edocti melius, & proculdubio cœlitus imbuti, tantâ causæ fiducia, tantâ animorum firmitate ac virtute superârunt, ut cùm numero populus sanè magnus essent, animis tamen tam erectis tamque excelsis, vulgus esse desierint; Britanniaque ipsa posthac, quæ tyrannorum terra ferax dicta olim est, nunc liberatorum longè feracior, perpetuâ seculorum omnium celebratione dici meruerit. Quos non legum contemptus aut violatio in effrænatam licentiam effudit; non virtutis & gloriæ falsa species, aut stulta veterum æmulatio inani nomine libertatis incendit, sed innocentia vitæ, morumque sanctitas rectum atque solum iter ad libertatem veram docuit, legum & religionis iustissima defensio necessariò armavit. Atque illi quidem Deo perinde confisi, servitutem honestissimis armis pepulere: cujus laudis etsi nullam partem mihi vendico, à reprehensione tamen vel timiditatis vel ignaviæ, siqua infertur, facilè me tueor. Neque enim militiæ labores & pericula sic defugi, ut non aliâ ratione, & operam, multò utiliore, nec minore cum periculo meis civibus navârim, & animum dubiis in rebus neque demissum unquam, neque ullius invidiæ, vel etiam mortis plus æquo metuentem præstiterim. Nam cùm ab adolescentulo humanioribus essem studiis, ut qui maximè deditus, & ingenio semper quàm corpore validior, posthabitâ castrensi operâ, quâ me gregarius quilibet robustior facilè superâssæt, ad ea me contuli, quibus plus potui; ut parte meâ meliore ac potiore, si scaperem, non deteriore, ad rationes patriæ, causamque hanc præstantissimam, quantum maximè possem momentum accederem. Sic itaque existimabam, si illos Deus res gerere tam præclaras voluit, esse itidem alios à quibus gestas dici pro dignitate atque ornari, & defensam armis veritatem, ratione etiam, (quod unicum est præsidium verè ac propriè humanum) defendi voluerit. Unde est, ut dum illos invictos acie viros admiror, de mea interim provincia non querar; immo mihi gratuler, & gratias insuper largitori munerum cœlesti iterum summas agam obtigisse talem, ut aliis invidenda multò magis, quàm mihi ullo modo pœnitentia videatur. Et me quidem nemini vel infimo libens confero; nèc verbum de me ullum insolentius facio; ad causam verò omnium nobilissimam, ac celeberrimam, & hoc simul defensores ipsos defendendi munus ornatissimum ipsorum mihi suffragiis attributum atque judiciis, quoties animum refero, fateor me mihi vix temperare, quin altiùs atque audentiùs quàm pro exordii ratione insurgam; & grandius quiddam, quod eloqui possim, quæram: quandoquidem oratores illos antiquos & insignes, quantum ego ab illis non dicendi solum sed & loquendi facultate, (in extranea præsertim, quâ utor necessariò, linguâ, & persæpe mihi nequaquam satisfacio) haud dubiè vincor, tantùm omnes omnium ætatum, materiæ nobilitate & argumento vincam. Quod & rei tantam expectationem ac celebritatem adjecit, ut jam ipse me sentiam non in foro aut rostris, uno dun-

taxat

taxat populo, vel Romano, vel Atheniensi circumfufum ; fed attentâ, & confidente quafi totâ penè Europâ, & iudicium ferente, ad univerfos quacunque graviffimorum hominum, urbium, gentium, confeffus atque conventus, & priore defenfione, dixiffè, & hac rurfus dicturum. Jam videor mihi, ingreffus iter, tranfmarinos tractus & porrectas latè regiones, fublimis perluftrare ; vultus innumeros atque ignotos, animi fensus mecum conjunctiffimos. Hinc Germanorum virile & infeftum fervituti robur, inde Francorum vividi dignique nomine liberales impetus, hinc Hispanorum confulta virtus, Italorum inde fedata fuique compos magnanimitas ob oculos verfatur. Quicquid ufpiam liberorum pectorum, quicquid ingenui, quicquid magnanimi aut prudens latet aut fe palàm profitetur, alii tacitè favere, alii apertè fuffragari, accurrere alii & plaufu accipere, alii tandem vero victi, dedititios fe tradere. Videor jam mihi, tantis circumfeptus copiis, ab Herculeis ufque columnis ad extremos Liberi Patris terminos, libertatem diu pulfam atque exulem, longo intervallo domum ubique gentium reducere : Et, quod Triptolemus olim fertur, fed longè nobiliorem Cereali illâ frugem, ex civitate mea gentibus importare ; reftitutum nempe civilem liberumque vitæ cultum, per urbes, per regna, perque nationes diffeminare. Sed nec ignotus planè, nec fortaffè non gratus rurfum advenero ; fi fum idem, qui pugnaciffimum tyrannorum fatellitem, & opinione plerorumque, & fuî fiduciâ inſuperabilem antea creditum, cùm nos noſtrâſque acies contumelioſè lacefferet, & Optimates noſtri me primùm intuerentur, ſingulari certamine congreſſus, adacto convitiantis in jugulum hoc ſtylo, immò fuiſmet ipſius telis, collocavi ; & niſi velim tot undique lectorum intelligentium calculis atque ſententiis, neutiquam addictis mihi aut obnoxiiſ diffidere prorſus & derogare, opima ſpolia retuli. Hæc ſine ulla vaniloquentia ità eſſe re vera, vel illud maximè argumento eſſe poteſt, quod ego nec ſine Dei nutu reor accidiffè, quòd, cùm à Regina Suecorum Sereniſſima, quâ vivit opinor nemo, aut olim vixit, vel optimarum artium, vel doctorum hominum ſtudioſior, honorificè ſanè eſſet invitatus, veniſſetque & Salmaſius & Salmaſia, (uter enim horum is erat, uxoris palàm dominatus cum fama tum domi incertum admodum reddiderat) quo in loco peregrinus magno in honore degebat, ibi eum noſtra Defenſio nihil tale metuentem occupavit. Quâ ſtatim à pluribus perlectâ, Regina quidem, quæ & ipſa cum primis perlegerat, de ſuâ priſtinâ benignitate ac munificentia, id ſolum ſpectans quod ſe dignum erat, in hoſpitem nihil remiſit : de cætero, ſi audita ſæpius & quæ arcana non ſunt, licet referre, tanta animorum facta ſubitò mutatio eſt, ut qui nudiuſtertius ſummâ gratiâ floruerat, nunc penè oboleſceret ; nec ità multò poſt diſcedens cum bona venia hoc unum in dubio permultis relinqueret, honoratiórne advenerit, an contemptior abierit. Sed neque aliis in locis detrimentum levius feciſſe famæ ſatis conſtat. Verùm hæc omnia non eò attuli ; quòd me cuiquam venditarem, neque enim eſt opus ; ſed quòd id duntaxat latiùs oſtenderem, quòd initio inſtitui, quas ob cauſas, & quàm non leves, ab agendis Deo Optimo Maximo gratiis potiſſimùm ſim exorſus ; mihiſque procemium hoc fore honeſtiſſimum atque pulcherrimum, in quo præcipuè, tot argumentis enumeratis demonſtrare liceat, me, haud expertem licèt calamitatum humanarum, me tamen, réſque meas Deo curæ eſſe ; me maximis prope de rebus, & ad patriæ neceſſaria tempora accommodatis, & civilis vitæ religioniſque ex uſu maximè futuris, non uno pro populo, nedum uno pro reo, ſed pro univerſo potiùs hominum genere, contra humanæ libertatis hoſtes, quafi in communi omnium gentium & frequentiffimo concurſu differentem, divino favore & auxilio adjutum atque auctum : quo ego majus aut glorioſius quicquam mihi tribuere, neque poſſim ullo tempore neque cupiam. Eundem proinde immortalẽ Deum oro, ut conſuetâ ejus ope ac benignitate ſolâ fretus, quâ integritate, diligentia, fide, felicitate etiam, fortiſſimè juſtiſſimèque ſimul facta haud ità pridem defendi, eadem, vel eâ amplius, Authores ipſos, meque tantis viris ignominia cauſâ, non honoris additum ab immeritis opprobriis, atque calumniis vindicare ſufficiam. Quòd ſi eſt, qui contemni hæc ſatiùs arbitretur potuiſſe, fateor equidem, ſi apud eos qui nos rectè nôſſent hæc ſpargerentur : cæteris quâ tandem ratione conſtabit

stabit non esse verum quicquid adversarius noster est mentitus? cùm autem, data, quæ par est, opera, à nobis erit, ut quo præcessit calumnia, eodem vindex quoque veritas sequatur, & illos de nobis perperam sentire opinor desituros, & istum fortasse mendaciorum pudebit: si non puduerit, tum demùm, satius contempserimus. Huic interea responsum pro meritis celerius expedivissim, nisi se falsis rumoribus hætenus muniisset; dum sæpius denuntiaret, ad incudem sudare Salmasium, nova volumina in nos fabricare, jam jamque editurum: ex quo hoc solum est consequutus, ut maledicentiæ pœnas aliquanto seriùs daret: expectandum enim duxi potiùs, ut potiori viribus adversario, integrum me servarem. Sed cum Salmasio debellatum jam puto mihi esse, utpote mortuo; & quemadmodum mortuo, non dicam: non enim ut ille mihi cæcitatem, sic ego illi mortem vitio vertam. Quanquam sunt, qui nos etiam necis ejus reos faciunt, illòsque nostros nimis acriter strictos aculeos; quos dum repugnando altiùs sibi infixit, dum quod præ manibus habebat opus, vidit spissiùs procedere, tempus responsonis abiisse, operis gratiam periisse, recordatione amissæ famæ, existimationis, Principum denique favoris, ob rem regiam malè defensam, erga se imminuti, triennali tandem mœstitiâ, & animi magis ægritudine, quàm morbo confectum obiisse. Utcunque sit, si iterum cum hoste satis mihi cognito, si bella etiam posthuma gerenda sunt, cujus feroces ac strenuos impetus facilè sustinui, ejus languentes & moribundos conatus non est ut reformidem.

Nunc verò ad hoc quicquid est hominis, qui nos inclamat, aliquando veniamus: clamorem quidem audio, non Regii sanguinis, ut præ se fert titulus, sed obscuri cujuspiam nebulonis; clamantem enim nusquam reperio. Eho! quis es? homone an nemo? hominum certè infimi, nè mancipia quidem, sine nomine sunt. Sempérne ergò mihi cum anonymis res erit? at verò hi regios haberi se vel maximè volunt: miror si regibus sic persuaserint. Regum sequaces atque amicos regum non pudet; quo pacto igitur sunt isti regibus amici? non dant munera; immo verò libentiùs multò accipiunt: res suas non impendunt, qui ne nomina quidem causæ regiae dare audent: quid ergò? verba dant, sed nec verba gratis dare suis regibus, vel satis benevoli in animum inducunt, vel satis constantes nomine adscripto audent. Me quidem ὁ ἀνδρες ἀνώνυμοι, fas enim sit Græcè quos Latinè quid nominem non reperio, me inquam, cum vester ille Claudius de Jure Regio, materiâ sanè gratiosissimâ, sine nomine tamen orsus esset scribere, & exemplo possem uti, usque adeò neque mei, neque causæ puditum est, ut ad rem tantam accedere, nisi nomen palàm professus, turpe ducerem. Quid ego in Republica palàm videor contra Reges, cur vos in Regno, vel Regum sub patrocínio, non nisi furtim & clanculum, contra Rempublicam audetis? cur in tuto pavidi, cur in luce nocturni, summam potentiam, summam gratiam; timiditate invidiosâ planè atque suspectâ obscuratis? satisne vobis ut præsidii sit in regibus veremini? sic tecti, sic obvoluti non vos meherculè ad asserendum jus Regium defensores, sed ad ærarium compilandum fures potiùs videmini venisse. Equidem quod sum, profiteor; quod Regibus nego jus esse, vel in regno quovis legitimo pernegare ausim: nemo me læserit Monarcha, quin se priùs damnet, tyrannum factus. Si tyrannos infector, quid hoc ad Reges? quos ego à tyrannis longissimè sejungo. Quantum à viro malo distat vir bonus, tantundem à tyranno discrepare Regem contendo: Unde efficitur, tyrannum non modò non esse Regem, sed Regi quidem adversissimum semper imminere. Et sanè qui monumenta rerum percurrit, plures à tyrannis quàm à populo oppressos Reges, atque sublato inveniet. Qui igitur tollendos affirmat tyrannos, non Reges, sed inimicissimos Regibus, immo infestissimos regum hostes tollendos affirmat. Vos contrà, quod regibus jus datis, ut quicquid libeat jus sit, non est jus, sed injuria, sed scelus, sed ipsa perniciēs: venenato isto munere, non salutari, quos supra omnem vim atque periculum fore prædicatis, eos ipsi occiditis; regem & tyrannum idem esse, siquidem idem utrobique Jusest, statuitis. Nam si isto suo jure, Rex non utitur (utetur autem nunquam quamdiu Rex, non tyrannus,

rannus, erit) non hoc Regi, sed viro assignandum est. Quid autem absurdius illo jure Regio fingi queat, quo si quis utatur, quoties Rex vult esse, toties esse vir bonus desinat; quoties vir esse bonus maluerit, toties se arguerit non esse Regem? quo quid in Reges dici contumeliosius potest? Hoc jus qui docet, ipse sit oportet injustissimus; atque omnium pessimus: pejor autem quo pacto fiat, quam si quales format ac fingit alios, talis ipse imprimis fuerit? Quod si omnis vir bonus, ut antiquorum secta quaedam magnifice sanè philosophatur, est Rex, pari ratione sequitur, omnem virum malum pro suo quemque modulo tyrannum esse: neque enim magnum, nè hoc nomine intumescat, sed infimum quiddam est tyrannus; & quantò omnium maximus, tantò omnium vilissimus, & maximè servilis. Alii enim suis tantum vitiis volentes serviunt; Hic non modò suis, sed ministrorum etiam atque satellitum importunissimis flagitiis etiam nolens cogitur fervire; & suas quasdam tyrannides abjectissimo cuique suorum concedere: Tyranni igitur servorum infimi, suis serviunt etiam servitiis. Quamobrem rectè hoc nomen vel in minimum quemque tyrannorum pugilem, vel in hunc etiam clamatorem poterit convenire; qui in hac causa tyrannica cur tam strenuè vociferetur, ex his quæ dicta sunt, quæque mox dicentur, satis liquebit: uti etiam cur anonymus: aut enim turpiter conductus, clamorem hunc suum regio sanguini, Salmasium sequutus, vendidit; aut infamis doctrinæ conscientia pallens, aut vitâ flagitiosus ac turpis latere si cupit, mirum non est: aut fortassis ita se parat, ut sicubi spem quæstus uberiores odoretur, desertis quandoque regibus integrum sibi sit, ad quamlibet etiam futuram rempublicam transfugere; nè tunc quidem sine exemplo magni sui Salmasii, qui affulgente lucro captus, ab Orthodoxis ad Episcopos, à popularibus ad regiones, etiam senex defecit. Tu igitur iste è gurgustio clamator, qui sis non fallis; frustra tibi ista latibula quæstisti: Extrahere mihi crede, neque Plutonis ista galea diutius te teget: Dejerabis, quoad vixeris, me aut cæcum non esse, aut tibi saltem non connivere. Quis igitur sit, quod genus hominis, quâ spe adductus, quibus illecebris, quibus lenociniis delinitus, ad hanc causam regiam accesserit, (Milesia propemodum, aut Baiana fabula est) si vacat nunc audite.

Est "Morus" quidam, partim Scotus, partim Gallus; nè tota hominis infamia, gens una, aut regio nimium laboraret; homo improbus, & cum aliorum, tum, quod gravissimum est, amicorum, quos ex intimis inimicissimos sibi fecit, testimoniis quam plurimis infidus, mendax, ingratus, maledicus, & virorum perpetuus obrectator & foëminarum, quarum nec pudicitia plus unquam parcere, quam famæ consuevit. Is, ut primæ ætatis obscuriora præteream, primùm Genevæ Græcas literas docuit; verùm, sæpius licet nomen suum Græcè Morum discipulis interpretatus, stultum & nequam ipse dediscere nequivit; quin eo potius furore est agitated cum tot scelerum esset sibi conscius, quamvis fortasse nondum compertus, ut pastoris in Ecclesia munus ambire, atque istis moribus inquinare non horresceret. Verùm hæc diu Presbyterorum censuram effugere potuit, mulierarius ac vanus, multisque aliis criminibus notatus; multis ab Orthodoxâ fide erroribus damnatus, quos & turpiter ejuravit, & ejuratos impiè retinuit, tandem adulterii manifestus. Hospitis ancillam quandam fortè adamarat; eam paulò post etiam alteri nuptam sectari non destitit; tuguriolum quoddam intrare hortuli, solum cum sola, vicini sæpe animadverterant. Citra adulterium; inquis; poterat enim quidvis aliud: Sanè quidem; poterat confabulari, nimirum de re hortenfi, prælectiones quasdam suas sciolæ fortasse foëminæ & audiendi cupidæ expromere de hortis, Alcinoi putà vel Adonidis; poterat nunc areolas laudare, umbram tantummodo desiderare, liceret modò ficui morum inferere, complures indè sycomoros quàm citissimè enasci, ambulationem amœnissimam; modum deinde infitionis mulieri poterat monstrare: Hæc & plura poterat, quis negat? Veruntamen Presbyteris satisfacere non poterat, quin illum tanquam adulterum censurâ ferirent, & pastoris munere indignum prorsus judicarent: Harum & hujusmodi accusationum capita in Bibliotheca illius urbis publica etiamnum asservantur. Interea, dum hæc palam nota non essent, ab Ecclesia, quæ Middelburgi erat Gallica, procurante Salmasio, in Hollandiam vocatus,

magnâ cum offensione Spanhemii, viri sanè docti, & pastoris integerrimi, qui eum Genevæ antea probè noverat, literas testimoniales, quas vocant, dum alii non ferendum existimarent, ut homo istiusmodi Ecclesiæ testimonio ornaretur, alii quidvis potius ferendum, quàm ipsum hominem, ægrè à Genevensibus, & non aliâ quàm sui discessûs conditione, atque illas quidem frigidulas, tandem impetravit. In Hollandiam ut venit, ad salutandum Salmasium profectus, domi ejus in uxoris ancillam, cui Pontia nomen erat, oculos nequiter conjecit: Semper enim in ancillis prolabitur libido hominis; hinc summâ assiduitate Salmasium cœpit colere, & quoties licuit Pontiam. Nescio an ille commoditate hominis & assentatione captus, an hic optabilem excogitâsse se conveniendæ eo sæpius Pontia occasionem ratus, prior sermones injecerit de responso Miltonii ad Salmasium. Ut ut fuit, Morus propugnandum suscipit Salmasium: Et Salmasius quidem Theologicam in ea urbe cathedram suâ operâ pollicetur Moro; Morus & hanc & aliud insuper suaviculum, furtivos Pontia concubitus pollicetur sibi. Per causam consulendi de hoc opere Salmasium, dies ac noctes eam domum frequentat. Jâmque ut olim Pyramus in morum, ita nunc repente morus in Pyramum transmutatus sibi videtur, Genevensis in Babylonium; verùm illo juvene quantò improbior, tantò fortunatior, nunc suam Thisben, factâ sub eodem tecto copiâ, ut libitum est, Pontiam alloquitur; rimam in pariete conquirere opus non erat: Spondet matrimonium; eâ spe pellectam vitiat; eodémque scelere, horreo dicere, sed dicendum est, Sacrosancti Evangelii minister, hospitalem etiam domum constuprat. Ex hoc demum congressu, mirum quiddam, & præter solitum naturæ prodigiosum accidit, ut & foemina & mas etiam conciperet, Pontia quidem Morillum, quod & Plinianum exercitatore diu postea exercuit Salmasium; Morus ovum hoc irritum & ventosum, ex quo tympanites iste clamor regii sanguinis prorupit. Quod quidem primò regiis nostris in Belgio esurientibus pergrata admodum sorbitio fuit; nunc rupto putamine, vitiosum ac putridum repertum averfantur. Nam Morus hoc suo foetu haud mediocriter inflatus, & Arausiacam factionem totam demeruisse se sentiens, jam integras professionum cathedras spe improbâ devoraverat, & suam Pontiam utpote ancillam & pauperulam, jam gravidam sceleratus deseruerat. Illa despectam se atque delusam querens, & synodi fidem & magistratûs imploravit. Sic tandem evulgata hæc res, & conviviis penè omnibus, ac circulis diu risum & cachinnos præbuit. Unde aliquis, & lepidi sanè, quisquis erat, ingenii, hoc distichon,

Galli ex concubitu gravidam te, Pontia, Mori,
Quis bene moratam, morigeramque neget?

Sola Pontia non risit; sed nec querendo quicquam profecit; Clamor enim regii sanguinis clamorem stupri, & stupratæ mulierculæ ploratum facilè obruerat; Salmasius quoque illatam sibi hanc totique familiæ & injuriam & labem ægrè ferens, seque ab amico & laudatore suo sic ludos factum, sic adversario rursus obnoxium, accedente ad priores ejus in causa regia infelicitates forsitan hoc etiam infortunio, haud ita multò post supremum diem obiit. Verùm aliquantò hæc posteriùs. Interim Salmasius, Salma-cidis quodam fato, ut enim nomen, ita & fabula non abludit; nescius Hermaphroditum se adjunxisse sibi Morum tam gignendi quàm pariendi compotem, quid is domi genuisset ignarus, quod peperit exosculatur; librum nempe istum in quo sentit se Magnum toties dici, & suo fortè judicio dignè, aliorum certè stultè atque ridiculè laudatum. Itaque typographum festinanter quærit; & fugientem ab se jam diu famam, retinere frustra conatus, quas laudes, quas potius foedas suæ adulationes per hunc atque alios misère concupiverat, iis etiam divulgandis obstetricatur ipse atque subservit. Ad hanc operam Vlaccus quidam est visus omnium maximè idoneus; huic facilè persuadet, non modò ut librum illum excudendum curaret, quod nemo reprehendisset; sed etiam ut Epistolæ ad Carolum videlicet missæ, multis in me, qui hominem nunquam nôram, probris & contumeliis,

contumeliis refertæ, subscripto nomine se profiteretur authorem. Nequis igitur miretur cur se exorari tam facile sit passus, ut me tam impudenter nullâ de causâ lacefferet, & alienas etiam intemperies in se transferre atque præstare tam pro nihilo duceret, erga omnes etiam alios quemadmodum se gesserit, sicuti ego compertum habeo, ostendani. Est Vlaccus unde gentium nescio, vagus quidam librariolus, veterator atque decoctor notissimus; is Londini aliquandiu Bibliopola fuit clancularius; quâ ex urbe, post innumeras fraudes, obæratu aufugit. Eundem Parisiis fide cassum & malè agendo insignem, vita tota Jacobæa cognovit: Unde olim quoque profugus nè multis quidem parasangis audet appropinquare; nunc si cui opus est balatrone perditissimo atque venali, prostat Hagæcomitis Typographus recoctus. Nunc ut intelligatis, quid dicat, quidve agat, quàm nihil pensi habeat, nihil esse tam sanctum, quod non lucro vel exiguo posterius putet, sequè non causa publica, quod quis putâset, sic in me esse debacchatum, fatentem ipsum in se testem producam. Is cum vidisset quod in Salmasium scripseram, nonnullis librariis æra meruisse, scribit ad amicos quosdam meos mecum agerent, ut si quid haberem excudendum, sibi committeretur; se typis longè melioribus, quàm qui priùs excudisset, mandaturum: Respondi per eosdem, non habere me in præsentia, quod excuso esset opus. Ecce autem! cui suam operam tam officiosè modo detulerat, in eum haud ita multò post, scripti contumeliosissimi non excusor solùm sed & author, subdititiu licèt, prodit. Indignantur amici; rescribit impudentissimus, mirari se simplicitatem eorum, & rerum imperitiam, qui officii rationem aut honesti ab se exigant aut desiderent, cùm videant quibus rebus quæstum faciat: Se ab ipso Salmasio illam epistolam, cùm libro accepisse; qui rogabat, id uti suâ gratiâ, vellet facere quod fecit; si Miltonio, vel cuivis alteri visum esset respondere, nullum sibi esse scrupulum; siquidem eâdem suâ operâ uti voluerint: Id est, vel in Salmasium vel in Carolum; namque id erat solum quod in responso ejusmodi futurum expectare poterat. Quid plura? Hominem videtis; ad reliquos nunc pergo, non enim unus est duntaxat, qui hanc in nos regii Clamoris quasi tragœdiam adornavit. En igitur initio, ut solet, dramatis personæ: Clamor prologus, Vlaccus Balatro, aut si mavultis, Salmasius Vlacci Balatronis persona & lacernis involutus, Duo Poetastri Cerevisiali vappâ temulenti, Morus adulter & stuprator. Mirificos sanè tragœdos! Bellum certamen mihi paratum! Verùm qualescunque fortiti, quoniam alios atque hujusmodi adversarios vix est ut causa nostra habere possit, nunc singulos aggrediamur; hoc tantum præfati, si cui minus gravitatis nostra alicubi refutatio habere videbitur, cogitare eum debere, non cum gravi adversario, sed cum grege histrionico, nobis rem esse; ad quem dum refutationis genus accommodandum erat, non semper quid magis decuisset, sed quid illis dignum esset, spectandum duximus.

Regii Sanguinis clamor ad Cœlum adyersus Parricidas Anglicanos.

Siquidem non jure fufum ostendisses, More, istum sanguinem, haud incredibile narrares: Nunc, quemadmodum primis restituti Evangelii temporibus, Monachi, cùm argumentis minùs valerent, ad spectra nescio quæ, & ficta monstra decurrere solebant; sic vos, postquam omnia defecere, ad clamores nusquam auditos, & obsoletas fraterculorum artes revertimini. Voces è cœlo audire quemquam nostrorum, longè abest ut credas; ego te clamores ab Inferis audisse, quod postulas, facile crediderim. Verùm hunc regii sanguinis clamorem dic sodes quis audivit? Te ais: Nugæ: Primùm enim malè audis: ad Cœlum autem qui clamor perveniat, si quis præter Deum, justî puto soli & integerrimi quique audiunt, ut qui possint, immunes ipsi, iram Dei consciis denuntiare. Tu verò quorsum audires, an ut satyram cinædus scriberes? Videris enim eodem tempore, & e mentibus hunc clamorem ad cœlum, & cum Pontia furtim libidinatus esse. Multa te impediunt, More, multa, intus forisq; circumsonant, quæ te res istiusmodi ad cœlum perlatas audire non sinunt; & si nihil aliud, certè qui contra ipsum te ad

Cœlum quam plurimus fit clamor. Clamat contra te, si nescis, Mœcha illa tua hortensis, tuo maximè Pastoris sui exemplo, deceptam se esse quæstā; clamat contra te maritus, cujus tōrum violasti; clamat Pontia, cui pactum nuptiale temerasti; clamat, si quis est, quem probro genitum, infantulum abdicasti; horum omnium clamores ad Cœlum contra te, si non audis, neque illum regii sanguinis audiveris: Interea libellus iste, non regii Sanguinis clamor ad Cœlum, sed lascivientis Mori hinnitus ad Pontiam, rectius inscribetur. Quæ sequitur Epistola proluxa quidem, & bene putida, partim Carolo, partim Miltonio, alteri amplificando, alteri infamando, dedicatur. Ab ipso statim initio Authorem discite: “Caroli Regna,” inquit, “in Sacrilegam parricidarum, & (quia verba defunt idonea, Tertullianæ voce abutimur) Deicidarum potestatem venerunt.” Hæc sive Salmasiæ, sive Moræ, sive Vlaccæ sartago sit, prætereamus. Hoc verò aliis ridendum, Carolo indignandum profectò est, quod paulò post, “neminem,” ait “vivere felicitatis Caroli studiosiorem.” Quine eandem & epistolandi, & excudendi operam Caroli hostibus detulisti, te vivit nemo felicitatis ejus studiosior? Miserum profectò dicis regem sic ab amicis omnibus derelictum, ut qui intimi restant, iis Vappa typographus comparare se audeat. Miserrimum, cujus fidelissimis, Vlaccus perfidus fide ac studio non cedat: Quo quid insolentius de se, contemptius de rege amicisque regiis pronunciare potuit? Neque hoc minùs ridiculum, induci Idiotam & operarium de rebus gravissimis ac regiis virtutibus philosophantem, eaque dicentem, qualiacunque sunt, quibus nec Salmasius ipse, nec Morus meliora dixisset. Equidem Salmasium, ut sæpe aliàs, ita hoc loco haud obscurè, si multà lectione, judicio tamen puerili & nullius usûs hominem deprehendi; qui cùm legere potuisset summos in Spartanâ civitate optimè institutâ magistratus, si quid fortè viro malo excidisset sapienter dictum, id ei adimi jussisse, & in virum aliquem bonum ac frugi fortitione conferri, adeò id omne quod decorum dicitur ignorârit, ut è contra, quas probum atque prudentem decere sententias arbitraretur, eas homini nequissimo attribui sustineret. Bono es animo, Carole: Veterator Vlaccus, “quæ sua est in Deum fiducia,” bono animo te esse jubet. “Noli tot mala perdere:” Vlaccus decoctor perditissimus, qui bona omnia, siqua habuit, perdidit, author tibi est, perdere ut nolis mala: “Fruere novercante fortunâ:” Potin’ es ut nè fruire, hortatore præsertim tali, qui alienis etiam fortunis frui per fas & nefas tot annis consuevit? “In sapientiam penitùs ingurgitasti, & ingurgita:” Sic monet, sic præcipit regum Institutor sanè optimus Vlaccus gurgis, qui arreptâ atramentosis manibus, coriaceâ lagenâ, inter combibones operas, ingenti haustu, sapientiam tibi propinat. Hæc audet tuus Vlaccus, tam præclara monita, nomine etiam conscripto, quæ Salmasius, quæ Morus, cæterique pugiles tui aut timidi non audent, aut superbi non dignantur; nimirum quoties te monito est opus aut defenso, alieno semper nomine, atque periculo, non suo, sapientes aut fortes sunt. Desinat ergò, quisquis hic est, “strenuam & animosam facundiam” ipse suam inaniter jactare; dum “vir,” si diis placet, “insignis, decoro ingenio nomen suum celeberrimum” edere metuit; librum quo regium sanguinem ulcisci se ait, ne dicare quidem Carolo nisi per Vlaccum interpretem & vicarium ausus, verbis typographi miserè contentus significare, “librum” se, sine nomine, “si pateris, O Rex, tuo nomini dicatum ire.” Sic functus Carolo in me impetum parat minitabundus: “Post hæc procœmia, tubam terribilem inflabit ὁ ταυμάσιος” “ille Salmasius.” Salubritatem prædicis & concentûs musici novum genus futurum; isti enim tubæ terribili, cùm inflabitur, nulla aptior excogitari symphonia poterit, quàm si affatim oppedetur. Buccam verò Salmasius nimis inflatam ne afferat moneo; quo enim attulerit inflatiorem, eò mihi crede, opportuniorem ad Colaphos præbebit; qui thaumasi Salmasii rhythmicum hunc sonum, quo delectaris, baccis ambabus resonantibus, numero se reddent. Pergis cornicari. “Qui nec parem nec secundum habet, in universo literarum & scientiarum orbe.” Vestram fidem! Eruditi, quotquot estis, vestram fidem! Siccine vobis omnibus anteferri Cimicem Grammaticum,

ticum, cujus res atque spes omnis in glossario vertebatur? Quem vel extremum meritò occupet scabies, si cum viris verè doctis comparetur. Hæc autem, nisi ab infimo quopiam & infra Vlaccum ipsum væcorde affirmari tam fatuè nequiverunt. “Quique jam stupendam & infinitam eruditionem cœlesti junctam ingenio ad causam tuæ majestatis contulit.” Si meministis quod suprâ narravi, ipsum Salmasium, attulisse hanc epistolam cum libro excudendam, vel ab ipso scriptam, vel ab anonymo quovis, vernamque typographum exorâsse, ut quod author nollet, ipse suum nomen adscriberet, cognoscetis profectò pusilli omnino, & abjectissimi hominem ingenii suis laudibus tam miserè velificantem, & immensa encomia tam stolidi laudatoris aucupantem. “Opus æternum frustra fugillantibus nonnullis, jurisconsulti mirari satis nequeunt quòd homo Gallus ità subito res Anglicas, leges, decreta, instrumenta, ità teneat, enodet, &c.” Immo quàm ineptierit in nostris legibus & psittacus fuerit, nostris etiam jurisconsultis testibus abunde ostendimus. “Sed ipse mox altera, quam in Rebelles molitur, impressione, simul Theonum ora comprimet, simul Miltonum nobis pro eo ac meretur concastigatum dabit.” Tu igitur ut pisciculus ille anteambulo, præcurris Balænam Salmasium, impressiones in hæc littora minitantes; nos ferramenta acuimus, expressuri si quid habent impressiones & concastigationes illæ sive olei sive gari. Bonitatem interea magni viri mirabimur plusquam Pythagoricam, qui animalia quoque miseratus, & præsertim pisces, quorum carnibus, nè quadragesima quidem parcat, iis tam decenter involvendis tot volumina destinârit, tot pauperum milibus, Thunnorum, credo, aut Scombrorum, chartaceas in singulos tunicas testamento legârit.

Gaudete Sombri, & quicquid est piscium salo,
Qui frigidâ hyeme incolitis argentes freta,
Vestrum misertus ille Salmasius eques
Bonus amicire nuditatem cogitat;
Chartæque largus apparat papyrinos
Vobis cucullos præferentes Claudii
Insignia nomenque & decus Salmasii,
Gestetis ut per omne cetarium forum
Equitis clientes, scriniis mungentium
Cubito virorum, & capsulis gratissimos.

Hæc habui in Editionem diu expectatam tam nobilis libri; cujus impressionem, dum, ut ais, molitur Salmasius, tu ejus domum, More, foedissimâ compressione Ponticæ contaminâsti. Et videtur sanè, ad hoc opus absolvendum, Salmasius diu multumque incubuisse; paucis enim ante mortem diebus, cùm vir quidam doctus, à quo hoc ipsum accepi, misisset, qui ex eo quæreret, ecquando apparatus partem secundam in Primatum Papæ editurus esset, respondit, ad illud opus non ante reversurum se, quàm absolvisset quod adhuc commentaretur adversus Miltonium. Ità ego etiam Papæ refutandus præferor; & quem illi primatum in Ecclesia negavit, eum mihi ultro in inimicitia sua concedit; sic ego primatui Papæ jam jam evertendo salutem attuli; ego redivivum hunc Catilinam, non in toga, ut consul olim Tullius, nè per somnum quidem, sed aliud omnino agens, Romanis mœnibus averti; non unus profectò cardinalatus mihi hoc nomine debetur; vereor, nè translato in me regum nuper nostrorum titulo, Defensor fidei ab Romano Pontifice appellandus sim. Videtis quantus invidiæ artifex in me concitandæ, Salmasius fuerit; verum ipse viderit, qui tam honestâ provinciâ turpiter relictâ, alienis se controversiis immiscuerit, ab Ecclesiæ causa, ad civiles & externas, quarum suâ nihil intererat, se traduxerit; cum Papa inducias fecerit; & quod foedissimum fuit, cum Episcopis, post bellum apertissimum, in gratiam redierit. Veniamus nunc ad mea crimina; estne quod in vita aut moribus reprehendat? Certè nihil: Quid.

Quid ergo? Quod nemo nisi immanis, ac barbarus fecisset, formam mihi ac cæcitatem objectat.

Monstrum, horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.

Nunquam existimabam equidem fore, ut de forma, cum Cyclope certamen mihi esset; verum statim se revocat. “Quanquam nec ingens, quo nihil est exilius, exsanguius, contractius.” Tametsi virum nihil attinet de forma dicere, tandem quando hinc quoque est, unde gratias Deo agam, & mendaces redarguam, nè quis (quod Hispanorum vulgus de hæreticis, quos vocant, plus nimio Sacerdotibus suis credulum opinatur) me fortè Cynocephalum quempiam, aut Rhinocerotam esse putet, dicam. Deformis quidem à nemine, quod sciam, qui modò me vidit, sum unquam habitus; formosus necne, minùs laboro; staturâ fateor non sum procerâ: Sed quæ mediocri tamen quàm parvæ propior sit: Sed quid si parvâ, quâ & summi sæpe tum pace tum bello viri fuere, quanquam parva cur dicitur, quæ ad virtutem satîs magna est. Sed neque exilis admodum, eo sanè animo iisque viribus ut cùm ætas vitæque ratio sic ferebat, nec ferrum tractare, nec stringere quotidiano usu exercitatus nescirem; eo accinctus, ut plerumque eram, cuivis vel multò robustiori exæquatum me putabam, securus quid mihi quis injuriæ vir viro inferre posset. Idem hodie animus, eadem vires, oculi non iidem; ita tamen extrinsecus illæsi, ita sine nube clari ac lucidi, ut eorum qui acutissimùm cernunt: In hac solùm parte, memet invito, simulator sum. In vultu, quo “nihil exsanguius” esse dixit, is manet etiamnum color exsanguis & pallenti planè contrarius, ut quadragenario major vix sit cui non denis prope annis videar natu minor; neque corpore contracto neque cute. In his ego si ulla ex parte mentior, multis millibus popularium meorum, qui de facie me nôrunt, exteris etiam non paucis, ridiculus meritò sim: Sin iste in re minimè necessariâ, tam impudenter & gratuitò mendax comperietur, poteritis de reliquo eandem conjecturam facere. Atque hæc de forma mea vel coactus: De tua quanquam & contemptissimam accepi, & habitantis in te improbitatis atque malitiæ vivam imaginem, neque ego dicere, neque ullus audire curat. Utinam de cæcitate pariter liceret inhumanum hunc refellere adversarium; sed non licet; feramus igitur: Non est miserum esse cæcum; miserum est cæcitatem non posse ferre: Quidni autem feram, quod unumquemque ita parare se oportet, ut si acciderit, non ægrè ferat, quod & humanitus accidere cuivis mortalium, & præstantissimis quibusdam, atque optimis omni memoriâ viris accidisse sciam: Sive illos memorem, vetustatis ultimæ præscos vates, ac sapientissimos; quorum calamitatem, & Dii, ut fertur, multò potioribus donis compensarunt, & homines eo honore affecerunt, ut ipsos inculpare maluerint deos, quàm cæcitatem illis crimini dare. De augure Tiresia quod traditur, vulgò notum. De Phineo sic cecinit Apollonius in Argonauticis:

—Οὐδ' ὅσσον ὀπίζετο καὶ Διὸς αὐτῆ
Χρεῖον ἀτρεκέως ἱερὸν νόον ἀνθρώποισι.
Τῷ καὶ οἱ γῆρας μὲν ἐπὶ δηναίων ἱάλλεν
Ἐκ δ' ἔλετ' ὀφθαλμῶν γλυκερὸν φάος.

—neque est veritus Jovem ipsum
Edens veraciter mentem divinam hominibus:
Quare & senectam ei diuturnam dedit,
Eripuit autem oculorum dulce lumen.

Cæterum deus & ipse veritas est: in qua homines edocenda quò quis veracior eò similior deo acceptiorque sit, oportet. Non est pium veritatis invidentem deum credere; aut

nolle

nolle hominibus quàm liberrimè impertitam : Ob nullam igitur noxam, divinus vir, & humani generis erudiendi studiosissimus, ut philosophorum etiam complures, caruisse luminibus videtur. Sive illos commemorem civili prudentiâ, gestisque rebus admirabiles olim viros ; primum Timoleonem Corinthium, & civitatis suæ, & Siciliæ totius liberatorem ; quo virum meliorem, aut in republica sanctiorem nulla ætas tulit ; tum Appium Claudium, cujus in Senatu pulcrè dicta sententia, Italiam Pyrrho, gravi hoste, seipsum cæcitate non liberavit ; tum Cæcilium Metellum Pontificem, qui non urbem solum, sed & fatum urbis Palladium, & penitissima sacra dum ab incendio servavit, suos oculos perdidit ; quanquam aliàs certè Deus pietati tam egregiæ favere se, etiam inter gentes, testatus est : quod tali igitur viro usu venit, ponendum in malis esse vix putem. Quid alios recentiorum temporum adjungam, vel illum Venetiarum Principem Dandum longè omnium præstantissimum : vel Boëmorum Ziscam ducem fortissimum, orthodoxæ fidei propugnatorem ? Quid summi nominis theologos Hieronymum Zanchium, nonnullisque alios ? cùm & ipsum Isaacum Patriarcham, quo nemo unquam mortalium Deo charior fuit, annos haud paucos, cæcum vixisse constet ; aliquot fortasse Jacobum etiam ejus filium, & ipsum Deo haud minùs dilectum : cùm denique Christi servatoris nostri divino testimonio compertissimum sit, illum hominem ab se sanatum, neque ob suum, neque ob parentum suorum aliquod peccatum, etiam ab utero cæcum fuisse. Ad me quod attinet, te testor, Deus, mentis intimæ, cogitationumque omnium indagator, me nullius rei (quanquam hoc apud me sæpius, & quàm maximè potui, seriò quæsi & recessus vitæ omnes excussi) nullius vel recens vel olim commissi, mihimet conscium esse, cujus atrocitas hanc mihi præ cæteris calamitatem creare, aut accersisse meritò potuerit. Quod etiam ullo tempore scripsi (quoniam hoc nunc me luere quasi piaculum regii existimant atque adeò triumphant) testor itidem Deum, me nihil istiusmodi scripsisse, quod non rectum & verum, Deoque gratum esse, & persuaserim tum mihi, & etiamnum persuasus sim ; idque nullâ ambitione, lucro, aut gloriâ ductus ; sed officii, sed honesti, sed pietatis in patriam ratione solâ ; nec rei publicæ tantum, sed Ecclesiæ quoque liberandæ causâ potissimum fecisse : adeò ut cùm datum mihi publicè esset illud in defensionem regiam negotium, eodémque tempore & adversâ simul valetudine, & oculo jam penè altero amisso, conflictarer, prædiceréntque disertè medici, si hunc laborem suscepissem, fore, ut utrumque brevi amitterem, nihil istâ præmonitione deterritus, non medici nè Æsculapii quidem Epidaurii ex adyto vocem, sed diviniore cujusdam intus monitoris viderer mihi audire ; duasque sortes, fatali quodam natu, jam mihi propositas, hinc cæcitatem, indè officium ; aut oculorum jacturam necessariò faciendam, aut summum officium deferendum : occurrebântque animo bina illa fata, quæ retulisse Delphis consulentem de se matrem, narrat Thetidis filius.

Διχθαδίας κῆρας φερέμεν θανάτῳ τέλοσδε.
Εἰ μὲν κ' αὖθι μένων τρώων πόλιν ἀμφιμάχωμαι.
ᾠλετο μὲν μοι νόσος· ἄταρ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσαι.
Εἰ δέ κεν οἴκαδ' ἵκωμαι φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.
ᾠλετό μοι κλέος ἐσθλόν ἐπὶ δῆρόν δέ μοι αἰὼν
ἔσσειαι.---

Iliad. 9.

Duplicia fata ducere ad mortis finem :
Si hic manens circa Troum urbem pugnavero,
Amittitur mihi reditus ; sed Gloria immortalis erit :
Si domum revertor dulce ad Patrium solum,
Amittitur mihi Gloria pulcra, sed diuturna vita
Erit.---

Unde

Unde sic mecum reputabam, multos graviore malo minus bonum, morte gloriam, redē-
 misse ; mihi contrā majus bonum minore cum malo proponi : ut possem cū cæcitate sola
 vel honestissimum officii munus implere ; quod ut ipsa gloria per se est solidius, ita cuique
 optatius atque antiquius debet esse. Hac igitur tam brevi luminum usurā, quanta
 maxima quivi cum utilitate publica, quoad liceret, fruendum esse statui. Videtis quid
 prætulerim, quid amiserim, quā inductus ratione : desinant ergo judiciorum Dei ca-
 lumniatores maledicere, deque me somnia sibi fingere : sic denique habento ; me fortis
 meæ neque pigere neque pœnitere ; immotum atque fixum in sententia perstare ; Deum
 iratum neque sentire, neque habere, immò maximis in rebus clementiam ejus & be-
 nignitatem erga me paternam expèriri atque agnoscere ; in hoc præsertim, quod solante
 ipso atque animum confirmante in ejus divina voluntate acquiescam ; quid is largitus
 mihi sit quàm quid negaverit sæpius cogitans : postremò nolle me cum suo quovis
 rectissimè factò, facti mei conscientiam permutare, aut recordationem ejus gratam mihi
 semper atque tranquillam deponere. Ad cæcitatem denique quod attinet, malle me, si
 necesse est, meam, quàm vel suam, More, vel tuam. Vestra imis sensibus immersa ;
 nequid sani videatis aut solidi, mentem obcæcat : mea, quam objicitis, colorem tan-
 tummodo rebus & superficiem demit ; quod verum ac stabile in iis est contemplationi
 mentis non adimit. Quàm multa deinde sunt quæ videre nollem, quàm multa quæ
 possem libens non videre, quàm pauca reliqua sunt quæ videre cupiam. Sed neque ego
 cæcis, afflictis, mœrentibus, imbecillis, tametsi vos id miserum ducitis, aggregari me
 discrutior ; quandoquidem spes est, eo me propiùs ad misericordiam summi patris atque
 tutelam pertinere. Est quoddam per imbecillitatem, præeunte Apostolo, ad maximas
 vires iter : sim ego debilissimus, dummodo in mea debilitate immortalis ille & melior
 vigor eo se efficacius exerat ; dummodo in meis tenebris divini vultus lumen eo clariùs
 eluceat ; tum enim infirmissimus ero simul & validissimus, cæcus eodem tempore & per-
 spicacissimus ; hac possim ego infirmitate consummari, hac perfici, possim in hac ob-
 scuritate sic ego irradiari. Et sanè haud ultima Dei cura cæci sumus ; qui nos, quò
 minus quicquam aliud præter ipsum cernere valemus, eò clementiùs atque benigniùs
 respicere dignatur. Væ qui illudit nos, væ qui lædit, execratione publicā devovendo ;
 nos ab injuriis hominum non modò incolumēs, sed penè sacros, divina lex reddidit,
 divinus favor ; nec tam oculorum hebetudine, quàm cœlestium alarum umbrā has
 nobis fecisse tenebras videtur, factas illustrare rursus interiore ac longe præstabiliore lu-
 mine haud raro solet. Huc refero, quod & amici officiosiùs nunc etiam quàm solebant,
 cōsunt, observant, adsunt ; quod & nonnulli sunt, quibuscum Pyladéas atque Theséas
 alternare voces verorum amicorum liceat.

Ορες. Ἐρπε νῦν οἷαζ ποδός μοι. Πυ. φίλα γ' ἔχων κηδεύματα,

Vade gubernaculum mei pedis. Py. pergratam mihi habens curam. Eurip. in Orest.

Et alibi,

Δίδε χεῖρ' ὑπηρέτη φίλω,

Da manum ministro amico.

Δίδε δέρεν σὴν χεῖρ' ὁδηγήσωδ' ἐγώ,

Da collo manum tuam, ductor autem viæ ero tibi ego. Id. in Her. furent.

Non enim hoc casu factum me omnino nullum ; non quicquid est probi aut cordati
 hominis, positum in oculis putant esse. Quin & summi quoque in republica viri, quan-
 doquidem non otio torpentem me, sed impigrum & summa discrimina pro libertate inter
 primos adeuntem oculi deseruerunt, ipsi non deserunt ; verùm humana qualia sint, secum
 reputantes,

reputantes, tanquam emerito favent, indulgent, vacationem atque otium faciles concedunt; si quid est ornamenti, non detrahunt; si quid publici muneris, non adimunt; si quid ex ea re commodi, non minuunt; & quamvis non æquè nunc utili, præbendum nihilo minùs benignè censent; eodem planè honore, ac si, ut olim Atheniensibus mos erat, in Prytanéo alendum decrevissent. Sic mihi & apud Deum & apud homines cæcitatem solari meam quandiu licuerit, amissos honesti causâ oculos, nemo meos lugeat; absit quoque ut ipse lugeam, aut vel animi satis ut nè habeam quo cæcitatibus convitiatores faciliè possim contemnere, vel veniæ ut nè possim faciliùs condonare. Ad te, quisquis es, redeo, qui parùm tibi constans, nunc pumilionem me, nunc Antæum vis esse: "Non aliud" postremò optas "libentiùs fœderatis Belgii Provinciis, quàm ut tam facile, tamque feliciter defungantur, hoc Bello, quàm defungetur Salmasius Miltonio." Cui ego voto si faciliè assensero, arbitror me nostris successibus Reique Anglicanæ nec ominari malè nec malè precari.

En verò iterum clamorem, alienum quendam & stridulum! anferes puto alicunde advolare: Jam sentio quid sit; memini clamoris haud esse tragœdiam; prodit Chorus: en duo Poëtaſtri; vel duo vel unus, biformi sanè specie & bicolore; Sphingémne dicam an Horatianum illud monstrum Poëticum, capite muliebri, cervice asininâ variis indutum plumis, undique collatis membris: id profectò ipsissimum est. Rhapsodus videlicet quispiam, centonibus & pannis obsitus; unúsne an duo incertum, nam & Anonymus quoque est. Poëtas equidem verè dictos & diligo & colo, & audiendo sæpiſſimè delector; illorum etiam plerosque tyrannis esse scio inimicissimos, si vel à primis exorsus ad Buchananum usque nostrum recenserem: istos verò versiculorum nugivendos, quis non oderit? quo genere hominum nihil stultius, aut vanius, aut corruptius, aut mendacius. Laudant, vituperant, sine delectu, sine discrimine, judicio, aut modo, nunc principes, nunc plebeios, doctos juxtà atque indoctos, probos an improbos, perinde habent; prout Cantharus, aut spes nummuli, aut fatuus ille furor inflat ac rapit; congestis undique & verborum & rerum tot discoloribus ineptiis tamque putidis, ut laudatum longè præstet fileri, & pravo, quod aïunt, vivere naso, quàm sic laudari: vituperatus verò qui sit, haud mediocri sanè honori sibi ducat, se tam absurdus, tam stolidus nebulonibus displicere. Primus qui est, si modò bini sunt, dubito Poëta sit an Cæmentarius; ità Salmasio os oblitit, immo totum quasi parietem dealbat atque incrustat. Curru nempe "triumphantem" inducit, Heroëm Gigantomachum, "hastilia & cæstus," & nescio quæ nugamenta armorum vibrantem, doctos omnes pedibus quadrigam sequentes, sed post terga ejus innumeris spatiis relictos, utpote "quem numen rebus trepidis salutem orbis admoverit; tandem ergo tali tempus erat tegi umbone reges, parente" nimirum "Juris & imperii." Delirus necesse est fuerit & bis puer Salmasius, qui his laudibus non solùm tantopere sibi placuerit, sed excudendas etiam quàm primùm de se tam sedulò curaverit: Misellus etiam poëta atque indecorus, qui Grammaticum, quod genus hominum poëtis ministrum semper atque subserviens fuit, tam immodicis laudibus dignetur. Alter verò non versus facit, sed planè insanit, enthusiastarum omnium quos tam rabidè infectatur, ipse amentissimus: hic Salmasii carnifex quasi sit, Syri Damæ filius, Lorarios invocat & Cadmum; veratro deinde ebrius, totam, quicquid ubique est, Servulorum & Ballionum sentinam, ex Indice Plautino evomit; credas lingua Oscum non latinè loquentem, aut inferarum, quas natat, paludum coaxare ranam. Tum ut intelligatis, quantus sit Iamborum artifex, duabus syllabis unâ in voce peccat, alterâ productâ, alterâ perperam correptâ.

Hi trucidato rege per horrendum nefas.

Aufer istas, asine, "vacivatum" tuarum clitellas; & tria verba, si potes, sani ac sobrii hominis tandem affer; si tua ista cucurbita & "blennum caput" vel ad punctum temporis potest sapere: interea te ego puerorum "virgidemiis" tuis cædendum tradō

Orbiliū. Tu mihi sic perge maledicere, ut “Cromuello pejor” tibi sim, quā nullā majore me laude afficere potuisti. Te verò benevolūmne dicam, an stolidum, an hostem insidiosum? benevolus certē non es, verba enim hostem indicant; cur ergò tam stolidus fuisti vituperator, ut anteferre me tanto viro in buccam tibi venerit? ecquid tu non intelligis, an me putas non intelligere, quò graviora vestra in me esse odia ostenditis, eò vos ampliora mea in rempublicam merita prædicare, vestra tot opprobria, tot mea esse apud meos præconia? Nam si vos me omnium maximè odistis, sanè ego vos omnium maximè exulceravi, vos ego maximè affixi, causæque vestræ nocui: id si ita est, idem ego de meis civibus optime quoque merui; hostis enim vel testimonium vel judicium, etsi aliàs leve admodum, de suo tamen dolore longè est gravissimum. An Poëta non meministi, cū de Achillis mortui armis, Ajax & Ulysses contenderent, non Græcos populares sed Trojanos hostes ex sententia Nestoris Judices datos?

Τὸνεκα Τρωσὶν ἐφῶμεν εὐφροσὶ τήνδε δίκασαι.

Quapropter Trojanis permittamus prudentibus hanc litem judicandam.

Et paulò post,

Οἶρα δίκην ἰθὺσαν ἐπὶ σφισι ποιήσονται.

Οὐ τινὶ ἤρα φέροντες ἐπεὶ μάλα πάντας Ἀχαιῆς.

Ἴσον ἀπεχθαίρῃσι κακῆς μεμνημένοι ἄτης.

Qui justum judicium de iis fecerint,

Nemini gratificantes, cū vehementer omnes Achivos

Æquè oderint, mali memores damni.

Hæc Smyrnæus ille, sive Calaber. Insidiosus itaque sis oportet, mēque in invidiam conjicere labores, qui quod judicium in hoste rectum atque sincerum esse solet, id dolo malo & gravius lædendi animo corrumpis atque depravas, ita non vir modò, sed & hostis depravatissimus es. Verūm ego, nullo negotio frustrabor te, vir bone; quam enim Ulyssē, id est, quā optimè de patria meritum me esse sanè perquā vellem, tamen Achilleia arma non ambio; cœlum in clypeo pictum, quod alii, non ego, in certamine aspiciant, præferre, onus non pictum sed verum, humeris portare, quod ego, non alii sentiant, non quæro: Equidem cū nullas omnino similitudines aut inimicitias ullo cum homine privatas geram, neque ullus, quod sciam, mecum gerat, tot in me maledicta jactari, tot probra torqueri, reipublicæ duntaxat causā, non meā, eo æquiore animo fero: nec præmii & commodorum inde provenientium, partem longè minimam, ignominia longè maximam pervenisse ad me queror; contentus quæ honesta factu sunt, ea propter se solū appetisse, & gratis persequi: Id alii viderint, tūque scito, me illas “opimitates” atque “opes,” quas mihi exprobas, non attigisse, neque eo nomine quo maximè accusas, obolo factum ditiores. Hic rursus insit Morus, & secunda epistola causas scribendi refert; cuinam? “Lectori Christiano” nempe Mœchus & stuprator Morus salutem: piam sanè epistolam promittis; jam causas incipe. “Excitati sunt Europæarum gentium animi, maxime omnium Galli nostri reformati, ut parricidium & parricidas, &c. cognoscerent.” Galli & ipsi reformati contra leges bella gesserunt; quid ulterius fuissent facturi, paribus usi rerum successibus, affirmari non potest: certè reges ipsorum, si qua earum rerum monumentis fides, ab illis haud minùs metuebant sibi, quā à nobis noster: neque injuria, quoties meminissent quæ etiam illi scriptitarunt, & minati sæpe sunt: Nolint igitur, quicquid tu causare, splendide nimis de se polliceri, iniquius de nobis sentire. Pergit in causis. “Equidem ea Anglorum melioris notæ consuetudine sum usus.” Qui tibi sunt melioris notæ, viris bonis sunt pessimæ. “Ut ausim dicere me ista hominum monstra nosse intus & in cute.” Putabam

Putabam te mœchas tantummodo tuas & scorta ; tu etiam monstra intus & in cute. “ Ut nomen meum premerem, facile impetrarunt Angli quibuscum consuevi.” Et astutè quidem illi : sic enim sperabant & se impudentia tua eò largiore fruituros, & te tua fama, etiam tum mala, eo minus causæ nociturum. Noverant enim te, & quàm esses olim bonus hortorum custos, & nunc rarus licèt & pumicatus sacerdos, ut à Pontia ne Pilata quidem abstinere manus potueris ; nec de nihilo sanè, si enim à conficienda carne carnifex dictus putatur, cur minùs tu conficiendo Pontiam Pontifex factus ex sacerdote tibi videare ? Hæc cum de te non nescirent alii, cum non posses ipse quin tibi met conscires, tamen incredibili, & execrandâ quadam impietate palàm audes profiteri, te “ Dei gloriam unice quærere, & vindicare :” & dum ipse turpissima quæris, simul accusare alios, quod “ pietatis larvam criminibus imponant :” cum id nemo manifestius ac sceleratius quàm tu ipse facis, unquam fecerit. “ Ad rerum” ais “ gestarum seriem magno” tibi “ fuisse adjumento cum alios scriptores tum maxime elenchum motuum nuperorum in Anglia.” Næ tu ineptus homo es, qui tanto clamore facto, quod tuum sit nihil afferas ; sed scriptores tantum, regiis partibus addictos eoque meritò suspectos autores contra nos adducere potuisti, quorum fides si elevabitur, progredi nequeas. Nos igitur scriptores illos, si opus erit & elenchum elencho refutabimus, non illis per te, sed tibi per illos, cum visum erit respondebimus ; tibi quæ de tuo protuleris, videndum interea, ut tueri queas ; quæ cujusmodi sint, ab impio & planè Atheo nomine profecta, audiant nunc omnes pii & horrescant. “ Jubet amor Dei, & injuriæ sancto ejus nomini factæ sensus acerrimus cogit supplices manus ad Deum attollere.” Abde, abde obscœnas illas manus, quas libidine & ambitione supinatus attollere non vereris, nè cœlum ipsum quoque audeas iis manibus incestare, quibus sacra religionis mysteria contrectando poluisti. Quam enim divinam ultionem aliis temerarius & væcors imprecaris, eam in ipsius tuum impurissimum caput devocasse te olim intelliges.

Hactenus clamoris quasi præludia fuere ; nunc (summas enim, & propè solas in hoc dramate partes clamor obtinet,) quàm potest maximo hiatu, rictum diducit : in cœlum scilicet iturus ; quo si ascenderit, in neminem profectò acrius clamabit quam in ipsum clamatorem Morum. “ Cum omnibus seculis, sacra fuerit regum majestas, &c.” Multa tu quidem More vulgariter, multa malitiosè in nos declamas, quæ nihil attinent : regis enim cædes, & tyranni supplicium non sunt idem, More, non sunt, inter se distant longissimè, atque distabunt, dum sensus & ratio, jus atque fas, rectique & obliqui judicium hominibus concedetur. Verùm de his satis jam sæpiùs dictum, satis defensum est : non patiar qui tot diris inanibus lædere non potes, ut repetitâ crambe nos demum occidas. De patientiâ, deinde & pietate bellè disputas : Sed

——de virtute loquutus

Clunem agitas : ego te ceventem more verebor ?

“ Omnes” ais “ reformatos, præsertim Belgas & Gallos, factum nostrum horruisse ;” & statim, “ bonis ubique non licuisse, idem sentire & loqui.” Sed te tibi repugnare leviculum est ; hoc multo indignius atque atrocius : “ præ nostro,” inquis, “ scelere, nihil fuit Judæorum scelus, Christum crucifigentium, sive hominum mentem, sive sceleris effectus compares.” Furiose ! tunc Christi minister perpetratum facinus in Christum tam leviter fers, quacunque demum “ mente” vel “ effectu” ut pari scelere interfectum quemlibet regem audeas dicere ? Judæi certè clarissimis indiciis Dei filium agnovisse poterant ; nos Carolum non esse tyrannum, nulla ratione potuimus intelligere. Eventus autem, ad minuendum scelus, ineptissimè facis mentionem : verùm semper animadverto regios, quò quisque acrior est, eò levius ferre quicquid committitur in Christum, quàm si quid in regem : cui tamen cum Christi præcipuè causa obediendum doceant, facilè ostendunt se neque Christum verè colere, neque regem : sed aliud quiddam sibi quærentes, incredibilem hanc erga reges fidem ac religionem suam, vel ambitioni, vel

occultis quibusdam aliis cupiditatibus obtendere. “Prodiit ergo magnus literarum princeps Salmasius.” Define toties magnum illud, More; quod millies licet ingesseris, haud cuiquam profectò intelligenti persuaseris magnum esse Salmasium, sed minimum esse Morum, & nullius pretii homulum, qui, quid deceat ignarus, magni cognomine tam imperitè abutatur. Nos grammaticis atque criticis, quorum summa laus aut in alienis lucubrationibus edendis, aut librariorum mendulis corrigendis versatur, industriam quidem ac literarum scientiam, doctrinæ etiam haud contemnendæ laudem, ac præmia libenter concedimus, magni cognomen haud largimur. Is solus magnus est appellandus, qui res magnas aut gerit, aut docet, aut dignè scribit: res autem magnæ sunt solæ, quæ vel vitam hanc nostram efficiunt beatam, aut saltem cum honestate commodam atque jucundam, vel ad alteram ducunt beatiorē. Horum verò Salmasius quid egit? egit verò nihil; quid autem docuit aut scripsit magnum? nisi fortè contra Episcopos, & primatum Papæ, quod ipse postea & suis moribus, & aliis in nos pro episcopatu scriptis, recantatum penitus evertit. Magnus ergo scriptor dici non debet, qui aut nihil magnum, aut quod optimum in vita scripserat, ei fœdissimè renunciavit. “Literarum princeps” ut sit, & Alphabeti per me licet; at verò tibi non “princeps” modò “literarum” est, sed “patronus regum,” & “patronus quidem dignus tantis clientibus.” Pulchrè tu quidem regibus consuluisti, ut post alios insignes titulos, Claudii Salmasii clientes appellentur. Ea nimirum lege solvimini cunctis aliis legibus Reges, ut in clientelam Grammatico tradatis vos Salmasio, sceptræ ferulæ submittatis: “Debeant ei Reges, dum stabit orbis, dignitatis & salutis suæ vindicias.” Audite principes; qui pessimè vos defendit, immo ne defendit quidem, nemo enim oppugnavit, dignitatem & salutem vestram sibi imputat. Hoc nempe solum consequuti sunt, qui superbissimum Grammaticum sustinendis regum rationibus ex tinearum & blattarum foro advocârunt. “Cui quantum res regia, tantundem etiam ecclesia debebit;” non laudem sanè, sed meritissimam desertæ suæ causæ notam. Nunc in laudes effunderis Defensionis regiae; “ingenium, doctrinam, infinitum prope rerum usum, & intimam sacri & profani juris penum, concitatæ orationis vigorem, eloquentiam, facundiam aurei illius operis” admiraris, quorum cum nihil affuisse homini contendo (quid enim Salmasio cum eloquentia?) tum aureum fuisse illud opus vel centies fateor; tot enim Carolus aureos numeravit, ne dicam quid Arausiacus etiam princeps in idem opus profuderit. “Nunquam major surrexit vir magnus, nunquam magis Salmasius.” Et tantò quidem major ut se ruperit, quàm magnus enim fuerit in illo opere jam vidimus; & siquid ejusdem argumenti, ut fertur, posthumum reliquit, fortasse videbimus. Non equidem inficior, edito illo libro, Salmasium in ore omnium fuisse, regis mirè placuisse; “ab augustissima Sueciæ regina, amplissimis præmiis invitatum; quinimò tota illa contentione Salmasio secunda omnia, adversa mihi penè omnia fuere. Primum de illius eruditione, erat hominum summa opinio, quam multis ab annis jam diu collegerat, libros conscribendo multos, & bene magnos, non eos quidem plerumque utiles, sed abstrusissimis de rebus, & summorum authorum citatiunculis differtos; quo nihil citius literatorum vulgus in admirationem rapit; me verò quis essem, nemo in iis ferè regionibus nôrat; magnam ille sui expectationem concitârat, attentior operi quàm solebat aliàs, ut in re tanta; ego mei nullam potui movere: immò verò multi me ab illo dehortabantur, tyronem cum veterano congressurum, partim invidentes, nè utcunque mihi gloriæ foret cum tanto hoste decertâsse; partim & mihi, & causæ metuentes, nè utriusque gravi cum ignominia victus discederem; causa denique speciosa atque plausibilis, inveterata vulgi opinio, sive superstitio dicenda potius est, & propensus in regium nomen favor Salmasio vires & spiritus addiderat; eadem omnia contra me fecere, quo magis est mirandum, quamprimum responsio nostra prodiit, non si à plerisque avidè arriperetur, videre gestientibus ecquis tam præceps animi esset ut auderet cum Salmasio conflagere, sed tam esse placitam multis atque gratam, ut, non authoris, sed ipsius veritatis ratione habitâ, qui modò summo in honore fuerat Salmasius, nunc quasi detractâ,

sub qua latuerat, personâ, & existimatione, & animo repentè caderet; sêque afferere, tametsi omnibus nervis id agens, quoad vixit postea non valuerit. Te verò, serenissima Suecorum regina, tuumque illud acre judicium fallere haud diu potuit; tu veritatis partium studiis anteferendæ, Princeps atque Author propè dicam cœlestis extitisti. Quamvis enim illum hominem eximiæ doctrinæ fama, causæque regiæ patrocínio tunc temporis longè omnium celeberrimum, à te invitatum, multis honoribus affecisses, tamen prodeunte illo responso, & singulari æquanimi- tate abs te perlecto, postquam vanitatis & apertissimæ corruptelæ redargutum Salmasium, multa leviter, multa immoderatè, falsa quædam, adversus seipsum alia, & prioribus sententiis contraria disseruisse animad- verteras, ad quæ, coram accitus, ut ferunt, quod satis responderet nihil habuit, ita palàm animo affecta es, ut ab illo tempore neque hominem, ut antea, colere, neque ejus ingenium aut doctrinam magni facere, &, quod erat planè inopinatum, ejus ad- versario propensius favere, omnes te intelligerent. Quod enim erat in tyrannos dictum, negabas id ad te ullo modo pertinere: unde & apud te fructum, & apud alios famam rectissimæ conscientiæ adepta es. Cùm enim tua facta satis declarent, tyrannum te non esse, hæc tua tam aperta animi significatio adhuc clariùs demonstrabat, te ejus rei ne omnino quidem tibi esse consciam. O me spe meâ omni feliciorem! (Eloquentiam enim, nisi quæ in ipsa veritate Suada est, nullam mihi sumo) qui, cùm in ea patriæ tempora incidissem, ut necesse esset in causa tam ardua tamque invidiosa versari, ut jus omne regum impugnare viderer, tam illustrem, tam verè regiam nactus sim integritatis meæ testem atque interpretem, nullum me verbum fecisse contra reges, sed contra regum labes ac pestes, duntaxat tyrannos. Te verò magnanimam, Augusta, te tutam undi- que divinâ planè virtute ac sapientiâ munitam! quæ quod in jus tuum ac dignitatem poterat videri scriptum, non solum tam æquo animo atque sedato, tam incredibili- mentis candore, vultusque verâ serenitate perlegere sustinuiisti; sed contra ipsum Pa- tronum tuum ejusmodi sententiam ferre, ut ejus adversario palmam etiam adjudicare à plerisque existimeris. Quo te honore, quâ te veneratione, Regina, prosequi semper debuero, cujus excelsa virtus ac magnitudo animi non tibi solum gloriosa, sed mihi etiam tam fausta atque fortunata, & suspicione me omni atque infamiâ apud alios reges liberavit, & præclaro ac immortalis hoc beneficio tibi in perpetuum devinxit. Quàm bene de æquitate tua, deque justitia & sentire exteri, & sentire & sperare semper tui populi debebunt, qui, cùm tua res ac majestas ipsa agi videretur, tam nihil turbatam te de tuo haud minùs placidè, quàm de populi jure soles, judicantem viderunt. Jam tu quidem haud temerè, tot conquesta undique volumina, tot literarum monumenta con- gessisti, non quasi te illa quicquam docere, sed ut ex illis tui cives te discere, tuæque virtutis ac sapientiæ præstantiam contemplari possint; cujus ipsa Divæ species, nisi tuo animo penitus insedisset, & quasi oculis conspiciendam se tibi præbuisset, haud ulla pro- fectò librorum lectione, tam incredibile amoris excitasset in te sui: quò magis illum- mentis tuæ vigorem planè æthereum & quasi purissimam divinæ auræ partem in illas ultimas regiones delapsam admiramur; quam neque cœlum illud triste ac nubilosum ullis frigoribus extinguere aut gravare, neque solum illud horridum ac salebrosum, quod & ingenia quoque incolarum haud rarò indurat, quicquam in te inæquale aut asperum creare potuit: quin & ipsa terra illa, tot metallis fœcunda, si aliis noverca, tibi certè alma parens, te summis enixa viribus totam auream produxisse videtur. Dicerem Adolphi filiam invicti atque inclyti regis unicam prolem, nisi tu illi, "Christina," tantum præluceres, quantum viribus sapientia, belli artibus pacis studia præcellunt. Jam inde profectò regina Austri haud sola celebrabitur: habet nunc & Septentrio re- ginam suam, & dignam sanè quæ non modò sapientissimum illum Judæorum regem, aut siquis unquam similis futurus esset, auditum proficisceretur, sed ad quam alii tan- quam ad clarissimum regalium virtutum exemplar, & visendam omnibus Heroinam, undique concurrant: nullumque in terris fastigium par esse ejus laudibus ac meritis fa- teantur, in qua minimum hoc esse videant, quòd sit Regina, tot gentium monarcha.

Non

Non autem hoc minimum, quòd etiam hoc esse decorum suorum minimum ipsa sentiat, aliudque longè majus atque sublimius meditetur, quàm regnare ; hoc ipso nomine innumeris regibus præponenda. Potest itaque, si ea manet Suecorum gentem calamitas, regnum abdicare, Reginam deponere nunquam potest, non Sueciæ sed totius orbis terrarum dignam se imperio testata.

In has digressum me Reginæ meritissimas laudes nemo est, opinor, qui non collaudet, nedum reprehendat ; quas ego quidem sine summa ingratitude culpa, vel aliis tacentibus, prætermittere non potui ; qui nescio quâ meâ sorte, sanè felicissimâ, aut si quis est occultus vel siderum, vel animorum, vel rerum cõsensus aut moderamen, tantam arbitram quam omnium minimè sperabam, omnium maximè optabam, tam mihi æquam & faventem in ultimis terris repperim. Nunc ad relictum opus, longè quidem diversissimum, redeundum tamen est. “ Infremuisse,” ais, “ nos ad Defensionis regiæ famam ; dispexisse igitur Grammaticastrum aliquem famelicum, qui venalem calamum parricidii patrociniò vellet commodare.” Hæc abs te malitiosissimè ficta sunt, ex quo memineras, regios, cum suis mendaciis ac maledicentiæ præconem dispicerent, adiisse Grammaticum, si non famelicum, certè auri plus nimio sitientem Salmasium ; qui non solum præsentem operam suam, sed bonam quoque mentem, si quam priùs habuit, illis libentissimè vendidit ; ex quo memineras Salmasium, famâ jam deploratâ atque perditâ, cum dispiceret, qui existimationem afflictam atque obtritam, quoquò modo reparare quiret, te invenisse justo Dei judicio, non, unde excussus es, ministrum Genevensem, sed episcopum Lampfacenum, id est, ex horto Priapum, suæ domûs constupratorem ; unde & infulsissimas laudes, tanto cum dedecore emptas averfatus, & ex amico inimicissimus factus, tibi laudatori suo, multa moriens imprecatus est. “ Unus inventus est, magnus scilicet Heros, quem Salmasio opponerent, Joannes Miltonus.” Ego Heroëm me esse nesciebam, tu Heroïs cujuscpiam fortè filius per me sis licet ; totus enim noxa es. Atque unum me esse inventum, qui causam populi Anglicani tuear, si reipublicæ rationes cogito, sanè quàm doleo, si laudem, ejus participem habere me neminem facile patior. Quis & unde sim dubium ais esse. Tam olim erat dubium quis Homerus, quis Demosthenes. Equidem tacere diu, & posse non scribere, quod nunquam potuit Salmasius, didiceram ; eaque in sinu gestabam tacitus, quæ si tum proferre libuisset, æquè ac nunc, inclaruisse jamdudum poteram : sed cunctantis famæ avidus non eram, ne hæc quidem, nisi idoneâ datâ occasione unquam prolaturus ; nihil laborans etsi alii me quæcunque nôsem scire nesciebant ; non enim famam sed opportunitatem cujusque rei præstolabar ; unde factum est, ut multò ante plurimis essem notus, quàm Salmasius notus esset sibi ; nunc Andremonè notior est caballo. “ Homône an vermis.” Equidem malim me vermem esse, quod fatetur de se etiam rex Davides, quàm tuum vermem in pectore nunquam moriturum intus celare. “ Aiunt,” inquis, “ hominem Cantabrigiensi Academia ob flagitia pulsum, dedecus & patriam fugisse, & in Italiam commigrasse.” Vel hinc licebit conjicere quàm veraces illi fuerint, ex quibus res nostras auditione accepisti ; hîc enim & te & illos impudentissimè mentiri & nôrunt omnes qui me nôrunt, & statim ampliùs ostendam. Pulsus verò Cantabrigiâ, cur in Italiam potius quàm in Galliam aut Hollandiam commigrarem ? ubi tu tot flagitiis co-opertus, Minister Evangelii, non modò impunè vivis, sed concionaris, sed sacra etiam ministeria, summo cum illius Ecclesiæ opprobrio, inquinatissimis manibus conspurcas. Cur verò in Italiam, More ? novus credo Saturnus, ut alicubi laterem, in Latium scilicet profugi. Verùm ego Italiam, non, ut tu putas, facinorosorum latibulum aut asylum, sed humanitatis potiùs, & civilium doctrinarum omnium hospitium & noveram antea, & expertus sum. “ Reversus librum de divortiis conscripsit.” Non aliud scripsi atque ante me Bucerus de regno Christi copiosè, Fagius in Deuteronomium, Erasmus in Epistolam primam ad Corinthios deditâ operâ in Anglorum gratiam, aliique multi percelebres viri, in commune bonum scripserunt. Quod in illis nemo reprehendit, cur id mihi præ cæteris fraudi esset, non intelligo : vellem hoc tantùm, sermone vernaculo me non scripsisse ;

scripsisse; non enim in vernas lectores incidissem; quibus solenne est sua bona ignorare, aliorum mala irridere. Tene verò, turpissime, de divortiis obstrepere, qui cum Pontia ancilla tibi desponsata, post stuprum eo obtentu illatum, immanissimum omnium divortium fecisti? Et tamen erat illa Salmasii famula, Anglica, ut fertur, foemina, regiis partibus apprimè dedita; nempe hoc erat, scelerate, adamasti ut rem regiam, reliquisti ut rem publicam, cujus tamen conversionis, quam odisse adeo vis videri, vide ne ipse author fueris; vide inquam ne subversa funditus dominatione Salmasiana Pontiam ipse in rem publicam converteris. Et hoc modo multas tu quidem una in urbe res publicas, regius licet, aut fundasse diceris aut ab aliis fundatas minister publicus administrare. Hæc tua sunt divortia, seu mavis, diverticula, unde in me Curius prodiisti. Ad mendacia nunc redis. “Cum de regis capite inter conjuratos ageretur, scripsit ad eos, & nutantes in malam partem impulit.” Ego vero neque ad eos scripsi, neque impellere attinebat, quibus id omnino agere sine me deliberatum jam erat: verum ea de re quid scripserim, infra dicetur, uti etiam de Iconoclaste. Nunc quoniam iste (Hominem an dicam hæreo, purgamentum potius hominis) ab ancillarum adulteriis, ad adulterandam omnem veritatem progressus, congestis in me tot una serie mendaciis, apud externos infamem reddere conatus est, peto ne quis rem secus interpretetur, aut in invidiam trahat, nève molestè ferat, si de me plura quàm vellem & dixi suprà, & porrò dicam: ut si oculos à cæcitate, nomen ab oblivione aut calumnia non possum, vitam tamen possim ab ea saltem obscuritate quæ cum macula sit, in lucem vindicare. Idque non unam ob causam mihi erit necessariò faciendum. Primum ut tot viros bonos atque doctos, qui per omnes vicinas gentes nostrajam legunt, deque me haud malè sentiunt, ne propter hujus maledicta mei poeniteat; verum ita sibi persuadeant non eum esse me, qui honestam orationem inhonestis moribus, aut liberè dicta, serviliter factis unquam dedecorârim; vitamque nostram, Deo bene juvante, ab omni turpitudine ac flagitio remotam longè semper fuisse: deinde, ut quos laudandos mihi sumo viros illustres ac laude dignos, hi sciant nihil me pudendum magis existimare, quàm si ad eorum laudes vituperandus ipse ac nequam accederem; sciat denique populus Anglicanus, quem ut defenderem, meum sive fatum sive officium, sua virtus impulit, si vitam pudenter atque honestè semper egi, meam defensionem, nescio an honori aut ornamento, certè pudori aut dedecori nunquam sibi fore: qui igitur, & unde sin, nunc dicam. Londini sum natus, genere honesto, patre viro integerrimo, matre probatissima, & eleemosynis per viciniam potissimum nota. Pater me puerulum humaniorum literarum studiis destinavit; quas ita avidè arripui, ut ab anno ætatis duodecimo vix unquam ante mediam noctem à lucubrationibus cubitum discederem; quæ prima oculorum perniciēs fuit: quorum ad naturalem debilitatem accefferant & crebri capitis dolores; quæ omnia cum discendi impetum non retardarent, & in ludo literario, & sub aliis domi magistris erudiendum quotidie curavit: ita variis instructum linguis, & percepta haud leviter philosophiæ dulcedine, ad Gymnasium gentis alterum, Cantabrigiam misit: Illic disciplinis atque artibus tradi solitis septennium studui: procul omni flagitio; bonis omnibus probatus, usquedum Magistri, quem vocant, gradum, cum laude etiam adeptus, non in Italiam, quod impurus ille comminiscitur, profugi, sed sponte meâ domum me contuli, meique etiam desiderium, apud Collegii plerisque socios à quibus eram haud mediocriter cultus, reliqui. Paterno rure, quo is transigendæ senectutis causâ concesserat, evolvendis Græcis Latinisque scriptoribus summum per otium totus vacavi; ita tamen ut nonnunquam, rus urbe mutarem, aut coëmendorum gratia librorum, aut novum quidpiam in Mathematicis, vel in Musicis, quibus tum oblectabar, addiscendis. Exacto in hunc modum quinquennio, post matris obitum, regiones externas, & Italiam potissimum, videndi cupidus, exorato patre, uno cum famulo profectus sum. Abeuntem vir clarissimus Henricus Woottonus, qui ad Venetos Orator Jacobi régis diu fuerat, & votis & præceptis, eunti peregrè sanè utilissimis, eleganti epistolâ perscriptis, me amicissimè prosequutus est. Commendatum ab aliis nobilissimus vir Thomas Scuda-

morus Vicecomes Slegonensis, Caroli regis Legatus, Parisiis humanissimè accepit ; méque Hugoni Grotio viro eruditissimo, ab Regina Suecorum tunc temporis ad Galliæ regem Legato, quem invisere cupiebam, suo nomine, & suorum uno atque altero deducente, commendavit : Discedenti post dies aliquot Italiam versùs, literas ad mercatores Anglos, quà iter eram facturus, dedit, ut quibus possent officiis mihi præstò essent. Nicæâ solvens, Genuam perveni ; mox Liburnum & Pisas, inde Florentiam. Illa in urbe, quam præ cæteris propter elegantiam cum linguæ tum ingeniorum semper colui, ad duos circiter menses substiti ; illic multorum & nobilium sanè & doctorum hominum familiaritatem statim contraxi ; quorum etiam privatas academias (qui mos illic, cum ad literas humaniores, tum ad amicitias conservandas laudatissimus est) assiduè frequentavi. Tui enim Jacobe Gaddi, Carole Dati, Frescobalde, Cultelline, Bonmatthæi, Clementille, Francine, aliorumque plurium memoriam, apud me semper gratam atque jucundam, nulla dies delebit. Florentia Senas, inde Romam profectus, postquam illius urbis antiquitas & prisca fama me ad bimestre ferè spatium tenuisset (ubi & Luca Holstenio, aliisque viris cum doctis tum ingeniosis, sum usus humanissimis) Neapolim perrexi : Illic per Eremitam quendam, quicum Roma iter feceram, ad Joannem Baptistam Mansum, Marchionem Villensem, virum nobilissimum atque gravissimum (ad quem Torquatus Tassius insignis poeta Italus de amicitia scripsit) sum introductus ; eodemque usus, quamdiu illic fui, sanè amicissimo ; qui & ipse me per urbis loca & Proregis aulam circumduxit, & visendi gratia haud semel ipse ad hospitium venit : Discedenti feriò excusavit se, tametsi multò plura detulisse mihi officia maximè cupiebat, non potuisse illa in urbe, propterea quòd nolebam in religione esse tectior. In Siciliam quoque & Græciam trajicere volentem me, tristis ex Anglia belli civilis nuntius revocavit : Turpe enim existimabam, dum mei cives domi de libertate dimicarent, ne animi causà otiosè peregrinari. Romam autem reversurum, monebant Mercatores se didicisse per literas parari mihi ab Jesuitis Anglis insidias, si Romam reverterem ; eò quod de religione nimis liberè loquutus essem. Sic enim mecum statueram, de religione quidem iis in locis sermones ultro non inferre ; interrogatus de fide, quicquid essem passurus, nihil dissimulare. Romam itaque nihilominus redii : Quid essem, si quis interrogabat, neminem celavi ; si quis adoriebatur, in ipsa urbe Pontificis, alteros prope duos menses, Orthodoxam Religionem, ut antea, liberrimè tuebar : Deoque sic volente, incolumis Florentiam rursus perveni ; haud minùs mei cupientes revifens, ac si in patriam revertissem. Illic totidem, quet priùs, menses libenter commoratur, nisi quod ad paucos dies Luccam excucurri, transenso Apennino, per Bononiam & Ferraram, Venetias contendi. Cui urbi lustrandæ cum mensem unum impendissem, & libros, quos per Italiam conquissiveram, in navem imponendos curasssem, per Veronam ac Mediolanum, & Pæninas Alpes, Lacu denique Lemanno, Genevam delatus sum. Quæ urbs, cum in mentem mihi hinc veniat Mori calumniatoris, facit ut Deum hinc rursus testem invocem, me his omnibus in locis, ubi tam multa licent, ab omni flagitio ac probo integrum atque intactum vixisse, illud perpetuò cogitantem, si hominum latere oculos possem, Dei certè non posse. Genevæ cum Joanne Deodato, Theologiæ professore doctissimo, quotidianus versabar. Deinde eodem itinere, quo priùs, per Galliam, post annum & tres plus minus menses in patriam revertor ; eodem ferme tempore quo Carolus cum Scotis, ruptâ pace, bellum alterum quod vocant Episcopale, redintegrabat ; in quo suis primo congressu regis copiis, cum videret etiam omnes Anglos, & meritò quidem, in se pessimè animatos, malo coactus, non sponte, Parlamentum haud ita multò post, convocavit. Ipse, sicubi possem, tam rebus turbatis & fluctuantibus, locum consistendi circumspiciens, mihi librisque meis, sat amplam in urbe domum conduxì ; ibi ad intermissa studia beatulus me recepi ; rerum exitu Deo imprimis, & quibus id muneris populus dabat, facilè permissò. Interea Parlamento rem strenuè gerente, Episcoporum fastus detumuit. Ut primùm loquendi saltem cœpta est libertas concedi, omnia in Episcopos aperiri ora ; alii de ipsorum vitiis, alii de ipsius ordinis vitio

vitio conqueri ; iniquum esse, se solos ab Ecclesiis omnibus, quotquot reformatæ sunt, discrepare ; exemplo fratrum, sed maximè ex verbo Dei, gubernari Ecclesiam convenire. Ad hæc sanè expectatus, cùm veram affectari viam ad libertatem cernerem, ab his iniitiis, his passibus, ad liberandam servitute vitam omnem mortalium, rectissimè procedi, si ab religione disciplina orta, ad mores & instituta reipublicæ emanaret, cùm etiam me ita ab adolescentia parâsem, ut quid divini, quid humani esset juris, ante omnia possem non ignorare, mèque consuluissem ecquando ullius usus essim futurus, si nunc patriæ, immo verò ecclesiæ tótque fratribus evangelii causâ, periculo sese objicientibus deessim, statui, etsi tunc alia quædam meditabar, huc omne ingenium, omnes industrie vires transferre. Primùm itaque de reformanda ecclesia Anglicana, duos ad amicum quendam libros conscripsi : Deinde, cum duo præ cæteris magni nominis Episcopi suum jus contra Ministros quosdam primarios assererent, ratus de iis rebus, quas amore solo veritatis, & ex officii Christiani ratione didiceram haud pejùs me dicturum quàm qui de suo quæstu & injustissimo dominatu contendebant, ad hunc libris duobus, quorum unus de Episcopatu prælativo, alter de ratione Disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ inscribitur, ad illum, scriptis quibusdam animadversionibus, & mox Apologia, respondi ; & ministris facundiam hominis, ut ferebatur ægrè sustinentibus, suppetias tuli ; & ab eo tempore, si quid postea responderent, interfui. Cùm petiti omnium telis Episcopi tandem cecidissent, otiumque ab illis esset, verti aliò cogitationes ; si qua in re possem libertatis veræ ac solidæ rationem promovere ; quæ non foris, sed intus quærenda, non pugnando, sed vitam rectè instituendo, rectèque administrando adipiscenda potissimùm est. Cùm itaque tres omnino animadverterem libertatis esse species, quæ nisi adsint, vita ulla transigi commodè vix possit, Ecclesiasticam, domesticam seu privatam, atque civilem, deque prima jam scripsissem, deque tertia Magistratum sedulò agere viderem, quæ reliqua secunda erat, domesticam mihi desumpsi ; ea quoque tripartita, cùm videretur esse, si res conjugalis, si liberorum institutio rectè se haberet, si denique liberè philosophandi potestas esset, de conjugio non solùm ritè contrahendo, verùm etiam, si necesse esset, dissolvendo, quid sentirem explicui ; idque ex divina lege, quam Christus non sustulit, nedum aliam, tota lege Mosaïca graviolem civiliter sanxit ; quid item de excepta solùm fornicatione sentiendum sit, & meam aliorumque sententiam exprompsi, & clarissimus vir Seldenus noster, in Uxore Hebræâ plùs minùs biennio pòst editâ, uberius demonstravit. Frustrâ enim libertatem in comitiis & foro crepat, qui domi servitutem viro indignissimam, inferiori etiam servit ; ea igitur de re aliquot libros edidi ; eo præsertim tempore cùm vir sæpe & conjux hostes inter se acerrimi, hic domi cum liberis, illa in castris hostium materfamilias versaretur, viro cædem atque perniciem minitans. Institutionem deinde liberorum uno opusculo brevius quidem tractabam ; sed quod satis arbitrabar iis fore, qui ad eam rem, quâ par esset diligentia, incumberent ; quâ quidem re, nihil ad imbuendas, unde vera atque interna oritur libertas, virtute hominum mentes, nihil ad rempublicam bene gerendam, & quam diutissimè conservandam majus momentum potest asferre. Postremò de typographia liberanda, ne veri & falsi arbitrium, quid edendum, quid premendum, penès paucos esset, eosque ferè indoctos, & vulgaris judicii homines, librorum inspectioni præpositos, per quos nemini ferè quicquam quod supra vulgus sapiat, in lucem emittere, aut licet aut libet, ad justæ orationis modum Areopagiticam scripsi. Civilem, quæ postrema species restabat, non attigeram ; quam Magistratui satis curæ esse cernebam : Neque de jure regio quicquam à me scriptum est, donec Rex hostis à Senatu judicatus, belloque victus, causam captivus apud Judices diceret, capitisque damnatus est. Tum verò tandem, cùm Presbyteriani quidam Ministri, Carolo priùs infestissimi, nunc Independentium partes suis anteferrî, & in Senatu plus posse indignantes, Parlamenti sententiæ de Rege latæ (non factò irati, sed quod ipsorum factio non fecisset) reclamarent, & quantum in ipsis erat, tumultuarentur, ausi affirmare Protestantium doctrinam, omnesque ecclesias reformatas ab ejusmodi in reges atroci sententiâ abhorrere, ratus falsitati tam apertæ palàm eundem

obviàm esse, ne tum quidem de Carolo quicquam scripsi aut suasi, sed quid in genere contra tyrannos liceret, adductis haud paucis summorum Theologorum testimoniis, ostendi ; & insignem hominum meliora profitentium, sive ignorantiam sive impudentiam propè concionabundus incesse. Liber iste non nisi post mortem Regis prodiit, ad componendos potiùs hominum animos factus, quàm ad statuendum de Carolo quicquam quod non mea, sed Magistratuum intererat, & peractum jam tum erat. Hanc intra privatos parietes meam operam nunc ecclesiæ, nunc reipublicæ gratis dedi ; mihi vicissim vel hæc vel illa præter incolumitatem nihil ; bonam certè conscientiam, bonam apud bonos existimationem, & honestam hanc dicendi libertatem facta ipsa reddidere : Comoda alii, alii honores gratis ad se trahebant : Me nemo ambientem, nemo per amicos quicquam petentem, curiæ foribus affixum petitorio vultu, aut minorum conventuum vestibulis hærentem nemo me unquam vidit. Domi fere me continebam, meis ipse facultatibus, tametsi hoc civili tumultu magna ex parte sæpe detentis, & censum fere iniquiùs mihi impositum, & vitam utcunque frugi tolerabam. His rebus confectis, cùm jam abundè otii existimarem mihi futurum, ad historiam gentis, ab ultima origine repetitam, ad hæc usque tempora, si possem, perpetuo filo deducendam me converti : Quatuor jam libros absolveram, cum ecce nihil tale cogitantem me, Caroli regno in rempublicam redacto, Concilium Statûs, quod dicitur, tum primùm autoritate Parlamenti constitutum, ad se vocat, meaque operâ ad res præsertim externas uti voluit. Prodiit haud multò post attributus Regi liber, contra Parlamentum invidiosissimè sane scriptus : Huic respondere jussus, Iconi Iconoclasten opposui ; non “regiis manibus insultans,” ut insimulor, sed reginam veritatem regi Carolo anteponendam arbitratus ; immo cum præviderem hanc calumniam cuivis maledico in promptu fore, ipso exordio, & sæpe aliàs, quoad licuit, à me istam invidiam sum amolitus. Prodiit deinde Salmasius ; cui quis responderet, adeò non diu, quod ait Morus, dispiciebant, ut me in concilio tum etiam præsentem statim omnes ultro nominarent. Hactenus ad obturandum os tuum, More, & mendacia redarguenda bonorum maximè virorum in gratiam, qui me aliàs non nôrint, meâ rationem reddidi. Tu igitur, More, tibi dico immunde, *Φιμώσῃτι*, obmutesce inquam ; quo enim magis mihi maledixeris, eo me rationes meas uberius explicare coëgeris ; ex quo aliud lucrari nihil poteris, quàm ut tibi mendaciorum opprobrium adhuc gravius concilies, mihi ad integritatis commendationem eo latius viam aperiatis. Reprehenderam ego Salmasium, quòd extraneum se & alienigenam rebus nostris immiscuisset : Tu instas, “ad eos qui ad Angliam non pertinent, hanc defensionem maxime pertinere.” Quid enim ? “Possint,” inquis, “Angli existimari studio partium acriùs agere ; Gallos verò consentaneum est rei, non hominum, rationem habuisse.” Ad hæc eadem quæ priùs regeo ; externum & longinquum, qualis tu es, in alienas res præsertim turbatas, immerfurum se neminem nisi corruptum ; Salmasium prius demonstravi mercede conductum ; te constat per Salmasium & Arausionenses professoriam cathedram petiisse ; deinde, quod fœdus est, exagitas Parlamentum, & subagitas Pontiam. Quam autem affers rationem, cur hæc ad externos potius pertinerent, deridicula prorsus est ; si enim Angli partium studiis feruntur, quid vos aliud, qui illos solos sequimini, quàm eorum affectus duntaxat in vos transfertis ? Adeò ut, si Anglis illis credendum in sua causa non est, vobis profectò sit multò minùs ; qui rerum nostrarum nihil intelligitis, aut saltem creditis, nisi quas ab ipsis accepistis quibus, vestrà quoque sententiâ, vix est credendum. Hic rursus effundis te in laudem magni Salmasii : Magnus sanè tibi fuit, quem tu quasi pro lenone habuisti ancillæ suæ ; laudas tamen ; at is te non laudat, immo ante mortem palàm est abominatus, fœque ipse millies inculavit, quod Spanhemio gravissimo Theologo, de te, quàm impius esses, non credidisset. Nunc totus in rabiem versus rationi quasi renuntias ; “Jamdudum ratione” scilicet “defunctus est Salmasius.” Tu clamandi tantum & furendi partes tibi deposcis, & tamen primas in maledicendo etiam tribuis Salmasio ; “non quia verbis sævit, sed quia

quia Salmasius." Ωσπερ μολόγε! Has nempe argutias morigeranti debemus Pontia. Hinc clamor tuus argutari atque etiam minurizare didicit; hinc minitabundus quoque, "experiemini," inquis, "aliquando, foedissimæ belluæ, quid styli potuerint." Tēne experiemur, ancillariole, tēne mœche, aut stylum tuum, ancillis tantummodo metuendum? Cui si quis raphanum aut mugilem solum intenderit, actum mehercule præclarè tecum putes, si nate non fissæ & incolumi stylo isto salaci tu queas aufugere. "Equidem non adeo sum," inquis, "vacui capitis ut Provinciam à Salmasio susceptam aggrediar." Quam ille quidem sine capite admodum vacuo, nunquam aggressus fuisset; festivè tu quidem vacuitate capitis, magnum Salmasium tibi anteponis. "At regii sanguinis clamorem ad cœlum tollere" quod "ineruditi" etiam "debent:" hoc nempe tuum esse ais. Clama, vociferare, boa; perge hypocritari, sancta verba usurpare, & Priapeia vivere: Exurget, mihi crede, aliquando quem inclamas toties ultionum Deus; exurget, tēque imprimis eradicabit, diaboli ministrum, & reformatæ ecclesiæ infandum dedecus & lumen. Inculpantibus Salmasii maledicentiam quamplurimis, respondes, "Sic cum paricidis monstrorum omnium turpissimis, fuisse agendum." Laudo; telis enim nos instruis: & quo te pacto, tuosque perduelles tractari conveniat, commodus doces, nosque ipse absolvis. Nunc quando ratione nihil potes, ne audes quidem occupatum ab Salmasio jus omne regium, & quicquid est in eo rationis causatus, à contumeliis & rabie ad narrationes quasdam miserabiles conversus, expers rationis, institutos ab initio clamores tantum persequeris: quas partim Salmasianas recoxisti, partim ex elenchō illo ἐλεγχισμῷ anonymo, qui non patriâ solum, sed nomine etiam profugit, descriptas interpolasti: quarum ad præcipua capita, vel in Iconoclaste, vel in Salmasianis ita jam respondi, ut citra modum Historiæ, responderi amplius posse non putem. Semperne ego ut identidem eandem orbitam teram, & ad Balatronis cujusque stridorem dicta toties cogar iterare? non faciam; neque meâ sic abutar vel operâ vel otio. Si quis conductitios ejulatus, & compositos vœnalissimi hominis ploratus, si quis declamatiunculas, quas etiam ancillaris concubitus, adulterinas edixit & spurias, Morilli nothi gemellas, fide satis locupletes, arbitratur esse, ad me quod attinet, nihil quidem moror, quo minùs ita existimet; neque enim est ut ab ejusmodi credulo ac temerario metuendum nobis quicquam sit: attingam tamen pauca, multorum instar, ex quibus tam quis ipse, quàm quid dicat, & quid de reliquo judicandum sit, summatim intelligetis. Postquam de camera plebis & camera procerum, ad unam redigenda, multa exoticus deblateravit (quod postulatum nemo sanus reprehenderet) "ut æqualitate," inquit, "in rempublicam invec̃ta, ad eandem in ecclesiam introducendam procederetur; tunc enim adhuc stabant episcopi: hic nisi sit purus putus Anabaptismus, nihil video." Quis hoc à Theologo & ministro Gallico sperâset unquam? sanè qui Anabaptismus quid sit, nisi hoc sit, non videt, eum ego crediderim haud magis videre quid sit Baptismus. Sed si res propriis vocabulis appellare malimus, æqualitas in republica non est Anabaptismus, sed Democratia, longè antiquior: in ecclesia præsertim constituta, est disciplina Apostolica. At enim "stabant episcopi." Fatemur, stabant & Genevæ; cum illa civitas & episcopum & eundem legitimum principem religionis causâ expulit; quod illis laudi, cur id nobis probro ducitur? scio quid tibi vis, More, Genevensium suffragia ultum is; quibus dimissus cum ignominia, an ejectus ex illa ecclesia fueris, in dubio est. Te ergo cum Salmasio tuo ab evangelico hoc instituto descivisse, & ad episcopos transfugisse, si modò refert quo tu transfugeris, apparet. "Deinde ad ministrorum," inquis, "nostratium æqualitatem respublica transit, ut palàm sit eundem spiritum tunc viguisse qui octavo demum anno nefando regis parricidio rem peregit." Ergo idem ut videtur spiritus & ministros constituit vestrates, & parricidium peregit: Perge ut ocepisti, quas par est apostatam, eructare infanias. "Non plures," inquis, "tribus libellis supplicibus confecerunt, qui in regem animadverti postulabant." Quod notum est, & ipse memini falsissimum esse. Sanè qui has res apud nos memoriæ man-

darunt, non tres tantummodo libellos istiusmodi, sed multos ex diversis Angliæ provinciis, exercitibusque legionibus unius ferè mensis spatio, tres uno die allatos fuisse memorant. Vides quanta cum gravitate hac de re deliberaverit Senatus, cujus cunctationem Populus lenitatis nimis suspectam tot supplicibus libellis eximendam putavit. Quot reris millia hominum fuisse idem sentientium, qui Senatum ad id hortari, quod jam tum seriò agitabat vel importunum existimarent vel supervacaneum? quorum ex numero & ipse fui, qui tamen quid voluerim obscurum non est. Quid si conticuissent omnes rei magnitudine perculsi, eòne minùs habuisset Senatus in re tanta quod statueret, expectandusne populi nutus erat, ex quo tantorum exitus consiliorum penderet? enimverò supremum gentis Concilium, ab universo populo ea mente adhibitum, ut impotentem regis dominatum coereret, posteaquam efferatum & repugnantem bello cepisset, si recurrere ad iussa populi deberet, velit jubeatne de captivo hoste supplicium sumi, profectò qui rempublicam fortissimè recuperassent, quid aliud fecisse viderentur quàm in laqueos tyranni à populo, si fors ita ferret, absoluti sese præcipites dedisse? aut si accepta maximis de rebus decernendi summa potestate, de iis quæ præsertim vulgi captum superant, non dico ad populum (nam cum hac potestate ipsi populus jam sunt) sed ad multitudinem rursus referre cogerentur quæ imperitiæ suæ, conscia ad eos prius omnia retulerat, quis ultro citròque referendi finis esset? quis tandem in hoc Euripo consistendi locus? quod firmamentum inter libellos istiusmodi tot capitum levissimorum, quæ salus quassatis rebus hominum foret? quid si restituendum regno Carolo postulassent? cujusmodi libellos extitisse aliquot non supplices sed minaces fatendum est seditiosorum hominum, quorum nunc odium, nunc miseratio æquè stulta aut malitiosa esse solebat; horumne ratio habenda fuit? qui “ut cum Rege colloquium institueretur, ingenti,” inquis, “numero pagis relictis ad Parlamenti fores accurrebant; quorum Senatores, immisso milite, plurimos trucidarunt.” Et Surrienses dicis paganos, qui nescio aliorumne malitia, agrestes ipsi, an sua improbitate impulsì, cum libello supplice bene poti, & comessabundi potiùs, quam aliquid petitori, per urbem ibant; mox curiæ fores facto agmine, ferociter obsederunt; collocatos ibi milites stationibus deturbarunt, unum ad ipsas curiæ fores occiderunt, priusquam illos vel dicto vel facto quisquàm laceffisset; inde meritò pulsi ac malè multati, haud ultra duos trèsvè occisi, vinolentiam potiùs quàm “libertatem spirantes.” Passim concedis “potiores fuisse Independentium partes, non numero, sed consilio & virtute militari.” Unde ego & jure & merito superiores quoque fuisse contendo: nihil enim est naturæ convenientius, nihil justius, nihil humano generi utilius aut melius, quàm ut minor majori, non numerus numero, sed virtuti, consilium consilio cedat; qui prudentiâ, qui rerum usu, industriâ, atque virtute pollent, hi meâ quidem sententiâ, quantumvis pauci, quantovis numero, plures erunt, & suffragiis ubique potiores. Multa sparsim inferis de “Cromuello,” quæ cujusmodi sint infra videbimus; de reliquis responsum jampridem Salmasio est. Judicium quoque regis non prætermittis, quamvis & illud à magno tuo rhetore miserabiliter sit declamatum. Proceres, id est, Regis purpuratos, & ministros ferè aulicos, à judicando Rege ais abhorruisse: Nos id parùm referre, altero libro ostendimus. “Deinde curiarum iudices erasos; quippe qui responderant esse contra Angliæ leges, Regem iudicio sisti.” Nescio quid tunc responderint, scio quid jam approbent atque defendant: non est novum, Iudices, quos minimè decet, meticulosos esse. “Præficitur ergo sordidæ & sceleratæ curiæ, par Præses, obscurissimus & petulantissimus nebulo.” Te verò tot vitiis & sceleribus obstrictum, immo meram spurcitiem, merum scelus, usque adeo obduxisse menti & sensibus callum, nisi tua mens potiùs tota callus est, ut in Deum atheus, & sacrorum contaminator, in homines inhumanus, cujusque optimi calumniator esse ausis, quid aliud est esse quàm germanum Iscariotam atque diabolum? Quamvis autem tua vituperatio laus summa sit, tamen præstantissimo viro cui oblatras, nec non amico mihi semper plurimùm colendo, nequaquam deero; quo minus ab improbissimis perfugarum & Mororum linguis, quas,

nisi

nisi causa reipublicæ nunquam sensisset, vindicem. Est “ Joannes Bradscianus, (quod nomen libertas ipsa, quacunque gentium colitur; memoriæ sempiternæ celebrandam commendavit) nobili familia, ut satis notum est, ortus; unde patriis legibus addiscendis, primam omnem ætatem sedulo impendit; dein consultissimus causarum ac disertissimus patronus, libertatis & populi vindex acerrimus, & magnis reipublicæ negotiis est adhibitus, & incorrupti Judicis munere aliquoties perfunctus: Tandem uti Regis judicio præsidere vellet, à Senatu rogatus, provinciam sanè periculosissimam non recusavit. Attulerat enim ad legum scientiam ingenium liberale, animum excelsum, mores integros ac nemini obnoxios; unde illud munus omni prope exemplo majus ac formidabilius, tot Sicariorum pugionibus ac minis petitus, ita constanter, ita graviter, tanta animi cum præsentia ac dignitate gessit atque implevit, ut ad hoc ipsum opus, quod jam olim Deus edendum in hoc populo mirabili providentia decreverat, ab ipso Numine designatus atque factus videretur; & Tyrannicidarum omnium gloriam tantum superaverit, quantò est humanius, quantò justius, ac majestate plenius, Tyrannum judicare, quàm injudicatum occidere. Alioqui nec tristis, nec severus, sed comis ac placidus, personam tamen quam suscepit tantam, æqualis ubique sibi, ac veluti consul non unius anni, pari gravitate sustinet: ut non de tribunali tantum, sed per omnem vitam judicare Regem diceres. In consiliis ac laboribus publicis maximè omnium indefessus, multisque parvus; domi, si quis alius, pro suis facultatibus hospitalis ac splendidus, amicus longè fidelissimus, atque in omni fortuna certissimus, bene merentes quosunque nemo citius aut libentiùs agnoscit, neque majore benevolentia prosequitur; nunc pios, nunc doctos, aut quavis ingenii laude cognitos, nunc militares etiam & fortes viros ad inopiam redactos suis opibus sublevat; iis si non indigent, colit tamen libens atque amplectitur; alienas laudes perpetuò prædicare, suas tacere solitus; hostium quoque civilium, si quis ad sanitatem rediit, quod experti sunt plurimi, nemo ignoscentior. Quòd si causa oppressi cujuscumque defendenda palam, si gratia aut vis potentiorum oppugnanda, si in quenquam bene meritum, ingratitude publica objurganda sit, tum quidem in illo viro, vel facundiam vel constantiam nemo desideret, non patronum, non amicum, vel idoneum magis & intrepidum, vel disertiorum alium quisquam sibi optet; habet, quem non minè dimovere recto, non metus aut munera proposito bono atque officio, vultusque ac mentis firmissimo statu dejicere valeant. Quibus virtutibus, & plerisque merito charus, & inimicissimis non contemnendus, gestarum egregiè rerum in republica laudem, dirupto te, More, tuisque similibus, apud omnes tum externos tum posteros, in omne ævum propagabit. Sed pergendum, Rex capite damnatus est: “ contra hanc vesaniam Londini pulpita fere omnia detonare.” Ligneo isto tonitru haud multum terres; istos Salmoneas nihil veremur, qui fictitium illud fulmen & arrogatum sibi, aliquando luent; graves profectò authores & sinceri, qui paulò ante ex iisdem pulpitis contra Pluralistas & Non-residentes strepitu æque horribili detonabant; paulò post, raptis hic sibi ternis, ille quaternis Prælatorum sacerdotiis, quos tonando abegerant, atque inde non-residentes necessario facti, eodem ipsi crimine tenebantur in quod detonabant, & sui quisque tonitrus bidental factus est: neque ullus adhuc pudor; nunc in vindicandis sibi decimis toti sunt; & sanè si decimarum tanta sitis est, cenfeo affatim decimandos: non terræ fructus tantum, sed & maris fluctus sibi habeant decumanos. Idem primò bellum suadebant in Regem, ut in hostem exitio devotum; mox capto hosti, & impurata à semetipsis toties cædis ac sanguinis effusi damnato, parci volent utpote regi. Ita in pulpitis tanquam in taberna quadam meritoria, quæ volunt mercimonia, quæ volunt scruta, vendunt popello; & quod miserius est, quæ jam vendidere, quoties volunt reposcunt. At “ Scoti regem sibi reddi flagitabant, commemorant Senatus promissam quando Anglis regem tradiderant.” Atqui ego vel Scotos etiam fatentes habeo, nulla omnino promissa publica intercessisse, cum rex traderetur; & turpe sanè fuisset Anglis, regem suum à Scotis in Anglia conductitiis, reddendum non fuisse nisi per conditiones: quid? quòd ipsa Parlamenti responsio ad Scotorum cartulas

Id. Mart. 1647. edita, ullam hac de re interpositam ab se fidem, quo pacto rex tractandus esset, dilucidè negat; indignum quippe censuisse, non nisi eâ lege sua jura obtineri à Scotis potuisse. Attamen "regem reddi sibi flagitabant." Mites, credo, homines frangebantur animo, desiderium sui regis ferre diutius non poterant: immoverò iidem illi, cum ab initio horum in Britannia motuum, de jure regio haud semel in Parlamento retulissent, essetque ab omnibus assensum, ob tres maximè causas regem privari regno posse, si tyrannus existat, si fundum regium alienet, si suos deferat, circa annum 1645. Parlamento Perthæ habito sententias rogare cœperunt, sitne rex quem sanctis infestum esse constet, communione ecclesiæ interdicendus? verùm antequam ea de re quicquam decerneretur, Montrossius ad eam urbem cum copiis accedens conventum disturbavit. Iidem in suo quodam ad Cromuellum Imperatorem responso, An. 1650. fatentur puni- tum jure regem, juris tantummodo formam fuisse vitiosam, eo quòd ipsi in illius judicii consortium non vocarentur. Hoc ergo facinus sine illis atrox, cum illis egregium fuisset, ex eorum quippe nutu fas atque nefas pendebat, justum atque injustum definiendum erat: quid isti, obsecro, rege sibi reddito lenius in eum statuissent? At "Delegati Scotici à Senatu Anglico responsum hoc prius tulerant, nolle se regni Anglicani formam immutare, postea tamen respondere se tunc noluisse, nunc velle, prout salus reipublicæ postularet." Et rectè quidem responderunt: quid tu hinc? "hæc strophæ," inquis, "omnia fœdera, commercium, ipsumque sensum communem evertit." Tuum quidem evertit, qui nescis inter libera prœmissa, & pactam fœderis fidem quid intersit: Angli de forma reipublicæ suæ futura, cujus rationem Scotis reddere necesse non erat, quod tum ipsis videbatur, liberè quidem respondent; nunc salus reipublicæ aliud suadebat; si fidem, si jusjurandum populo datum violare nollent. Utrum sanctius obligare putas, liberumne de forma reipublicæ futura datum Scoticis legatis responsum, an necessarium de salute reipublicæ procuranda datum suo populo jusjurandum & summam fidem? Licere autem Parlamento vel Senatui, prout expedit, consilia mutare, quoniam quicquid nos affirmamus, anabaptisticum tibi est & monstrosum, malo ex Cicerone audias pro Plancio. 'Stare omnes debemus tanquam in orbe aliquo reipublicæ; qui quoniam versetur, eam deligere partem debemus, ad quam nos illius utilitas salusque converterit. Et statim. Neque enim inconstantis puto, sententiam, tanquam aliquod navigium atque cursum, ex reipublicæ tempestate moderari. Ego verò hæc didici, hæc vidi, hæc scripta legi, hæc de sapientissimis & clarissimis viris & in hac reipublica, & in aliis civitatibus monumenta nobis literæ prodiderunt, non semper easdem sententias, ab iisdem, sed quascunque Reipublicæ status, inclinatio temporum, ratio concordiae postularet, esse defendendas.' Hæc Marcus Tullius: sed tu, More, Hortensium mavis; hæc illæ ætates quæ civili maximè prudentiâ floruerunt; quæ si sequuntur Anabaptistæ, meâ quidem sententiâ sapiunt. Quàm multa alia possem proferre, quæ à minifterculis hisce & suo Salmasio, si res non verba spectemus, planè indocto, pro Anabaptisticis damnantur. At "nihilo," inquis, "plus potuerant potentissimi Belgii fœderati ordines, qui per oratores suos & prece & pretio oblato strenuè allaborarunt sacrum Regis caput redimere." Velle profectò justitiam sic redimere, idem erat atque regem salvum nolle: verùm didicerunt, non omnes esse mercatores; non adeò vendacem esse Senatum Anglicanum. Quod autem ad judicium regis, "ut plurima," inquis, "Christo similia Carolus pateretur, milites in eum ingeminant ludibria." Plura quidem passus est similia Christus maleficis, quàm Carolus Christo; & multa istiusmodi jactabantur vulgò ab iis quibus ad invidiam facti majorem excitandam, quidvis fingere aut fictum referre studium erat: Fac tamen gregarios milites insolentiùs se gessisse; non id continuò in causam est conferendum. "Mactatum vero esse quempiam ad pedes regis prætereuntis apprecantem ut Deus ejus misereretur," nec antea audivi unquam, nec convenire quenquam adhuc potui qui audivisset: quin immo tribunum ipsum, qui toto illius judicii tempore custodiis præfuit, regisque à latere vix discessit, interrogandum hac de re curavi: is denique nec audisse se hoc antea, & pro certo

certo scire falsissimum id esse, constanter asseverabat. Ex quo intelligi potest tuarum narrationum fides, etiam in reliquis quàm firma sit. Nam in benevolentia quoque & adoratione, si posses, Carolo post mortem procuranda, quàm in odio nobis vel iniquissimè conflando haud multo veracior invenieris. “Auditum,” ais, “fuisse Regem in fatali pegmate episcopo Londinensi ingeminantem, memento, memento.” Id regis Judices anxios nempe habuit, quid illa ultimum iterata vox sibi voluisset; accersitur, ut ais, episcopus, & illud geminum “memento” quid sibi quæсивisset, additis minis, enuntiare jubetur. Is primò (sic enim fingi expediebat) ex composito nimirum delicias fecit, &, quasi arcanum quoddam, prodere recusavit. Cum illi vehementius instarent, id quasi metu sibi expressum, & nolenti extortum, ægrè tandem edidit, quod re vera quovis pretio divulgatum vellet. “Jusserat me,” inquit, “rex, ut si possem ad filium pervenire, hoc supremum morientis patris mandatum ad eum perferrem, ut regno & potestati suæ restitutus, vobis suæ necis authoribus ignosceret: hoc me meminisse, rex iterum atque iterum jussit.” O magis, regémne dicam pietatis, an episcopum rimarum plenum! qui rem tam secretò in pegmate suæ fidei commissam ut effutiret, tam facilè expugnari potuit. At ô taciturne! jampridem Carolus hoc idem inter alia præcepta filio mandaverat, in illa Icone Basilica; quem librum ideo scriptum fatis apparet, ut omni cum diligentia nobis vel invitis secretum illud, qua ostentatione simulatum erat, eadem paulo post evulgaretur. Sed video plane decrevisse vos Carolum quendam absolutissimum, si non Stuartum hunc, at saltem hyperboreum aliquem & fabulosum, fucatis quibuslibet coloribus depictum, imperitis rerum obtrudere: ita fabellam hanc velut acroama quoddam, diverbiis & sententiolis pulchrè distinctum, nescio quem ethologum imitatus, ad inescandas vulgi aures putidè concinnasti. Ego verò, ut non negaverim interrogatum fortasse obiter ab uno vel altero confessorum hac de re episcopum, ita accersitum, dedita opera vel à concilio vel ab illo judicum collegio, quasi id omnes curassent, aut sollicitè quæсивissent non comperio. Sed demus inde quævis: dederit in pegmate suprema hæc episcopo mandata, ut suæ necis authoribus ignosceretur, perferenda ad filium Carolus: quid tam egregium aut singulare præter cæteros eò loci deductos fecit? quotusquisque est morientium in pegmate, qui peracturus jam vitæ fabulam, cum hæc mortalia quàm vana sint videt, non idem faciat; & inimicitias, iras, odia, tanquam ex scena quadam jam exiturus, libens non deponat, aut saltem simulet, ut vel misericordiam, vel innocentiae opinionem suæ in animis hominum relinquat? Simulasse Carolum, neque unquam ex animo, & sincero mentis proposito tale mandatum dedisse filio, “ut suæ necis authoribus ignosceret,” vel si hoc palam aliud tamen clanculum mandasse, argumentis non levibus demonstrari potest: nam filius, alioqui plus satis patri obsequens, patris gravissimo atque ultimo præcepto tam religiosè sibi per episcopum tradito, haud dubiè paruisset: quî autem paruit, cujus vel jussu vel auctoritate duo Legati nostri, alter in Hollandia, alter in Hispania, & hic ne suspitione quidem ulla regiæ necis reus, trucidati sunt? qui denique haud semel scripto publico edixit atque omnibus palam fecit, se nolle patris sui interfectores ullo pacto veniam concedere? Hanc igitur narratiunculam tuam vide an veram esse velis; quæ quo magis collaudat patrem, eo magis vituperat filium. Nunc instituti oblitus, non regii sanguinis ad cælum, sed populi senatum clamores e mentiris, odiosissimus post Salmasium in reipublica aliena pragmaticus & ardelio, qui tam foedè præsertim res tuas domi agas. Tuane voce, impurissime, populus pro se utatur, cujus halitum ipsum oris lue venerea foetidum, purus omnis averfaretur? tu vero perfugarum ac perditorum voces populo attribuis; & quod agyrta peregrinus ad coronam solet, vilissimorum duntaxat animalium voces imitaris. Quis autem negat ea posse tempora sæpius accidere, in quibus civium longè major improborum sit; qui Catilinam vel Antonium, quàm sanio rem senatus partem sequi malint; neque idcirco boni cives obniti contra, & fortiter facere non debebunt, sui magis officii, quàm paucitatis rationem ducentes: tuam ergo tam bellam pro nostro populo oratiunculam, ne charta omnino pereat, in annales

Volui suadeo inferas ; nobis rhetorculo tam hircofo atque olido, non est usus. Dehinc injuriarum in ecclesiam postulamus. “ Exercitus est omnium hæreseon lerna.” Qui non maledicunt, exercitum nostrum ut fortissimum, ita modestissimum ac religiosissimum esse consentunt : aliis in castris ferè potatur, variis libidinibus indulgetur, rapitur, alea luditur, juratur & perjuratur ; in his nostris quod datur otii, disquirendæ veritati impenditur, sacræ Scripturæ invigilatur ; nec quisquam pulchrius existimat hostem ferire, quàm se atque alios cœlestium cognitione rerum erudire, aut bellicam magis quàm evangelicam militiam exercere. Et sanè si proprium belli usum consideramus, quid aliud magis deceat milites ? qui ideo constituti sunt atque conscripti, ut essent legum defensores, paludati justitiæ satellites, ecclesiæ propugnatores : quid illis, non ferocius aut truculentius, sed civilius aut humanius esse oporteat ? qui non bellum ferere ac metere, sed pacem & incolumitatem humano generi arare, vero ac proprio fine laborum suorum debent. Quòd si quos ad hæc præclara instituta aspirantes vel alienus error, vel sua animi infirmitas transversos abducit, in eos, non ferro sæviendum, sed rationibus ac monitis precibus quoque ad Deum fufis enitendum, cujus est solius omnes animo errores dispellere, & cœlestem veritatis lucem, cui volet impertire. Hæreses quidem, sic verè dictas, nos nullas approbamus, ne omnes quidem toleramus ; extirpatas etiam volumus, sed quibus convenit modis, præceptis nimirum & saniore doctrina, ut in mente sitas, non ferro ac flagris quasi ex corpore evellendas. “ Altera,” inquis, “ par nostra injuria est in temporali, quod vocant, ecclesiæ fundo.” Percontare Belgas vel etiam Germaniæ superioris protestantes, numquid ab ecclesiæ bonis abstinuerint ; in quos Cæsar Austriacus quoties bellum movet, vix alium quærit belli titulum, quàm ut bona ecclesiæ restitui jubeat. Verùm illa profectò non ecclesiæ, sed ecclesiasticorum duntaxat bona fuere, qui hoc maximè sensu clerici, vel etiam holoclerici, ut qui sortem totam invasissent, rectius nominari poterant ; immo lupi veriùs plerique eorum, quàm aliud quidvis erant dicendi ; luporum autem bona, vel congestas potiùs prædas majorum ex superstitione partas, quam per tot sæcula quæstui habuerunt, in usus transferre belli à semetipsis conflati, nefas non erat, quando aliud non erat reliquum, unde sumptus belli tam gravis ac diuturni suppeterent. Atqui “ expectabatur, ut episcopis ereptæ opes in pastores ecclesiarum erogarentur.” Expectabant, scio, illi, & avebant omnia in se transfundi : nulla enim est vorago tam profunda, quæ non expleri citiùs quàm clericorum avaritia possit. Aliis fortasse in locis, haud æquè ministris provisum ; nostris jam satis superque bene erat ; oves potiùs appellandi quàm pastores, pascuntur magis quàm pascunt ; pingua illis plerumque omnia, ne ingenio quidem excepto ; decimis enim saginantur, improbato ab aliis omnibus ecclesiis more ; Deoque sic diffidunt, ut eas malint per magistratum atque per vim suis gregibus extorquere, quàm vel divinæ providentiæ, vel ecclesiarum bonevolentia & gratitudini debere ; atque inter hæc tamen & apud discipulos & apud discipulas, tam crebrò convivantur, ut quid domesticum sit, aut domiprandium penè nesciant : hinc itaque luxuriant plerique, non egent ; liberi quoque eorum & conjuges luxu & lautitiis, cum divitum liberis atque conjugibus certant : hanc novis latifundiis adauxisse luxuriam, idem prorsus fuisset, ac si quis novum venenum (quam olim pestem sub Constantino vox missa cœlitus, deflevit) in ecclesiam infudisset. Proximum est ut de injuriis in Deum, quarum tres maximè nominantur, de fiducia nimirum divinæ opis, “ de precibus etiam atque jejunis,” reddenda nobis ratio sit. Verùm ex ore tuo, hominum corruptissime, te redarguo ; illudque Apostoli abs te prolatum in te retorqueo, Quis es tu qui “ alienum servum judicas ?” coram Domino nostro sine stemus vel cadamus. Illud insuper addam Davidis prophetæ, Cum flens affligo jejunio animam meam, tum hoc vertitur in summum probum mihi. Cæteras hac de re tuas garritiones febriculosas, quas nemo bis legat, minutim persequi si vellem, haud leviùs profectò ipse peccem. Nec minus aliena sunt quæ de successibus prolixè oscitas : Cave tibi, More, & vide, ne post Pontianos sudores, gravedinem fortè contraxeris aut polypum ; metuendum, ne, ut Salmasius ille magnus nuper, Thermas refrigeres.

refrigeres. Equidem de successu sic paucis respondeo; causam successu neque probari bonam, neque argui malam: nos causam nostram non ex eventu, sed eventum ex causa judicari postulamus. Jam rationes politicas desumis tibi tractandas, mancipium cathedrarium, immo cathedralitium; injurias nimirum nostras, in omnes reges ac populos. Quas? nobis enim nihil tale propositum erat; res nostras tantummodo egimus, aliorum missas fecimus; siquid ad vicinos ab exemplo nostro boni redundavit, haud invidemus; siquid secus non nostrâ id culpâ, sed abutentium evenire credimus. Reges aut populi, te Balatronem suarum injuriarum interpretem, quinam tandem constituerunt? certe oratores eorum ac legatos, alii in Senatu, ipse in concilio cum audirentur sæpè audi non solum de suis injuriis nihil querentes, sed amicitiam nostram ac societatem ultrò petentes; quinetiam regum suorum ac principum nomine, de rebus nostris nobis gratulantes, etiam bene precantes, pacem ac diuturnitatem, atque eosdem felices successus, in perpetuum exoptantes. Non inimicorum hæ voces, non eorum qui odissent, ut tu prædicas; aut tu mendacii, quod in te levissimum est, aut reges ipsi fraudum ac malorum artium, quod illis inhonestissimum foret, damnentur necesse est. Verùm scripta nostra objectas confitentium, “dedisse nos exemplum populis omnibus salutare, tyrannis omnibus formidandum.” Immane crimen profectò narras; idem ferè atque si dixisset quispiam,

Discite justitiam moniti, & non temnere Divos.

Numquid dici potuit perniciosius? “hæc Cromuellius ad Scotos post Dumbarrense prælium scripsit.” Et se quidem & illa nobili victoria dignè. “Ejusmodi sesamo & papavere conspersæ sunt infames Miltoni paginæ.” Illustrem tu quidem collegam semper mihi adjungis, & in hoc facinore parem planè facis, nonnunquam & superiorem; quo ego nomine cohonestari me maximè abs te putem, siquid à te honestum posset proficisci. “Crematæ vero,” inquis, “sunt istæ paginæ à carnifice Parisiensi supremi Senatus autoritate.” Nequaquam id comperi à Senatu factum, sed ab officario quodam urbico, loco tenente civili nescio an incivili, cui clerici quidam, ignavissima animalia, authores fuere; tam ex diffito atque longinquo, abdomini suo, quod aliquando precor evenire possit, augurantes. Censes non potuisse nos vicissim Salmasii defensionem regiam cremasse? potuissim sanè vel ipse à magistratibus nostris hoc faciliè impetrasse, nisi illam contumeliam contemptu potius ulciscendam existimassem: Vos ignem igne properantes extinguere, Herculeum præbuitis rogam, unde clarior exurgerem; nos consultius, Defensionis Regiæ frigus calfaciendum non censuimus. Illud miror, tam esse Majorum dissimiles factos Tolosates (nam & Tolosæ combustos nos accepimus) ut qua in urbe sub Raimundis comitibus, & libertas & religio defensa olim tam insigniter est, in ea nunc & libertatis & religionis Defensio combureretur. “Utinam & Scriptor,” inquis. Itane ergastulum? at ego parem ne reddam tibi salutem, More, tu egregiè cavisti; ut qui nigrioribus multò ignibus jamdudum pereas: urunt te adulteria tua, urunt stupra, urunt perjuria, quorum ope desponsatam tibi stupro sceminam perfidus excussisti; urunt perditissimi virores, qui impulerunt te, ut sacrosancta munia facinorosus concupisceres, & impersectum Domini corpus incestis manibus sacerdos pollueres; sanctitatem etiam simulans, in sanctitatis simulatores, dira omnia hoc tuo clamore denunciares; tuumque execrabile caput, tuamet ipsius damnatum sententia irretires: his tu sceleribus & infamiis totus flagras, his tu flammis furialibus dies atque noctes torreris, dâsque nobis pœnas quibus graviores imprecari tibi nullus hostis potest. Me interim concremationes vestræ non lædunt, non tangunt, & istis ignominiiis habeo complura quæ opponam grata meo animo atque jucundâ. Una me curia, unus fortè lictor Parisiensis, malarum avium impulsu, combussit; at quamplurimi per totam Galliam viri boni atque docti nihilo minus legunt, approbant, amplectuntur? quamplurimi per immensum Germaniæ totius tractum, libertatis ferè domicilium, per cæteras quoque regiones, quâ-

cunque ejus vestigia ulla adhuc manent ; quin & ipsa Græcia, ipsæ Athenæ Atticæ, quasi jam redivivæ, nobilissimi alumni sui Philaræ voce, applausere. Hoc etiam verè possum dicere, quo primùm tempore nostra Defensio est edita, & legentium studia incaluerunt, nullum vel principis vel civitatis legatum in urbe tum fuisse, qui non vel fortè obvio mihi gratularetur, vel conventum apud se cuperet vel domi inviseret. Tuos verò nefas sit præterire manes, Adriane Pauui, qui legatus ad nos summo cum honore missus, Hollandiæ decus atque ornamentum, summam in me ac singularem benevolentiam tuam, etiam si videre nunquam contigerit, multis sæpè nuntiis significandam curasti. Hoc verò etiam sæpius recolere memoria juvat, quod sine Dei propitio numine accidere arbitror nunquam potuisse ; mihi, qui contra reges, ut videbatur, scripseram, majestatem ipsam regiam placidè annuisse ; meæque integritati, nec non sententiæ, ut veriori, testimonium divino proximum perhibuisse. Quid enim verear hoc dicere, quoties augustissimam reginam illam, quantis cum laudibus in ore omnium versetur, mecum cogito. Equidem Atheniensem illum sapientissimum, cui me tamen non confero, ne ipsius quidem Pythii testimoniò, quàm me illius judicio ornatiorem existimem. Quòd si mihi quidem hæc scribere adolescenti contigisset, & oratoribus idem quod poëtis liceret, haud dubitarem profectò sortem meam deorum sorti nonnullorum anteferre : quippe illos de forma duntaxat aut de musica, Deos, humano sub judice, contendisse ; me hominem in certamine longè omnium præclarissimo, deâ judice, superiorem discessisse. Sic me cohonestatum, nemo nisi carnifex ignominiosè audeat tractare, tam qui jusserit quàm qui fecerit. Hic vehementer laboras, ut ne facta nostra Belgicorum pro libertate facinorum exemplo tueri queamus ; quod à Salmasio quoque frustra laboratum est : cui quod tunc respondi, idem tibi nunc responsum volo ; Falli qui nos opinatur cujusquam exemplo niti ; Belgarum pro libertate facinora adjuvisse sæpius ac fovisse, æmulari necesse nunquam habuisse ; siquid pro libertate fortiter faciendum est, auctores ipsi nobis sumus, præire, non sequi alios assueti. Tu verò etiam ad bellum contra nos treffis orator, stultissimis argumentis, & te verberone dignis, Gallos hortaris : “ Nostros,” inquit, “ legatos excipere Gallicus spiritus nunquam sustinebit.” Sustinuit quod plus est, suos jam ter & amplius ad nos ultrò mittere : Galli igitur generosi, ut solent, tu degener & spurcius, politicarum rationum rudis ac falsus deprehenderis. Hinc id agis ut demonstras, “ à foederatis ordinibus ex composito rem in longum duci, eosque nobiscum nec foedus nec bellum velle.” Atqui interest profectò ipsorum ordinum, non pati consilia sua sic nudari, & ut ita dicam, vitari à Genevensi perfuga apud se stabulante, qui si diutius toleretur, non ancillis modò, sed consiliis etiam publicis stuprum videtur illaturus ; cum ipsi fraterna atque sincera omnia præ se ferant ; nunc pacem, quæ vota sunt bonorum omnium, perpetuam nobiscum redintegraverint. “ Jucundum erat,” inquit, “ videre quibus ludibriis, quibus periculis furciferi illi legati,” Anglorum scilicet, “ quotidie conflictarentur, non modò ab Anglis regiis, &c. sed maxime omnium à Batavis.” Nisi exploratum nobis jam diu esset quibusnam & prioris legati Dorislai cædes, & duorum postea acceptæ injuriæ referendæ sint, en delatorem, qui hospites & altores suos etiam falsò deferat : Hunccine apud vos, Batavi, non modò venereum in ecclesia ministrum, sed sanguinarium etiam, nec violandi solùm juris omnis hortatorem, sed violati quoque falsum indicem ac proditorem ali ?

Ultimus accusationum titulus est “ nostra injuria in Reformatas ecclesias.” At verò quid magis nostra in illas quàm illarum in nos ? si exemplo instes, certè si ab ipsis Valdensibus & Tolosanis, ad Rupellanam usque famem monumenta repetas, nos omnium ecclesiarum ultimi reperiemur contra tyrannos arma sumpsisse. At primi capite damnaſſe. Sanè quia nobis hoc primis in manu adhuc fuit : quid illi, si data similis facultas fuisset, fuissent facturi, opinor ne ipsos quidem fatis nôſſe. Equidem in ea sum sententia, contra quem bellum gerimus, eum, siquis rationis aut judicii usus sit, hostem à nobis judicari ; hostem autem tam interficere quàm oppugnare, eodem semper jure licuisse : Tyrannus igitur cum non noster solùm, sed totius propè generis humani publicus

licus hostis sit, eum quo jure armis oppugnari, eodem posse & interfici. Nec verò hæc mea unius sententia est, aut nova, eandem & aliis olim sive prudentia sive sensus communis dictavit. Hinc pro Rabirio M. Tullius: "Si interfici Saturninum nefas fuit, arma sumpta esse contra Saturninum sine scelere non possunt; si arma jure sumpta concedis, interfectum jure concedas necesse est." Plura hac de re & suprâ dixi, & sæpè aliàs, & per se res obscura non est: Ex quibus quid Galli etiam, eadem data occasione fuissent facturi, ipse queas divinare. Addo & hoc amplius, quicumque armis tyrannum oppugnant, iidem, quantum in se est, & interficiunt: immo, quicquid vel sibi vel aliis ineptè fatis persuadere cupiunt, jam interfecere. Sed & doctrina hæc nobis haud magis quàm Gallis, quos tu hoc piaculo cupis eximere, debetur: unde enim Francogallia illa, nisi ex Gallia, unde vindiciæ contra tyrannos? qui liber etiam Bezæ vulgò tribuitur; undè alii quorum meminit Thuanus? tu tamen, quasi ego solus, "id fatagit," inquis, "Miltonus, cujus ego piacularum vesaniam pro meritis excepissem." Tu excepisses, furcifer? cujus nefaria flagitia si ecclesia illa Middelburgensis, te pastore infamis & infelix, pro meritis excepisset, jamdudum te Satanæ mandasset; si pro meritis excepisset magistratus, jamdudum adulteria patibulo pendens luisses: Et luiturus propediem sane videris; evigilavit enim, ut audeo nuper, tua illa ecclesia Middelburgensis, suæque famæ consuluit, téque caprimulgum pastorem, immo hircum potius olentissimum ablegavit ab se in malam crucem; hinc & magistratus Amsterodamensis pulpitem quoque interdixit tibi, orchestram tuam; tuumque illud os impudicum eo ex loco ad summam omnium bonorum offensionem conspici, illam impiam vocem vetuit in sacro publicè audiri: restat jam tibi sola Græcarum literarum professio; & hæc quoque brevi eripienda, præter unam illam literam, cujus non professor, sed discipulus mox pensilis meritò futurus es. Neque hæc iratus tibi ominor, sed duntaxat jus dico: maledicis enim tantum abest ut talibus offendamur qualis tu es, ut tales semper nobis vel exoptemus; immo divinâ planè benevolentia fieri arbitremur, ut qui in nos acerrimè clamitarunt, tales potissimum semper extiterint; qui maledicendo non infamant, sed honestant, sed laudant, non laudando certè maledixissent. Sed irrudentem modò quid te retinuit tam fortem homuncionem? "Nisi mihi," inquis, "religio fuisset in magni Salmasii provinciam excurrere, cui solida de magno scilicet adversario victoria relinqueretur." Siquidem & ille & ego nunc magnus tibi videor, eo difficilior provincia, præsertim mortuo, fortassis ero; de victoria, modò veritas vincat, parum sollicitus. Interim tu clamitas; "parricidium in doctrinam vertunt, eamque reformatarum ecclesiarum consensione cupiunt quidem, non audent apèrto ore defendere; fuit, inquit Miltonus, etiam sumorum hæc sententia Theologorum, qui ipsi reformandæ ecclesiæ authores fuere." Fuit, inquam, & id fufius docui in eo libro qui nostro idiomate Tenor sive Tenura regum & magistratuum inscriptus est, secundum editus, & alibi: nunc actum toties, agendi fastidium cepit: illic ex Luthero, Zuinglio, Calvino, Bucero, Martyre, Paræo, citantur ipsa verbatim loca; ex illo denique Cnoso, quem "unum;" me, "Scotum" ais "innuere, quemque hac in re reformatos omnes, præsertim Gallos, illa ætate condemnasse." Atqui ille contrà, quod ibi narratur, se illam doctrinam nominatim à Calvino, summisque aliis ea tempestate theologis, quibuscum familiariter confueverat, hausisse affirmat: plura etiam illic nostrorum, regnante Maria & Elizabetha, sinceriorum theologorum in eandem sententiam deprompta reperies. Tu verò tandem conceptis ad Deum precibus malè prolixis peroras impius abominandis; & os illud adulterum, obduratus cœlo offers: sino te facillè, neque interpello; major enim cumulus ad impietatem tuam accedere non potuit. Revertor nunc ad id quod suprâ pollicitus sum, & objecta Cromuello præcipua crimina quæ sunt, in medio hic ponam; ut sparsa quàm fuerint levia possit intelligi, quæ collecta nullum pondus in se habent. "Coram pluribus testibus pronunciavit sibi in animo esse, monarchias omnes evertere, reges omnes exitio dare." Quæ tua sit narrationum fides, jam aliquoties vidimus; dixit fortasse tibi perfugarum, aliquis Cromuellum ita dixisse; ex illis multis testibus

nullum nominas : quod itaque sine authore maledicis, suoque vitio ruit. Non is est Cromuellus, quem de suis jam factis ullus unquam vaniloquum audierit; tantum abest ut infecta quæ sunt, tamque difficilia, de iis insolentius quicquam promittere ac minitari consueverit : sanè ista tibi qui narrarunt, nisi voluntate atque natura magis quam consilio mendaces essent, hoc saltem quod ab ingenio ejus alienissimum est, non affinxissent. Regibus autem, quos ut sibi caveant frequenter mones, licebit cum salutem prospexerint suam, spreto te monitore tam imperito, non fermunculos ex trivio arripere, sed rationes se dignas inire, quibus quid sua intersit facilius perspexerint. Alterum est crimen persuasisse regi Cromuellum, “ ut in insulam Vectim clanculum se subduceret.” Constat regem Carolum rem suam multis aliis rebus, ter fuga perdidisse; primum cum Londino Eboracum fugit, deinde cum ad Scotos in Angliam conductitios, postremo cum ad insulam Vectim. At hujus postremæ sua fors erat Cromuellus. Optime; sed tamen ego regios illos primum miror, qui Carolum toties affirmare non dubitant fuisse prudentissimum, & eundem simul vix unquam suæ spontis; sive apud amicos sive inimicos, in aula vel in castris, in aliena ferè potestate semper fuisse; nunc uxoris, nunc episcoporum, nunc purpuratorum, nunc militum, denique hostium: pejora plerumque consilia, & pejorum fermè sequutum; Carolo persuadetur, Carolo imponitur, Carolo illuditur, metus incutitur, spes vana ostenditur, velut præda omnium communis, tam amicorum quam hostium, agitur & fertur Carolus. Aut hæc è scriptis suis tollant, aut sagacitatem Caroli prædicare desistant. Fateor deinde, quamvis prudentia atque consilio præstare pulcrum sit, tamen ubi respublica factionibus laborat, suis incommodis haud carere; & consultissimum quemque eo magis obnoxium calumniis utriusque partis reddere: hoc sæpe Cromuello obfuit; hinc Presbyteriani, inde hostes quicquid in se durius fieri putant, non id communi Senatus consilio, sed Cromuello soli imputant; immo siquid per imprudentiam ipsi malè gerunt, id dolis & fraudibus Cromuelli assignare non erubescunt; culpa omnis in eum derivatur, omnis in eum faba cuditur. Et tamen certissimum est, fugam ad Vectim regis Caroli, absenti tum aliquot millibus passuum Cromuello, tam novum accidisse & inopinatum, quam cuilibet ex Senatu tum in urbe versanti, quem ut de re inopinatissima sibi recens allata per literas certiore fecit. Res autem ita se habuit; exercitus universi vocibus rex territus, qui eum nullis officiis suis aut pollicitis factum meliorem, ad supplicium poscere jam tunc coeperat, statuit cum duobus tantummodo conscis nocturnâ fugâ sibi consulere: verum fugiendi certior, quam quo fugeret, per comitum suorum vel imperitiam vel timiditatem, inops consilii quo se reciperet, Hamundo Vectis insulæ præfidi se ultro dedit; ea spe, facilem sibi ex ea insula, parato clam navigio, transitum in Galliam aut in Belgium fore. Hæc ego de fugâ regis in Vectim ex iis comperi, quibus rem totam pernoſcendi quàm proxima facultas erat. Sed & hoc quoque criminofum est, quod per Cromuellum, “ Angli ingentem de Scotis parti sunt victoriam.” Non “ parti sunt,” More, sed sine solœcisino claram sibi pepererunt; tu verò cogita, quàm Scotis eruentum illud prælium fuerit, cujus tu mentionem tantummodo facere nequivisti, quin instabile præ metu professorium caput tuum ad Prisciani pluteum nutando allideres. Sed videamus porro quantum flagitium Cromuelli fuerit, Scotos irrumpentes, imperium sibi in Anglos jam pollicentes, nobilissimo post multas ætates prælio vicisse. “ Inter has turbas, dum Cromuellus cum exercitu abest:” Iminè dum hostem in Angliæ viscera jam progressum, jam Parlamento ipsi imminentem Cromuellus, etiam deficientes Cambros ad fidem reducendo, & obsidione longa defessus, ut vidit, ut vicit, ut gloriosissimè fudit, Presbyterianos “ tædium Cromuelli ceperat:” Hic verum dicis; dum is communem hostem cum vitæ discrimine propulsat, hi militantem pro sese & in acie fortiter dimicantem confectis criminibus accusant domi; & Huntingtonum centurionem quandam in ejus caput subornant. Quis tantæ ingratitude fœditatem sine fremitu vel audire possit? Eorundem instinctu, nequissimum genus homuncionum ac petulantissimum, tyrones tabernarum maximo numero curiæ fores obsident: Senatum, quicquid ipsis videtur (quo quid indignius?) clamore suo ac minis cogunt decernere: jamque

jamque reducem à Scotis victorem fortissimum, aut exulantem, aut pœnas indignissimas dantem vidissemus Camillum nostrum; nisi Fairfaxius imperator, invictissimi Legati sui tantum dedecus perferendum non censuisset; nisi cunctus exercitus, & is quoque satis ingratè habitus, tam atrocia prohibuisset. Urbem itaque ingressus, urbicos nullo negotio repressit; Scotorum hostium partibus addictos meritò Senatu movit: pars reliqua insolentis tabernariorum jam liberata, colloquium Vectense contra Senatus consultum edictumque publicum, cum rege initum rescindit: Huntingtonus autem ille accusator, impunis & sui juris relictus, tandem pœnitentiâ ductus, ipse sua sponte à Cromuello veniam petiit, & à quibus esset subornatus ultro fassus est. Hæc ferè sunt quæ fortissimo patriæ liberatori, nisi ad quæ supra respondi, crimina objiciuntur; quæ quid valeant videtis. Verùm ego tantum virum, deque hac republica tam insignitè meritum, si duntaxat nihil mali commisisse defendam, nihil egero; cum præsertim non reipublicæ solùm, sed & meâ quoque interfit, ut qui eadem infamia tam prope sim junctus, quàm optimum eum, atque omni laude dignissimum, gentibus, quoad possum, omnibus atque sæculis demonstrare. Est “Oliverius Cromuellus” genere nobili atque illustri ortus: nomen republica olim sub regibus benè administrata clarum, religione simul orthodoxa vel restituta tum primùm apud nos vel stabilita clarius: Is matura jam atque firmata ætate, quam & privatus traduxit, nulla re magis quàm religionis cultu purioris, & integritate vitæ cognitus, domi in occulto creverat; & ad summa quæque tempora fiduciam Deo fretam & ingentem animum tacito pectore aluerat. Parlamento ab rege ultimùm convocato, sui municipii suffragiis lectus Senatorium munus obtinuit; illic rectissimis sententiis consiliisque firmissimis statim innotuit: Ubi ad arma deventum est, delata sua opera, equitum turmæ præficitur; sed bonorum virorum concursu, ad ejus signa undique confluentium, auctus copiis, & gestarum rerum magnitudine & celeritate conficiendi summos ferè duces brevi superavit. Nec mirum; sui enim nocendi exercitatus miles, quicquid intus hostis erat, spes vanas, metus, cupiditates, apud se prius aut deleverat, aut subactas jam habuerat; in se prius imperator, sui victor, de se potissimum triumphare didicerat; itaque ad externum hostem quo primùm die in castra venit, veteranus, & in illa omni castrensi militia consummatus accessit. Non est ut in his possim orationis carceribus, tot urbes captas, tot prælia & quidem maxima, in quibus nunquam victus aut fusus, Britannicum orbem totum continuis victoriis peragravit, pro dignitate rerum exequi; quæ justæ fanè historiæ grandè opus, & iterum quasi campum quendam dicendi, & exæquata rebus narrandi spatia desiderant. Sufficit hoc unicum singularis & prope divinæ virtutis indicium, tantam in eo viguisse sive animi vim atque ingenii, sive disciplinæ non ad militarem modo, sed ad Christianam potius normam & sanctimoniam institutæ, ut omnes ad sua castra tanquam ad optimum non-militaris duntaxat scientiæ, sed religionis ac pietatis gymnasium, vel jam bonos & fortes undique attraheret, vel tales, ipsius maximè exemplo, efficeret: eosque toto belli, pacis etiam nonnunquam intermediæ tempore, per tot animorum & rerum vicissitudines, non largitionibus & militari licentia, sed autoritate & solo stipendio, adversantibus licet multis, in officio contineret & adhuc contineat: quâ quidem laude neque Cyro, neque Epaminondæ, neque antiquorum ulli excellentissimo Imperatori laus ulla major attribui solet. Hinc enim exercitum, quò nemo minori spatio majorem aut instructiorem, sibi comparavit, & per omnia dicto audientem, & civibus gratum atque dilectum; & hostibus, armatis quidem formidolosum, pacatis admirabilem, quorum in agris atque sub tectis ita non gravis, & sine omni maleficio versabatur, ut cum regionum suorum vim, vinolentiam, impietatem atque libidines, cogitarent, mutata sorte læti, non nunc hostes, sed hospites advenisse crederent; præsidium bonis omnibus, terrorem malis, virtutis etiam omnis & pietatis hortatores. Sed neque te fas est præterire, “Fairfaxi,” in quo cum summâ fortitudine summam modestiam, summam vitæ sanctitatem, & natura & divinus favor conjunxit: Tu harum in partem laudum evocandus tuo jure ac merito es; quanquam in illo nunc tuo secessu, quantus olim Literni Africanus ille:

Scipio

Scipio, abdis te quoad potes; nec hostem solum, sed ambitionem, & quæ præstantissimum quemque mortalium vincit, gloriam quoque vicisti; tuisque virtutibus & præclare factis, jucundissimum & gloriosissimum per otium frueris, quod est laborum omnium & humanarum actionum vel maximarum finis; qualique otio cum antiqui Heroes, post bella & decora tuis haud majora, fruerentur, qui eos laudare conati sunt poetæ, desperabant se posse aliâ ratione id quale esset dignè describere, nisi eos fabularentur, cœlo receptos, deorum epulis accumbere. Verum te siue valetudo, quod maximè crediderim, siue quid aliud retraxit, persuasissimum hoc habeo, nihil te à rationibus reipublicæ divellere potuisse, nisi vidisses quantum libertatis conservatorem, quàm firmum atque fidum Anglicanæ rei columen ac munimentum in successore tuo relinqueres. Te enim salvo, Cromuelle, ne Deo quidem satis confidit, qui rebus Anglorum, satis ut salvæ sint, metuat; cum videat tam faventem tibi, tam evidentem opitulantem ubique Deum. Verum tibi tum soli decertanda alia bellorum palæstra erat.

Quid autem multa? res maximas, quâ tu celeritate soles, eadem si possum brevitate expediam. Amissâ Hiberniâ præter unam urbem totâ, tu, exercitu transmissô, uno statim prælio Hibernicorum opes fregisti; reliqua indies conficiebas; cum repentè ad bellum Scoticum revocaris. Hinc contra Scotos irruptionem cum rege suo in Angliam parantes, indefessus proficisceris; regnum illud, quod omnes reges nostri octingentis annis non poterant, uno circiter anno perdomuisti, & Anglorum ditioni adjecisti; reliquas eorum copias, validissimas tamen & expeditas, per summam desperationem in Angliam tum ferè præfidiis nudatam, inopinâ impressione factâ, Vigornium usque progressas, magnis itineribus affectus, uno prælio delevisti; captâ penè tota gentis nobilitate. Hinc alta pax domi: tum te, sed neque tur primùm, non minùs consiliis, quàm belli artibus valere sensimus; id quotidie in senat. agebas, vel ut cum hoste pacta fides servaretur, vel uti ea, quæ ex republicâ essent, maturè decernerentur. Cum videres moras neçti, privatæ quemque rei, quàm publicæ, attentioem, populum queri delusum se suâ spe, & potentiâ paucorum circumventum esse, quod ipsi toties moniti nolebant, eorum dominationi finem imposuisti. Parlamentum aliud convocatur novum; concessa iis duntaxat, quibus par erat, eligendi potestate; conveniunt electi; nihil agunt; cum se invicem diffidiis & altercationibus diu defatigassent, animadvertentes plerique se rebus tantis exequendis, neque pares esse, neque idoneos, ipsi sese dissolvunt. Deferimur Cromuelle; tu solus superes, ad te rerum summa nostrarum rediit; in te solo consistit; insuperabili tuæ virtuti cedimus cuncti, nemine vel obloquente, nisi qui aut æquales inæqualis ipse honores sibi quærit, aut digniori concessos invidet, aut non intelligit nihil esse in societate hominum magis vel Deo gratum, vel rationi consentaneum, esse in civitate nihil æquius, nihil utilius, quàm potiri rerum dignissimum. Eum te agnoscunt omnes, Cromuelle, ea tu civis maximus & gloriosissimus, dux publici consilii, fortissimorum exercituum Imperator, pater patriæ gessisti: sic tu spontaneâ bonorum omnium & animitus missâ voce salutaris: alios titulos te dignos tua facta non norunt, non ferunt, & superbos illos, vulgi licet opinione magnos, meritò respuunt. Quid enim est titulus, nisi definitus quidam dignitatis modus? tuæ res gestæ cum admirationis, tum certè titulorum modum omnem excedunt; & velut pyramidum apices cœlo se condunt, populari titulorum aurâ excelsiores. Sed quoniam summis etiam virtutibus, qui honos habetur, humano quodam fastigio finiri ac terminari, non dignum est, sed tamen expedit, assumpto quodam titulo patris patriæ simillimo, non evehi te quidem, sed tot gradibus ex sublimi descendere, & velut in ordinem cogi, publico commodo, & sensisti & sustinisti; regium nomen majestate longè majore aspernatus. Et merito quidem: quod enim nomen, privatus sub jugum mittere, & ad nihilum planè redigere potuisti, eo si tantus vir factus caperere, idem penè faceres, atque si gentem aliquam Idololatram Dei veri ope cum subegisses, victos abs te coleres deos. Tu igitur, Cromuelle, magnitudine illâ animi macte esto; te enim decet: tu patriæ liberator, libertatis auctor, custosque idem & conservator, neque graviorem personam, neque augustiorē

gustiores suscipere potes aliam ; qui non modò regum res gestas, sed Heroum quoque nostrorum fabulas factis exuperasti. Cogita sæpiùs, quàm caram rem, ab quàm cara parente tua, libertatem à patriâ tibi commendatam atque concreditam, apud te depositam habes ; quod ab electissimis gentis universæ viris, illa modò expectabat, id nunc à te uno expectat, per te unum consequi sperat. Reverere tantam de te expectationem, spem patriæ de te unicam ; reverere vultus & vulnera tot fortium virorum, quotquot, te duce, pro libertate tam strenuè decertârunt ; manes etiam eorum qui in ipso certamine occubuerunt : reverere exterarum quoque civitatum existimationem de nobis atque sermones ; quantas res de libertate nostra, tam fortiter partâ, de nostrâ republicâ, tam gloriôsè exortâ sibi polliceantur : quæ si tam citò quasi abortiva evanuerit, profectò nihil æquè dedecorosum huic genti, atque pudendum fuerit : te ipsum denique reverere, ut pro quâ adipiscendâ libertate, tot æumnas pertulisti, tot pericula adiisti, eam adeptus, violatam per te, aut ullâ in parte imminutam aliis, ne finas esse. Profectò tu ipse liber sine nobis esse non potes ; sic enim natura comparatum est, ut qui aliorum libertatem occupat, suam ipse primus omnium amittat ; sèquè primum omnium intelligat ferviri : atque id quidem non injuriâ. At verò, si patronus ipse libertatis, & quasi tutelar deus, si is, quo nemo justior, nemo sanctior est habitus, nemo vir melior, quam vindicavit ipse, eam postmodum invaserit, id non ipsi tantum, sed universæ virtutis ac pietatis rationi perniciosum ac lethale propemodum sit necesse est : ipsa honestas, ipsa virtus decoxisse videbitur, religionis angusta fides, existimatio perexigua in posterum erit, quo gravius generi humano vulnus, post illud primum, infligi nullum poterit. Onus longè gravissimum suscepisti, quod te penitus explorabit, totum te atque intimum perscrutabitur atque ostendet, quid tibi animi, quid virium insit, quid ponderis ; vivatne in te verè illa pietas, fides, justitia, animique moderatio, ob quas eventum te præ cæteris Dei numine ad hanc summam dignitatem credimus. Tres nationes validissimas consilio regere, populos ab institutis pravis ad meliorem, quàm ante hac, frugem ac disciplinam velle perducere, remotissimas in partes, sollicitam mentem, cogitationesque immittere, vigilare, prævidere, nullum laborem recusare, nulla voluptatum blandimenta non spernere, divitiarum atque potentiæ ostentationem fugere, hæc sunt illa ardua, præ quibus bellum ludus est ; hæc te ventilabunt atque excutient, hæc virum poscunt divino fultum auxilio, divino penè colloquio monitum atque edoctum. Quæ tu, & plura, sæpenumero quin tecum reputes atque animo revolvas, non dubito : uti & illud, quibus potissimum queas modis & illa maxima perficere, & libertatem salvam nobis reddere & auctiorem. Quod meo quidem judicio, haud alia ratione rectius effeceris, quàm si primum quos laborum atque discriminum comites habuisti, eosdem, quod facis, conciliorum socios cum primis adhibueris ; viros sanè & modestissimos, & integerrimos, & fortissimos ; quos tot mortes conspectæ, tot strages ante ora editæ, non ad crudelitatem, aut duriciem animi, sed ad justitiâ, & numinis reverentiam, & humanæ fortis miserationem, ad libertatem denique eo acrius retinendam erudierunt, quo gravioribus ejus causa, periculis ipsi suum caput objecere : Non illi quidem ex colluvione vulgi, aut advenarum, non turba collectitia, sed melioris plerique notæ cives, genere non nobili, vel non inhonesto, fortunis vel amplis, vel mediocribus ; quid si ipsa paupertate aliqui commendatiores ? quos non præda convocavit, sed difficillima tempora, rebus maximè dubiis, sæpè adversis, ad liberandam tyrannide rempubl. excitarunt ; non in tuto aut curiâ sermones inter se atque sententias tantum, sed manus cum hoste conferere paratos. Quod nisi spes semper infinitas, atque inanes persequemur, in quibus tandem mortalium sisti aut confidi possit non video, si his horumque similibus fides non habebitur. Quorum fidelitatis certissimum pignus, & indubitatum habemus, quod pro republica vel mortem oppetere, si ita fors tulisset, non recusarint ; pietatis, quod implorato suppliciter dei auxilio, totiesque ab eo insigniter adjuti, à quo auxilium petere, eidem gloriam tribuere omnem rerum prosperè gestarum consueverint ; justitiæ, quod etiam regem in judicium adduxerint, damnato parci noluerint : moderationis, quod.

quòd & eam experti jam diu sumus, & quam ipsi sibi peperere pacem, si eorundem per injuriam rumpatur, quæ mala inde oritura sunt, ipsi primi sint persensuri, ipsi prima vulnera suis corporibus excepturi, deque suis omnibus fortunis atque ornamentis feliciter jam partis rursus dimicaturi; fortitudinis denique, quòd nulli unquam libertatem felicius aut fortius recuperaverint; ne arbitremur ullos alios posse diligentius conservare. Gestit clarorum virorum nomina commemorare oratio mea: te primum, Fletuode, quem ego ab ipsis tyrociniis ad hos usque militiæ honores, quos nunc obtines à summis proximos, humanitate, mansuetudine, benignitate animi eundem novi; hostis fortem & imperterritum, sed & mitissimum quoque victorem sensit: Te, Lamberte, qui vix modicæ dux manûs, ducem Hamiltonum juvenis, totius Scotiæ juventutis flore ac robore circumseptum, & progredientem retardasti, & retardatum sustinuisti: Te, Desboroe, Te, Hualei, qui atrocissimas hujus belli pugnas vel audienti mihi vel legenti, inter hostes confertissimos expectati semper occurristis: Te, Overtone, mihi multis abhinc annis, & studiorum similitudine, & morum suavitate, concordia plusquam fraternâ conjunctissime; te Marstonensi prælio illo memorabili, pulso sinistro cornu nostro, respectantes in fugâ duces statim cum tuo pedite, & hostium impetus propulsantem inter densas utrinque cædes vidêre: Scotico deinde bello, ut primum Cromuelli auspiciis, tuo Marte occupata Fifiæ littora, & patefactus ultrâ Sterlinium aditus est, te Scoti occidentales, te Boreales humanissimum hostem, te Orcades extremæ domitorem fatentur. Addam & nonnullos, quos togâ celebres & pacis artibus, consiliarios tibi advocasti, vel amicitia vel fama mihi cognitos; Huitlochium, Picheringum, Striclandium, Sidnamum, atque Sidneium (quod ego illustre nomen nostris semper adhæsisse partibus lætor) Montacutium, Laurentium, summo ingenio ambos, optimisque artibus expolitos; aliosque permultos eximiis meritis cives, partim senatorio jampridem munere, partim militari operâ insignes. His & ornatissimis viris & spectatissimis civibus libertatem nostram proculdubio rectè commiseris; immo quibus tutius committi possit aut concedi, haud facilè quis dixerit. Deinde si ecclesiam ecclesiæ reliqueris, tēque ac magistratus eo onere, & dimidio simul & alienissimo, prudens levaveris; nec duas potestates longè diversissimas, civilem & ecclesiasticam, siveris inter se scortari; sēque invicem promiscuis ac falsis opibus in speciem quidem firmare re autem verâ labefactare ac demum subvertere: si vim omnem ab ecclesia sustuleris; vis autem nunquam aberit; quandiu pecunia, ecclesiæ toxicum, veritatis angina, enuntiandi evangelii merces, vi etiam ab nolentibus coacta, erit; ejeceris ex ecclesia nummularios illos, non columbas sed columbam, sanctum ipsum spiritum cauponantes. Tum si leges non tot rogaveris novas, quot abrogaveris veteres; sunt enim sæpè in republica, qui multas leges ferendi, ut verificatores multa carmina fundendi impetigine quadam pruriunt: sed leges quo sunt plures, eo ferè sunt deteriores; non cautiones sed cautes, tu necessarias duntaxat retinueris, alias tuleris, non quæ bonos cum malis eodem iugo subjiciant, aut quibus, dum improborum fraudes præcaventur, quod bonis liberum esse debet, vetatur, sed quæ in vitia tantum animadvertant, res per se licitas abutentium ob noxam, non prohibeant. Leges enim ad frænandam maliciam solùm sunt comparatæ, virtutis libertas formatrix optima atque auctrix est. Deinde si juventutis institutioni ac moribus meliùs prospexeris, quàm est adhuc prospectum, nec dociles juxta atque indociles, gnavos atque ignavos, impensis publicis ali æquum senseris, sed jam doctis, jam benè meritis doctorum præmia reservaveris. Tum si liberè philosophari volentibus permiseris, quæ habent, sine magistrelli cujuscumque privato examine, suo periculo in lucem proferre: ita enim maximè veritas effloruerit; nec semidoctorum semper sive censura, sive invidia, sive tenuitas animi, sive superstitio aliorum inventa, omnemque scientiam suo modulo metietur, suoque arbitrio nobis impertiverit. Postremò si ipse neque verum neque falsum, quicquid id est, audire metueris: eos autem minimè omnium audieris, qui sese liberos esse non credunt, nisi aliis esse liberis, per ipsos non liceat; nec studiosius aut violentius quicquam agunt, quàm ut fratrum non corporibus modò sed conscientis quoque vincula

cula injiciant ; pessimamque omnium tyrannidem, vel pravarum consuetudinum vel opinionum suarum & in rempublicam & in ecclesiam inducant; tu ab eorum parte semper steteris, qui non suam tantummodo sectam aut factionem, sed omnes æquè cives, æquali jure liberos esse in civitate arbitrantur oportere. Hæc si cui satis libertas non est, quæ quidem à magistratibus exhiberi potest, is mihi ambitionis atque turbarum, quam libertatis ingenuæ studiosior videtur ; præsertim cum agitatus tot factionibus populus, ut post tempestatem, cum fluctus nondum resederunt, statum illum rerum optabilem atque perfectum, ipse non admittat.

Nam & vos, ô cives, quales ipsi sitis ad libertatem vel acquirendam vel retinendam haud parvi interest : nisi libertas vestra ejusmodi sit, quæ neque parari armis, neque auferri possit, ea autem sola est, quæ pietate, justitiâ, temperantiâ, verâ denique virtute nata, altas atque intimas radices animis vestris egerit, non deerit profectò qui vobis istam, quam vi atque armis quæsisse gloriâmini, etiam sine armis citò eripiat. Multos bellum auxit, quos pax minuit ; si perfuncti bello, pacis studia neglexeritis, si bellum pax vestra, atque libertas, bellum tantummodò vestra virtus est, vestra summa gloria, invenietis mihi credite, ipsam pacem vobis infestissimam ; pax ipsa vestrum bellum longè difficillimum, & quam putâstis libertatem, servitus vestra erit. Nisi per veram atque sinceram in Deum atque homines pietatem, non vanam atque verbosam, sed efficacem & operosam, superstitiones animis, religionis veræ ac solidæ ignorance ortas, abegeritis, habebitis, qui dorso atque cervicibus vestris, tanquam jumentis insidebunt ; qui vos etiam victores bello suam veluti prædam sub hastâ non bellicâ nundinabuntur ; & ex ignorantia & superstitione vestrâ, uberem quæstum facient. Nisi avaritiam, ambitionem, luxuriam mentibus, immo familiis quoque vestris luxum expuleritis, quem tyrannum foris & in acie quærendum credidistis eum domi, eum intus vel durior sentietis, immò multi indies tyranni ex ipsis præcordiis vestris intolerandi pullulabunt. Hos vincite in primis, hæc pacis militia est, hæ sunt victoriæ, difficiles quidem, at incruentæ, illis bellicis & cruentis longè pulchriores ; nisi hîc quoque victores eritis, illum modo in acie hostem atque tyrannum, aut non omnino aut frustra vicistis : nam pecuniæ vim maximam in ærarium inferendi rationes posse calidissimas excogitare, pedestres atque navales copias impigrè posse instruere, posse cum legatis exterorum cautè agere, societates & fœdera peritè contrahere, si qui majus atque utilius ac sapientius in republica existimavistis esse, quàm incorrupta populo judicia præstare, afflictis per injuriam atque oppressis opem ferre, suum cuique jus expeditum reddere, quanto sitis in errore versati, tum serò nimis perspicietis, cum illa magna repente vos sefellerint, hæc parva vestro nunc judicio & neglecta adversa tum vobis & exitio fuerint. Quin & exercituum & sociorum, quibus confiditis, fluxa fides, nisi justitiæ sola autoritate retineatur : & opes atque honores, quos plerique sectantur, facilè dominos mutant : ubi virtus, ubi industria, & laborum tolerantia plus viget, eò transfugiunt, & ignavos deferunt. Sic gens gentem urget, aut sanior pars gentis corruptiorem proturbat : sic vos regios dejecistis. Si vos in eadem vitia prolabi, si illos imitari, eadem sequi, easdem inanitates aucupari ceperitis, vos profectò regii istis, vel eisdem adhuc hostibus, vel aliis vicissim opportuni ; qui iisdem ad Deum precibus, eadem patientia, integritate, solertia freti, qua vos primò valuistis, depravatos nunc, & in regium luxum atque fœcordiam prolapsos, meritò subjugabunt. Tum verò, quod miserum est, videbimini, planè quasi Deum vestri pœnituisse, pervasisse ignem ut fumo pereatis : quantæ nunc admirationi, tantæ tunc omnibus contemptioni eritis ; hoc solum quod aliis fortasse, non vobis, prodesse in posterum queat, salutare documentum relicturi, quantas res vera virtus & pietas efficere potuisset, cum ficta & adumbrata, duntaxat bellè simulando, & aggredi tantas, & progressus in iis tantos per vos facere valuerit. Non enim, si propter vestram sive imperitiam, sive inconstantiam, sive improbitatem tam præclare facta malè cesserunt, idcirco viris melioribus minus post hæc vel licebit vel sperandum erit. Sed liberare vos denuò tam facilè corruptos nemo, ne Cromellus quidem, nec

tota, si revivisceret, Brutorum natio liberatorum, aut si velit, possit, aut si possit, velit. Quid enim quisquam vobis libera suffragia & eligendi quos vultis in senatum potestatem tum asfereret, an ut suæ quisque factionis homines per urbes, aut qui conviviiis unctiūs vos, & majoribus poculis per municipia colonos ac rusticos exceperit, eum quantumvis indignum eligere possitis? ita non prudentia, non autoritas, sed factio & sagina, aut ex tabernis urbicis caupones & institores reipublicæ, aut ex pagis bubulcos, & verè pecuarios senatores, nobis creaverit. Illis nempe rempublicam commendaret, quibus vel rem privatam nemo committeret; illis ærarium & vectigalia qui rem suam turpiter prodegere? illis publicos redditus, quos depeculentur, quos ex publicis privatos reddant? an legislatores ut illi extemplò gentis universæ fiant, qui ipsi quid lex, quid ratio, quid fas aut jus, rectum aut curvum, licitum aut illicitum sit, nunquam intellexerint? qui potestatem omnem in violentia, dignitatem in superbia atque fastidio positam existiment? Qui in Senatu nihil prius agant, quàm ut amicis pravè gratificentur, inimicis memores adversentur? qui propinquos sibi ac necessarios, tributis imperandis, bonis proscribendis, per provincias substituant, homines plerosque viles ac perditos, qui suarum ipsi auctionum sectores, grandem exinde pecuniam cogant, contactam intervertant, rempublicam fraudent, provincias expilent, se locupletent ad opulentiam atque fastum ex mendicitate hesternæ ac fordibus repentini emergant? quis tales ferat servos furaces, dominorum vicarios? quis ipsos furum dominos ac patronos, libertatis idoneos fore custodes crediderit, aut illiusmodi curatoribus reipublicæ (quingenti licet consueto numero sint ex municipiis omnibus hunc in modum electi) pilo se factum liberiores putet, cum & libertatis ipsi custodes & quibus custoditur, tam paucitum sint futuri, qui libertate uti atque frui vel sciant vel digni sint? Libertate autem indigni, quod omittendum postremò non est, erga ipsos primum liberatores ingratiissimi ferè existunt. Quis nunc talium pro libertate pugnare, aut vel minimum adire periculum velit? non convenit, non cadit in tales esse liberos; utut libertatem strepant atque jactent, servi sunt & domi & foris, nec sentiunt; & cum senserint tandem, & velut ferocientes equi frænum indignantes, non veræ libertatis amore (quam solus vir bonus rectè potest appetere) sed superbia & cupiditatibus parvis impulsæ, jugum excutere conabuntur, etiamsi armis rem sæpius tentaverint, nihil tamen proficient; mutare servitutem fortasse poterunt, exuere non poterunt. Id quod Romanis etiam antiquis luxu jam fractis ac diffluentibus persæpè accidit; recentioribus multò magis; cum longo post tempore Crescentii Nomentani auspiciis, & postea duce Nicolao Rentio, qui se tribunum plebis nominaverat, antiquam renovare gloriam Romanam, & rempublicam restituere affectarent. Scitote enim, ne fortè stomachemini, aut quemquam præter vosmetipsos inculpare possitis, scitote, quemadmodum esse liberum idem planè est atque esse pium, esse sapientem, esse justum ac temperantem, sui providum, alieni abstinentem, atque exinde denuò magnanimum ac fortem, ita his contrarium esse, idem esse atque esse servum; solitòque Dei judicio & quasi talione justissima sit, ut quæ gens se regere seque moderari nequit, suisque ipsa se libidinibus in servitutem tradidit, ea aliis, quibus nollet, dominis tradatur; nec libens modò, sed invita quoque serviat. Quod etiam & jure & naturâ ipsa sancitum est, ut qui impos sui, qui per inopiam mentis aut furorem suas res rectè administrare nequit, in suâ potestate ne sit; sed tanquam pupillus, alieno dedatur imperio; nedum ut alienis negotiis, aut reipublicæ præficiendus sit. Qui liberi igitur vultis permanere, aut sapite imprimis, aut quamprimùm resipiscite: si servire durum est, atque nolitis, rectæ rationi obtemperare discite, vestrum esse compotes; postremo factionibus, odiis, superstitionibus, injuriis, libidinibus ac rapinis invicem abstinete. Id nisi pro virili vestra parte feceritis, neque Deo neque hominibus, ne vestris quidem jam nunc liberatoribus, idonei poteritis videri, penes quos libertas & reipublicæ gubernatio, & imperandi aliis, quod tam cupidè vobis arrogatis, potestas relinquenda sit: cum tutore potius aliquo rerumque vestrarum fideli ac forti curatore tanquam pupilla gens, tum quidem indigeatis. Ad me quæ attinet, quocumque res

redierit, quam ego operam meam maximè ex usu reipublicæ futuram judicavi, haud gravatim certè, & ut spero, haud frustra impendi; meaque arma pro libertate, non solum ante fores extuli, sed etiam iis ita latè sum usus, ut factorum minimè vulgarium jus atque ratio, & apud nostros & apud externos explicata atque defensa, bonis certè omnibus probata, & ad meorum civium summam laudem, & posterorum ad exemplum præclarè constet. Si postrema primis non satis responderint, ipsi viderint; ego quæ eximia, quæ excelsa, quæ omni laude propè majora fuere, iis testimonium, prope dixerim monumentum, perhibui, haud citò interituum; & si aliud nihil, certè fidem meam liberavi. Quemadmodum autem poëta is qui Epicus vocatur, si quis paulò accuratior, minimèque abnormis est, quem Heroem versibus canendum sibi proponit, ejus non vitam omnem, sed unam ferè vitæ actionem, Achillis putà ad Trojam, vel Ulyssis reditum, vel Æneæ in Italiam adventum ornandum sibi sumit, reliquas prætermittit; ita mihi quoque vel ad officium, vel ad excusationem satis fuerit, unam saltem popularium meorum heroicè rem gestam exornasse; reliqua prætereo, omnia universi populi præstare quis possit? si post tam fortia facinora scèdiùs deliqueritis, si quid vobis indignum commiseritis, loquetur profectò posteritas, & judicium feret; jacta strenuè fundamenta fuisse, præclara initia immò plusquam initia; sed qui opus exædificarent, qui fastigium imponerent, non sine commotione quadam animi desiderabit; tantis inceptis, tantis virtutibus, non adfuisse perseverantiam dolebit; ingentem gloriæ segetem, & maximarum rerum gerendarum materiam præbitam videbit, sed materiæ defuisse viros: non defuisse qui monere recta, hortari, incitare, qui egregiè tum facta, tum qui fecissent, condecorare, & victuris in omne ævum celebrare laudibus potuerit.

A U T H O R I S
P R O S E
D E F E N S I O
C O N T R A

ALEXANDRUM MORUM Ecclesiasten,

Libelli famosi, cui titulus, “Regii sanguinis clamor ad cœlum adversus
Parricidas Anglicanos,” Authorem rectè dictum.

N I H I L equidem aut antea inauditum, aut meâ tum expectatione alienum, cùm Libertatis causam primò accepi defendendam, usu venturum mihi arbitratus sum, si liberatores Patriæ, cives meos, unus præ cæteris publicè laudassem, Tyrannorum jus infinitum atque injurium coarguisssem, ut improborum omnium in me propè unum ferentur odia, atque redundarent. Prævidebam etiam tum bellum vobis, Angli, cum hostibus haud diuturnum, mihi cum perfugis, & eorum mercenariis sempiternum propemodum fore : ut quorum vos tela de manibus eripuissetis, eorum in me maledicta atque convitia eò acriùs conjicerentur. In vos ergo furor hostium atque impetus deferbuit : mihi, ut videtur, soli hujus belli reliquiæ supersunt ; contemptissimæ quidem illæ, sed ut ferè sunt infirmorum impetus animalium, fatis infestæ. Non perditorum duntaxat civium, sed exterorum etiam ut quisque alienarum rerum plus nimio curiosus, ut quisque importunissimus, corruptissimusque est, in me involat, officii tantummodo mei fatagentem ; in me omne virus & aculeos dirigit. Quo fit, ut quod plerique ad commendationem operis, & audientiam sibi faciendam præfari initio solent, se ab exili atque humili rerum materiâ ad res dictu gravissimas atque maximas aspirare, id mihi in præsentia nequaquam concessum sit ; ut cui nunc contrà vel invito atque nolenti à rebus maximis & gloriosissimis dicendis ad res obscuras, anonymorum latebras, & adversarii turpissimi persequenda lustra atque flagitia necessariò sit descendendum. Quod etsi parum oxordienti honorificum & ad reddendos lectorum animos attentiores minus accommodatum esse videatur, habet tamen quod exemplo haud absimili, cùm viris optimis & præstantissimis idem contigerit, consolari possit : siquidem & Africanus ipse Scipio, postquam ea gesserat quibus nihil in eo laudis genere felicius aut majus potuit, inclinatione rerum suarum perpetuâ & decrescente semper suæ virtutis materiâ usus esse videtur : Et primò Dux quidem summus, atque Hannibale superior, mox contra hostem Syrum & imbellem Legatus, Tribunorum deinde impotentiâ vexatus, suam tandem communire villam Liternensem contra fures atque latrones coactus est : in hac tamen rerum suarum declivitate atque descensu par ipse semper sibi & æqualis dicitur fuisse. Unde ego, atque aliis aliundè mōitis, quicquid sortis aut provinciæ dederit modò Deus, multò licet priore angustius, atque tenuius, id non aspernari erudior. Sed quemadmodum Dux bonus (quidni enim bonos in omni genere liceat imitari ?)

contra

contra hostem qualemcunque boni Ducis officium explebit ; vel si hoc nimis invidiosum est, ut futor bonus, ita enim vir sapiens olim philosophatus est, ex eo quodcunque est ad manum corio calceamentum quàm potest optimum conficiet, sic ego ex hoc calceamento (argumentum enim icùm instituissim dicere, puduit) trito præsertim jam antea atque diffuto, siquid concinnare quod legentium auribus tantum non fastidio sit potero, experiar. Parsurus utique omninò huic operæ, nisi accusationes mihi nescio quas falsas, & mendacia objecisset adversarius, quam ego maculam aut suspicionem adhærere mihi minimè volo. Quando hoc necessariò tollendum mihi onus est, dabit quisque veniam, uti spero, si populo qui non defui pridem & Reipublicæ, mihi met nunc non defuero.

Quoniam itaque “tuam fidem,” More, quam in ipso libelli titulo tu “publicam” vocas, Ego publicatam jamdudum & perditam scio, ita ultrò statim nobis obstringis, ut “siquid eorum in te agnosceres,” quæ de te ego scripserim, “majorem in modum irascere,” ex ore imprimis tuo, quo laqueo solet improbus irretiri semper & capi, judicandum te omnibus atque damnandum addico. Cùm enim & ex perpetuâ calumniâ, quâ meum omne dictum aut factum in deterrimam partem trahis, meque obruere invidiâ quæris, & ex contumeliis quas semper iniquissimas undique in me arripis jaciendas, ex omnibus denique signis atque indiciis iræ facilè appareat vehementissimè te, quamvis id usque neges, & apertissimè irasci, effugere non potes quin arguaris agnoscere in te ea, quæ vel “affinxisse” tibi me ais, vel in lucem protulisse.

Duæ sunt res quarum ego te postulabam : altera injuriarum, altera flagitiorum. Injuriarum, quòd libelli in nos clamorissimi Author extitisses ; nam quòd populum Anglicanum satis lædere existimares te non posse, nisi me eximiè præter cæteros læsisses, id ego honori mihi potius, quàm contumeliæ duco. Flagitia verò tua commemorare, ut dignum erat, idcirco non gravabar, ut ostenderem, siquidem is est habendus clamoris author, qui edidit, & alius certè præter te nemo hætenus comparuit, quàm casto ex ore clamor ille prorupisset. Quid tu ad hæc ? negas te authorem illius libelli ; & ita sedulò, ita prolixè negas, cùm tamen liber ille nequaquam tibi displiceat, ut magis mihi pertimuisse videare, ne illum librum scripsisse, quàm ne illa in te tot probra admisisse reperiaris ; de quibus sic leviter & timidè, sed simul versutè ac veteratoriè te purgas, ut nemo non subesse ulcus perspiciat. Haud incallido fortassè consilio ; nam quis unum libellum scripserit, quàm quis multa stupra fecerit difficilior longè est probatio ; libellus sine arbitris confici potuit ; hæc sine fociis, & scelerum consciis non potuerunt : illic vestigiâ penè nulla necessariò apparent ; hic plurima indicia & præcedunt, & unâ adsunt, & subsequuntur. Itaque, si pernegassès ad te librum illum pertinere, arbitraberis eadem operâ & fidem meam de reliqua tua vitâ saltem apud longinquos infirmari, & meâ credulitate atque injuriâ, quâ te scilicet temere violassèm, tuam magnâ ex parte levare infamiam : sin ire incicias de libello non possès, restare tibi hoc solum prævidebas, quo nihil difficilior erat aut acerbior, ut de moribus & flagitiis haud perfunctoriè respondendum tibi esset. Verùm ego nisi hoc doceo, nisi planum facio aut te authorem illius libelli famosissimi in nos esse, aut te satis causæ præbuisse cur pro authore meritò haberi debeas, non recuso quin abs te victus in hac causâ cum dedecore atque pudore turpiter discedam ; nullam à me culpam neque imprudentiæ, neque temeritatis, neque maledicentiæ deprecor.

Prodiit hoc biennio anonymus & probrosus liber, “Regii sanguinis clamor ad cælum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos” inscriptus ; in quo libro, cùm Respublica Anglorum tota, tum nominatim “Cromuellus,” eò quidem tempore nostrorum exercituum Imperator, nunc totius Reipublicæ vir summus, omni verborum contumeliâ laceratur : Secundum eum, sic illi anonymo visum est, maledictorum pars maxima in me conjicitur. Vix suis integer schedulis liber iste in Consilio mihi est traditus ; ab eo mox confesso qui quæstionibus tum præfuit, alter mittitur : significatum quoque est, expectari à me hanc operam Reipub. navandam, ut huic importuno clamatori os obturarem. Verùm me, tum maximè, & infirma simul valetudo, & duorum funerum

luctus

luctus domesticus, & defectum jam penitus oculorum lumen diversâ longè sollicitudine urgebat: foris quoque adversarius ille prior, isti longè præferendus, impendebat; jam-jamque se totis viribus incursum indies minitabatur: quo derepente mortuo levatum me parte aliquâ laboris ratus, & valetudine partim desperatâ, partim restitutâ, utcunque confirmatus, ne omnino vel summorum hominum expectationi deesse, vel omnem inter tot mala abjecisse curam existimationis viderer, ut primùm de isto Clamatore anonymo certum aliquid comperiendi facultas data est, hominem aggredior. De te, More, dictum hoc volo: quem ego (quamvis tu nunc, quasi insons omnium atque insciens falsò te accusari vocifereris) nefandi illius clamoris vel esse authorem, vel esse pro authore haud injuriâ habendum statuo. Et cur sic statuam nunc audies. Primùm ego, neque hoc leve putaveris, famam communem, consentientem, constantem suam sequutus; neque eam solùm quæ populi vox, & ab antiquis Dea credita est, & à nobis hodiè vox Dei nuncupatur, sed eam etiam, ut legitimè tecum agi intelligas, quam Jurisperiti ab authoribus & probis & benè notis exortam, fidem adjicere testimonio docent. Verè hoc dico & religiosè, me toto biennio nullum neque popularem, neque peregrinum convenisse, cum quo de isthoc libello sermones mihi fuissent, quin omnes unâ voce te ejus Authorem dici consentirent, neminem præter te alium nominarent. Ita universum obtinuit hæc fama, ut te possim ipsum hujus rei testem producere. Recita tuum ipse testimonium.

Testimonium Mori, pag. 10.

Neque verò tacui, si cui fortè subiit aliquid ejusmodi suspicari, sed palam & exertè respondi reclamans, conquestusque sum invito supponi mihi foetum alienum, siquidem illius auctor libri vel ex parte vel in totum existimarer.

Quamvis hoc falsum sit tacuisse te, aut reclamasse quod plurimi testantur, qui te de eo libro & confitentem & gloriantem audierunt, dum hoc tutum tibi, aut lucro aut honori credidisti fore, hinc tamen vides, quàm hæc fuerit concepta altè, nec sine causa proculdubio, hominum opinio, ut ne familiaribus quidem tuis persuadere potueris, quominus "reclamantem" te & "conquerentem" atque "invitum" illius libri authorem "vel ex parte vel in totum existimarint." Quid si ego, qui te nostris partibus inimicissimum esse, & de Republicâ nostrâ pessimè solere loqui intelligerem, hæc plusquam famâ nixus, hæc hominum non vulgarium communi opinione atque consensu adductus, hoc pro certo sumpsissem, te hunc libellum composuisse? Tu contra quid affers, quamobrem tantæ hominum, etiam amicorum tuorum consensioni de inimico nostro facile habere fidem non debuerim? Factum negas. At quotusquisque est reorum, qui multis etiam testibus in judicio convictus atque damnatus in ipso supplicii loco, ubi etiam poenâ capitali jamjam plectendus est, pernegare crimen suum non soleat; immò secretum quodvis antea actæ vitæ facinus suum proferre in lucem non malit, cujus poenas meritas dare se nunc dicat, quàm de illo crimine confiteri de quo sit condemnatus? Accedit quod is tum negat, cum sententiâ jam latâ, cum expeditâ & imminente jam securi, nihil juvat neque prodest negare: Tu propterea, quòd prodest, quòd est cur metuas, quòd manendum tibi in iis provinciis si faterere non esset, idcirco negas. Pacis articulos inter Nos & Fœderatas Provincias "Latinè conditos" vertisse te dicis. Legito itaque nonum, decimum, & undecimum, quos tu cum vertebas, solùm vertere debuisti.

Articulus pacis nonus.

Quod neutra dictarum Rerump. hostes alterius Reipub. declaratos vel declarandos, in ejus dominia recipiet, neque eorum alicui in prædictis locis vel aliò quocunque, etiam extra sua dominia auxilium, consilium, hospitium, concedet, nec istiusmodi hostibus ullum auxilium, consilium, hospitium, favorem, pecunias præstari permittet.

Articulus.

Articulus decimus.

Quòd si alterutra dictarum Rerumpub. aliquem suum fuisse & esse hostem, & in sua dominia receptum esse, aut ibidem commorari per literas suas publicas alteri significaverit, tunc illa Resp. quæ hujusmodi literas receperit, intra spatium viginti octo dierum tenebitur dicto hosti mandare, ut extra sua dominia exeat. Et si quis prædictorum hostium intra quindecimum diem non exiverit, singuli morte & amissione bonorum multabuntur.

Articulus undecimus.

Quod nullus hostis publicus Reip. Angliæ in aliqua oppida, vel alia loca recipietur; neque Domini Ordines Generales alicui hujusmodi hosti publico in locis prædictis, pecuniis, commeatu, aut alio quocunque modo auxilium, consilium, aut favorem dari permittent.

Hæccine audis? quàm diligenter, quàm severè ab utraque Republica tribus continuis articulis cautum atque provisum sit, nequis alterius hostis ab alterutra vel hospitio vel tecto recipiatur; qui hostis declaratus vel declarandus ab alterutrâ sit, ei ut aqua & igni ab altera sit interdicens, ut morte etiam multandus sit, ni intra dies quindecim post denunciatum sibi discessum sarcinas collegerit? Hæccine, inquam, sine metu ac trepidatione audis? qui si hostis esse aut fuisse deprehendêris, nòsque ut viros fortes decet, insententia perfirmemus, neque articulos otiosos ad numerum duntaxat composuimus, ubi tua illa stipendia, & sacrarum Historiarum professiones? cui de tota illa ditione intra paucos dies decedendum erit; & relictis Historiis, illa vitæ tuæ fabula nequissima nescio quibus in terris peragenda. Quis enim hostis noster magis publicus est dicendus, quàm is, qui libro famosissimo in vulgus edito totam Angliæ Rempubl. inhumanissimis verborum contumeliis proscindit atque dilaniat? latrocinii, cædis, perduellionis, impietatis, parricidii, immò novo prorsus vocabulo deicidii demùm incusat; omnes Principes, Populos, Nationes in nos, tanquam in monstra ac pestes generis humani ad arma, quantum in se est, concitat; & quasi ad commune atque sacrum bellum nobis inferendum hortatur? Hunc tu confecisse librum nisi pertinaciter negares, nullus nunc locus consistendi iis in locis tibi esset. Cum igitur tibi tam sit omnino periculosum fateri, cùm incolumitatis & commodorum tuorum, ac prope salutis tam vehementer intersit librum istum ejurare, cur tua inimici & improbissimi hominis negatio contra famam constantem, immò verò quod plus est, contra tot hominum fatis perspicacium, & amicorum aliquot tuorum opinionem valere debeat, non video. At enim dicis, non te solum negasse; testem habere “reverendum antistitem Ottonum,” qui clarissimum Duræum “admonuerit te illius libri non esse auctorem, sibi probè notum auctorem longè alium.” Itaque ex ipsis Duræi literis ostendam, neque probè hoc novisse Ottonum, neque testem omnino esse, vel siquid testatur, ex eo reddi te multo quàm antea suspectiorem.

Ex Literis Duræi, Haga, April. 14. 1654.

Quod ad responsum Milioni ad eum librum, cui titulus Regii sanguinis clamor; Equidem à Ministro quodam Midelburgensi, qui Mori per familiaris est, certior sum factus, Morum non esse illius libri authorem, sed ministrum quendam Gallicum, quem Morus sub conditione silentii eidem nominavit.

Et ex alteris Amsterodamo, April. 12. 1654.

Cum D. Ottono colloquutus sum; hic quidem acerrimè Regius est, & Moro perquam intinuis; idque mihi dixit, quod superioribus literis ad te scripsi, Morum non esse "Clamoris Regii sanguinis" authorem.

Ex quibus hoc in primis nemo non intelligit, Ottono, ut qui partibus Regiis addictissimus, nobis inimicissimus, Moro à secretis sit, ne si sua quidem fide quicquam afferat, credendum esse. Nunc autem cum apertè fateatur Ottonus, quicquid hac de re sciat, abs te hausisse, tuâ solâ autoritate niti, tuum hoc apud se depositum arcanum esse, non hoc Ottoni testimonium, sed tua adhuc sola negatio est: immò verò potiùs tua clara confessio dicenda erit, illius te libelli vel componendi vel procurandi cum paucissimis esse conscium; si non authorem, at certè socium & administrum; vel tuâ operâ vel tuo consilio librum illum fuisse editum. Quod si ita est, ut est sanè per tuum testem, ex tuometipsum ore verisimillimum, equidem haud metuo, ne te falsò insimulasse dicar, si vel authorem ipsum affirmaverim te, vel eodem numero habuerim. Quis non jam planè perspiciat, quàm penitus ex sinu tuo liber iste prodierit? quàm non de nihilo constantissima de te ista fama invaluerit? verùm adhuc clarius hoc idem statim perspicere cuivis licebit. Jam enim à fama, quod postmodum apparebit, minimè fallaci, ne vocis invidiâ contra me utaris, ad justam probationem & compertissimos mihi testes transeo. Accipe in primis literarum partem, quæ haud ita multo post Lugduno Batavorum sunt datæ, quàm libellus iste clamorosus Hagæ-Comitis est editus. Missæ sunt hæc literæ ad amicum quendam meum ab homine & docto & prudente, & rerum peritissimo, mihi satis noto, & in Hollandia notissimo: in quibus libelli cujusdam famosi factâ mentione, hæc statim verba subjungit.

Literæ Leidenfès, Septemb. 27. stilo novo. 1652.

"Nec majoris momenti est iste Mori liber, cui titulus Clamor Regii sanguinis ad cœlum: satisque vendibilis fuit, donec Author illius vitiatâ Salmasii uxoris ancillâ, ipse suam existimationem commaculavit." Hæc literæ eodem puto mense, integræ sunt evulgatæ, inque actis diurnis apud nos quinto quoque die hebdomadæ prodire solitis, palam extant; ejusque autoritate vel qui misit eas, vel qui edidit, fidem facillè suam tuentur, meam absolvunt. Hæc habui neque levia, neque ullo modo contemnenda, cur hunc Regii sanguinis clamorem opus tuum esse crediderim: famam constantem, non vulgi, sed amplissimorum hominum per biennium totum opinionem atque consensum, literas viri intelligentissimi atque honestissimi vicina ex urbe missas, quibus an quid certius in re præsertim longinqua de inimico & extraneo homine, & omni infamiâ jamdudum co-operto, expectandum fuerit aut requirendum, haud scio. Age vero; ne tu me tristem nimis & obstinatum queraris, aliquanto laxiùs te habebo, quo deinde fortiùs teneam atque constringam: quoniam attributum tibi librum elegantulum sic averfari atque horres, contra hæc omnia quæ afferre hæcenus potui tam valida, tuam valere singularem & suspectissimam negationem patiar; remittam tibi hoc totum atque largiar, non esse te hujus libelli, qui Regii sanguinis clamor inscribitur, authorem; & tamen, quod jam forsitan expectas, non sic abibis. Constat iste liber & coagmentatur procemiis quibusdam & epilogis, Epistolâ ad Carolum, alterâ ad Lectorem, clauditur carmine, altero in Salmasium "Eucharistico," altero in me diffamatorio: si ullum hujus libri paginam, si versiculum fortè unicum scripsisse aut contulisse, si edidisse, aut procurasse, aut suasse, si denique edendo præfuisse, aut vel operæ tantillum accommodasse te reperero, quandoquidem nemo alius existit, tu mihi solus totius operis reus, & author, & clamator eris. Neque verò meam hanc severitatem, aut vehementem animum esse dixeris; idem apud omnes fere gentes jure & æquissimis legibus est comparatum. Quod ab omnibus receptissimum est, adducam, jus civile Imperatorium.

Legito

Legito Institut. Justiniani, l. 4. de injuriis, Tit. 4.

Siquis ad infamiam alicujus libellum, aut carmen (aut historiam) scripserit, compo-
fuerit, ediderit, dolove malo fecerit, quo quid eorum fieret, &c. Adjiciunt aliæ leges;
“ Etiam si alterius nomine ediderit, vel sine nomine.” Et omnes decernunt eum pro au-
thore habendum esse atque plectendum. Quæro nunc ex te, non utrum Regii sanguinis
clamorem, sed an præmissam clamori epistolam Carolo dicatam, ullamve ejus particulam
feceris, scripseris, edideris, edendamve curaveris? quæro an alteram ad lectorem, quæro
denique an illud infame carmen condideris, aut vulgandum curaveris? nihildum ad hæc
respondisti; si clamorem ipsum tantummodo abdicasses, omnemque ejus particulam gna-
viter ejurasses, salva fide evasisse te putabas, nosque probè ludificasse; Epistolam vide-
licet ad Carolum filium, aut ad Lectorem, carmen etiam Iambum, Regii sanguinis cla-
morem non esse. Tu itaque sic breviter habeto, ne tergiversari in posterum queas, aut
prævaricari; ne diverticulum ullum, aut latibulum sperare; ut jam sciant omnes quàm
non mendax, sed veriloqua, aut saltem non de nihilo ista fama de te increbuerit, tu,
inquam, sic habeto: me non famâ solum, sed eo testimonio, quo nullum certius esse
potest comperisse, te & libelli totius cui Regii sanguinis Clamor est titulus, editionem
administrasse, & operam typographicam correxisse, & Epistolam illam ad Carolum fe-
cundum, Vlacci nomen præferentem, vel solum, vel “ cum uno atque altero” compo-
fuisse. Id quod tuum ipsum nomen Alexander Morus exemplis aliquot illius epistolæ
subscriptus, multis ejus rei testibus oculatis clariùs indicavit, quàm tu negare aut expe-
dire te ullo pacto queas. Si dicis, importunitati quorundam amicorum te hoc dedisse, ut
epistolæ nomen tuum apponeres, non aliunde quàm ex ore tuo sic excusanti tibi occurro.
Qui solenniter affirmas, & eo præsertim loco paginæ 39. in quo, ut credatur tibi enixè fla-
gitas “ tueri te tua, aliena tunc demum forte curaturum, cum excussus propriis fueris.”
Te ipso itaque flagitante, credendum non est te nomen tuum illi Epistolæ fuisse subscrip-
turum, tua nisi esset: id quod sequente paginâ penè confiteris, tuamque ipse fraudem de-
tegis & fallaciam, quâ fretus Clamoris authorem te esse toties negas. “ Nam quis non
miseretur,” inquis, “ hallucinationis tuæ cum Præfationem Typographo tribuis modo,
modo adimis: Clamorem totum in me confers, qui ne particulam quidem ullam ejus
extuli.” Hoc cui non suboleat? cum Præfationis seu Epistolæ simul & Clamoris men-
tionem facis, Clamoris ne ullam quidem particulam conferri in te sinis; Præfationis nul-
lam respicis, nullam inficiaris: immò quasi errorem meum videris propemodum ridere,
quòd fatis constanter non dixerim tuam esse. Si insciente te & prorsus ignaro factum
hoc dicis, ut nomen tuum subscriberetur, primum credibile non est quenkumque esse au-
sum mittendæ ad Regem Epistolæ cum dedicato libro excusæ, alienum nomen ipso in-
consulto subscribere. Complures deinde sunt, qui ex te ipso audierunt, cum tuam esse
illam epistolam vel interrogantibus faterere, vel ultrò ipse prædicares. Verum tua nec-
ne fuerit, non admodum laboro; tunc solus an “ cum uno aut altero” eam composue-
ris; quod & hic pag. 41. subindicare ludibundus propè videris. Te istius ego non
Epistolæ duntaxat, sed & libelli infamissimi solum propè conscium, te ejusdem edito-
rem aut edendi administrum, te Epistolæ ad Carolum aliquam multis exemplaribus di-
vulgatæ scriptorem notissimum, te scriptorem etiam confessum, te ergò omnium le-
gum consensu atque sententiâ totius operis authorem ipsum tuo ore convictum atque
constrictum teneo. Hæc quo dicam testimonio tam remotus, & unde mihi tam liquidò
constare potuerint, si quæris, non famâ, inquam, solâ sed partim testibus religiosissimis
qui coram hæc mihi sanctissimè asseverarunt, partim literis vel ad alios vel ad me scrip-
tis. Literarum verba ipsa expromam, scribentium nomina non edam; propterea quòd
in rebus alioqui notissimis necesse non habeo. Hem tibi imprimis ab homine probo, &
cui ad hanc rem pervestigandam haud mediocris facultas fuit, literas Hagâ Comitum ad
me datas.

Ex Literis Hag. Com.

Exploratissimum mihi est, Morum ipsum Clamoris Regii sanguinis exemplar nonnullis aliis imprimendum obtulisse, antequam Vlaccus illud accepisset; ipsum corrigendis operarum erratis præfuisse; ab ipso exemplaria, ut primum quodque absolutum est, compluribus impertita ac dissipata.

Viden' ut hæc dilucida atque distincta sint, ut non dubiis rumoribus collecta, sed datâ operâ ac diligentia hominis iis in locis ac rebus versatissimi, peruestigata & inquisita, certissimis indiciis comprobata atque comperta? Atqui testem, inquires, unum jus omne rejecit: en itaque ex ore duorum testium, quo testimonio neque sacrum, neque civile jus quicquam amplius aut locupletius desiderat, firmatum à me omne verbum, ut dicitur, & corroboratum habebis. Accipe nunc sis quæ vir honestissimus idemque intelligentissimus & certò sibi cognita, & illic testatissima Amsterodamo sic scribit.

Ex Literis Amsterodamo.

Certissimum est omnes ferè per hæc loca Morum pro authore illius libri habuisse, qui "Regii sanguinis clamor" inscribitur; nam & schedas à prælo exceptas ipse correxit, & aliqua exemplo subscriptum dedicatoriæ nomen Mori præferebant, cujus & ipse author erat; dixit enim ipse amico cuidam meo, se illius Epistolæ authorem fuisse: immò nihil certius est, quam illam sibi Morum vel attribuisse, vel agnovisse pro sua.

Verùm requiris adhuc tertium: non id quidem cogit lex, attamen indulget. Esto; largissimâ per me lege utere: potest fieri, ut terni opus sint testes: coarctatum tibi à me juris quicquam non dices. Addo jam tertium.

Ex alteris literis Hagâ Comititis.

Dixit mihi Hagæ Comititis vir quidam primarius, habere se Regii sanguinis Clamorem, cum ipsa Mori epistola.

Vides quàm largiter tibi admetiar: clara enim hæc sunt, quis neget? tu tamen scito clariora apud me esse, quæ datæ fidei causâ reticeo; quàm quæ nunc palam exhibeo. Quod si adhuc tamen vis cumulum, fortassis accedet. Interea nunc libero ac soluto animo ad reliqua proficiscor; quandoquidem id quod Deum Opt. Max. precatus sum, adeptum me esse spero, ut nemini videar, viro præsertim bono & intelligenti, incertis rumoribus elatus temerè, accusationem contra te falsam instituisse, nec fictis criminibus innocentem, quod quereris, & immeritum perfudisse, sed tectum atque duplicem veris redarguisse, latentem atque sectantem tenebras in lucem protraxisse: quod quidem & ex ipsa testimonii claritate perspicuum esse reor, & in ipsis plurimorum hominum non conscientis modò, sed & sermonibus, ubi hæc gesta sunt, clarius elucere. Quibus si ego testimonium denuntiare possem, obruerere, mihi crede, multitudine tot testium: quos tamen aliquando sponte suâ veritati tam illustri, si opus erit, sua nomina palam duros esse confido. Quod si hanc probationis vim atque evidentiam, quam ne Judex quidem severissimus repudiasset, tu falsam tamen esse, id quod incredibile est, contendere audebis, erit fortasse cur de tuo queraris atque deplores infortunio, aut iratum tibi atque infensum agnoscas Deum, qui per aliorum vel errorem vel mendacium assignati tibi hujus libelli illa alia tua dedecora in Ecclesia diutius non ferenda, latius patefieri, & personam illam ecclesiasticam, quam circumfers impudentissimè, detrahi tibi voluerit; me cur incuses deinceps aut reprehendas non erit, immo nec unquam fuit, velles modò tua in nos commissâ recognoscere; verùm illa mordicùs inficiari nimium tibi expedit, & simul pergis laceffere. Noli igitur, quod jam iterum moneo, me inculpate, si rursus quæ nolis nunc vicissim audieris. Sed videamus quid sit. Primum occurrit mihi, nec opinatò,

mea pro Pop. Anglicano Defensio secunda, typis Vlacci malevoli mendosissimè ac malitiosissimè excusa; omissis nonnunquam verbis integris, non sine structuræ totius atque sententiæ vel depravatione vel interitu. Quod ego omnes volo monitos, qui mea curant legisse, nequid meum ex officina hominis inimici & veteratoris exire integrum aut sincerum existiment. Huic accessio est, Vlacci itidem mala merx, “Alexandri Mori fides publica.” Ita ego quos à me longissimè summovisse ac protelasse sum ratus, eos vel invitus sub iisdem pellibus conjunctissimos mihi reperio. Sic est profecto; qui liberrimè riserit hos homines, sibi devinxerit. Cavendum fanè & procul fugiendum erit cui putaverint isti nasum esse aduncum; ne aliquando fatis irrisi, irridentis naribus duntaxat uncis ipsi sese tanquam uniones hinc atque inde suspendant. Cognoscite verò nunc adversarium, siquis unquam fuit, degenerem, iniquum, odiosum. Nam ut primum, nescio quo casu per amicum meum, non id agentem ut ab isto gratiam iniret ullam, intellexit me ad Clamorem Regii sanguinis responsum in se edere, æstuarè mens hominis conscia, & omnes in partes versare se cœpit. Inter alia trepidantis atque degeneris animi indicia, qui libellum modò famosum tam cupidè, tamque improbè in alios edidisset, libellum nunc supplicem ad Legatum Fœderatorum Ordinum apud nos commorantem scribit, orans atque obsecrans, uti cum Dom. Protectore quam instantissimè de suppressenda mea Defensione ageret. Cùm responsum tulisset impetrari nequaquam id posse, exire nihilominus in lucem, jamque adnavigare animadverforem in se librum cum spicilegio quodam & collectaneis facinorum suorum conturbatus, & huc, illuc cursitans, circumspèctissimus deinde homo, totus in speculis est; oculos ab litore dimovere vix audet; ubi advenisse librum cognovit, suumque statim indicem sensit, prece nescio an pretio exorat librarium, ut exemplum illius libri ullum ne divenderet, donec ipse responsum suum confecisset; id est, ut commercii fidem violare, donec iste “fidei publicam” conflasset. Ita bonus ille vir quingenta plus minus exempla rectè & emendatè edita suo arbitratu premit, dum Vlaccus interim jacturam alienam suum ratus compendium, quot sibi videtur mendosa imprimit. Bene agis, Vlacce, ut consuevisti; sed auctarium hoc damni quid sibi vult adjectum? cur appendices vos ipsos adjunxistis mihi, hominum importunissimi? nemòne ut possit me velle, quin vos quoque vel ingratiſſimum onus unà ferre cogatur? Ergo ego, ut videtur, non cæcus, sed cæcias, quos volebam propellere nebulones, attraxi. Tu verò, adeòne tibi, More, tuoque five genio five ingenio diffusus es, ut victurum te, & in manus hominum perventurum desperares, nisi te mihi affeclam quocunque irem, malè conciliatum agglutinares, & emptoribus etiam nolentibus te obtruderet? verùm expertus jam didici quid sit picem attricare; & erat hoc, opinor, haud minus Vlacci astutiâ proviſum, qui non Typographus solum, sed arithmeticus, quod jam fateor, vetulus, metuebat ne “Alexandri Mori” neglecta “fides publica” jaceret, sèque à foricibus ægrè tueretur, nisi hanc artem Aligationis, verè cauponariam, adhibuisset, & vile ac vitiosum vendibili miscuisset. Age verò, quoniam necesse est cum Defensione pro pop. Anglicano, Alexandri Mori fidem publicam cœmere, quanquam parva hæc, utcunque nummulorum jactura erit, discere ex te avemus, quid sit “Mori fides publica?” utrùm confessionem tuæ fidei publicam nobis exhibes, an quid in symbolum? Hæc enim tua fides publica est, opinor; privata an sit dicant, qui te Spir. Sanctum non agnoscere accusant. Quid ergo est? tuamne dicamus fidem esse publicam, an fidem publicam esse tuam? Tuam fidem sicut & pudicitiam esse publicam, non est difficile ut credamus. Qui enim alienas uxores & ancillas vis esse publicas, quidni tua omnia, pudorem etiam ac fidem publicam esse velis? An verò hoc est quod dicis, fidem publicam esse tuam? at hoc quî potest fieri? Tûne fidem publicam pro scorto abduxisse te putas, tua ut simul esset & publica? aut captiosus hic titulus est, aut sensu vacuus. Si tua fides hæc est, quemadmodum est publica? si publica est, quemadmodum est tua? Relinquitur ut vel imprudens hoc titulo significasse videre cùm Alexandri Mori fides publica sit, adeoque non tua; rursus cùm tua sit, ideoque non publica, hanc quam affers fidem repugnantem & implicitam, nec publicam esse nec tuam. Quid ergo? aut dubiam, aut inanem, aut denique nullam. Quod si con-

tendis hanc fidem omnino esse publicam, quæ tua tanta impudentia est, More, ut cū fidem ipse nullam habeas quam pro te afferas, tot flagitia perpetrare fide publicā existimes tibi licere? ut nunquam aliās dici verius, quā de te versiculus iste videatur, quicquid peccat Morus, plectitur fides publica. Hæc tibi uni licentia si concedatur, non tu Alexander Morus, sed Alexander ille Phrygius meā quidem sententiā nominaberis. Beatum interim te, cui militet fides publica. Contra quem autem? contra meas nempe “calumnias.” Quas tandem illas? an quod infamis libelli Clamoris Regii authorem te affirmaverim, nunc etiam iustā probatione arguerim? at verbum de isto clamore in tua fide publica nullum. An quod hortensem te adulterum, domesticum Ponticæ stupratorem enarraverim? at horti percautē tu quidem ac timidē mentionem facis; facta utrobique flagitia aut non omnino, aut obliquē tantū & frigidē negas. Quid ergo fidem publicam sollicitare opus erat iis de rebus, quas audacter ipse negare non potes? nihil sanē, nisi quod circumforanei pharmacopolæ & vanissimi circulatoris hoc solum tibi defuit, ut elogiis ac testimoniis, nescio quo pacto adscitis atque correptis, & ostentatā fide publicā te venditares. Tibi igitur si “Scurra” sum, minus commoveor; quandoquidem is, qui ab oraculo sapientissimus, ab tui similibus Scurra Atticus est dictus. Cur autem Scurra tibi videor, More? an quod nequicias tuas interdum falsē perstrinxerim? ne tu stultior sis, More, & adhuc magis ridendus, si quenquam putas, modō emunctæ naris sit, ad tuos fœtores, nisi sale conspersos, posse appropinquare. Sed vide, quā tibi temperaverim, quā leniter tecum egerim: Cū enim in ipsa fronte libri nullo negotio potuerim tibi paria retulisse, & affixō tibi cognomento appositissimo atque meritissimo ita scripsisse, “Contra Alexandrum Morum adulterum & cinædum,” cohibui me; partim tui misertus, partim ut legentium oculis atque auribus nonnihil consulerem, ne subito occurso tantæ fœditatis atque offensione averterentur.

Sed de his plus satis; infantissimo nunc titulo ad librum ipsum veniamus: id quod te, ut video, non delectat; nam rectā eunti viam obstruis; & ægrotantem Doctorculum nescio quem Crantzium cum lectulo & culcitra, tanquam aggerem aut vallum obdis tibi & transversum extrudis. Qui “æger,” ut ipse ait, & ni fallor ægerrimus, id est maledicendi cupidissimus, haud scio an ventilatā lodice vix se in cubitum erexerit, ut hæc sua febriculosa somnia deliraret. Mox quasi testamento jam factō subjicit, “Scripsi propria manu & subsignavi licet æger corpore.” Age jam tu, si vis, animam; nos resignemus; & Lectori imprimis quid legaveris inspiciamus: multam, opinor, salutem; ne unciolam quidem; quid ergo? plorare: “Lege si potes & luge.” Me verō, quod ignotus minimē expectabam, secundum hæredem quincunce toto maledictorum aspergis. “Lege,” inquis, “& luge sæculi vicem, in quo maledicentiæ tantum licet:” Luge potius tot insipientes doctorculos, quos nisi maturē caveat hoc sæculum, vereor ne propediem & lugeat & luat. Tu verō tum luxiffes, cum inauditā audaciā Salmasius homo privatus, extraneus, nullā injuria laceffitus, in universam Anglicanam Remp. atque Senatum fœdissimis contumeliis bacchatus est: tum luxiffes, cū probrosus ille anonymus Clamorem regii sanguinis in nos eructavit, nec acerbissimis modō verborum contumeliis ad rabiem usque furit ac fœvit, sed nobiscum sic agi oportere, decere, convenire, rationibus & argumentis, ut ipse putat, Christianis defendere conatur. Cognosce nunc, si potes, tuam ipse iniquitatem: cū externi, ad quos nostra nihil pertinent, nobis vel acerbissimē maledicunt, & maledicentiam ipsam defendunt, vis omnes “legant:” cū ego & pro meo in patriam officio, & Magistratuum jussu meos cives ac populares, me denique ipsum probris omnibus læsum defendo, vis omnes “lugeant.” Tum cavere Lectorem jubes, ne me “credat Historicum.” At neque tu Albertus es Crantzius; & hoc tibi edico caveas, ne ego antequam peroravero te citius Mendacem, quā tu me “Fabulatorem” coarguas. “Quis & qualis sit iste Miltonus,” inquis, “ignoro.” Non displicet; neque enim tanti est tuum nosse aut non nosse: Ego verō te statim novi & morbum tuum. “Quis sit,” inquis, “ignoro; libelli ejus satis docent.” Indocilis ergo Crantzius, qui ignorat; temerarius item atque injurius, qui ignotum illæsus lædis,

lædis, qui per calumniam ac maledicendi præproperam libidinem ex libro de divortiiis, loco non citato, verbis aut non plenè aut perperam adscriptis, Blasphemiam falsò infimulas. Tu antè, quisquis es Crantzi, in malam pestem abieris, quàm dixisse me “Doctrinam Evangelii & Dom. nostri Jesu Christi de divortio esse Diabolicam,” usquam inveneris. Quòd si dixi fortasse, quam inde conficiunt vulgares interpretes doctrinam, quàm post divortium necessariò factum, omne aliud matrimonium interdicunt, esse Diabolicam, id esse Blasphemiam quo tu pacto evincis? nisi si fortè Theologorum dictatis quibufvis contradicere, nunc primùm Blasphemia est credenda. Quod autem affirmas Doctrinam de Divortiiis “ab omnibus patribus à Theologis veteribus & hodiernis, ab omnibus Academiis & Ecclesiis Britannicis, Hollandicis, Gallicis” eodem modo explicari, scito te vehementer hallucinari: & ignorantiam Doctori tibi & præsertim reprehensori turpem prodere: quam si vacat, in eo libro, qui à me “Tetrachordon” est inscriptus, exues. Poteris ibi, si libet, discere, quam ego tueor sententiam, eam & Patrum aliquot, & summorum postea Theologorum Bucer, Fagii, Martyris, Erasmi fuisse; quorum hic iusto tractatu Phimostomum quendam Doctorem, tui comparem, eademque ferè blaterantem refellit. Interea non miror laborare te tantòpere de inhibendis divortiiis, cùm animadverto etiam domi tuæ haud leve accidere divortium solere; nimirum sensus communis ab loquacitate tua. Quis enim mentis compos aut sententiæ suæ sic loquitur? “In Salmasio vix ipsi inimici aliud requirunt, quàm quod fuerit iracundior, & male conjugatus.” Patere te doceri, doctorcule, quod pueruli sciant. Non requirebant illi quod fuit, sed quod non fuit. Ais me “Eunuchum dixisse Salmasium,” quod nunquam dixi; duos tantummodo versus ex Eunuchi Terentiani prolego desumpsi, ut Scenicum plorantis exordium, & lamentabile ridiculum risu, ut par erat, exciperem. “Nihil minus quam Eunuchum” fuisse affirmas: id meâ nihil refert. Tu tamen, quid hac in parte solus tam audacter pronuncies, cave. Admonitione legum nescius ac rudis es, ut ullam rem difficilius probare te posse sine duobus testibus arbitraris? Sed minitaris deinde; “si quando prodibit viri summi posthumus liber, Miltonius sentiet mortuos quoque mordere.” Vos ipsi existimare potestis, qui vivum non pertimui, eundem mortuum quàm non reformidem.

Æternum latrans exangues terreat umbras.

Si mordacem in me mortuum emiseritis, scitote neque mellè neque mulso placatum à me iri. Cognoscetis an & ego λόγον επιτάφιον commodè possim scribere. “Dii boni,” inquis, “quam niger est Miltonius, si fides Salmasio?” at ipsam inferorum fuliginem si secum trahat, me, Deo benè juvante, denigrare non poterit. Tu Salmasii in me convitia ut lætè, nunc refers! quasi pulmentum ægroto tibi hoc esset: contra illa convitia cùm ego me, ut par atque æquum est, defendam; tunc tuum illud triste & querendum rursus audiemus, “Lege & luge;” & illi “Dii boni” tui tunc rursus fortassè implorabuntur. Sed dic, quæso, Sacrosanctæ Theologiæ doctor, quos tu Deos bonos colis? vereor ne Catechumenus hinc potiùs, quàm Doctor dicendus sis. Docent sacræ literæ unum esse bonum Deum. Tibi si Dii boni sunt, erit fortassis & bona Dea; cujus tu Sacerdos & Mystagogus Corybantem in me nunc agis. Ego quæ in Morum attuli, quanquam tu “falsissima esse” præfidenter affirmas, sciunt illi esse vera, qui rebus omnibus interfuere, quique nullum Genevæ Crantzius eo tempore cognoverunt. Hoc sanè miretur quispiam si hæc Mori fides publica est, quò pacto, quòve nomine tua ista privata fides huc nobis ex grabatulo in præfationem irrepsit. Iniquitas certè in me tua fidem de illo quam infercis hinc tuam in dubium vocat, qui me accusas, quòd “innocentissimo Typographo parcere non potuerim.” Ergo Vlaccus qui me sibi prorsus ignotum petulantissimis convitiis adscripto nomine palam appetivit, tibi “innocentissimus” est. Audi ergo iterum, Theologe, cui tu sacræ scientiæ vix initiatus mihi videris, audi quàm te tuosque mores Theologia sacra & sapientissimus præceptor dedo-

ceat;

ceat: Qui absolvit improbum, & qui condemnat justum, abominationi Jehovæ sunt æquè ambo. Verùm haud scio utrum in me ex ignoto factum modò inimicum iniquior, an in amicum ipsum ineptior sis Morum: cujus prædicatas virtutes tot vitiis interpunctas, & prope alternas introducis, ut non ornatum, sed maculis tantummodo variatum, non Morum, sed morionem demisisse abs tuis laudibus videaris. Pictor sanè eximius primam laudis lineam cum litura ducis; “semper magnas inimicitias exercuit cum æmulis.” Vitium narras, Crantzi, in ministro evangelii quam minimè tolerantum; præsertim cùm “iis inimicitias ipse,” quod fateris, “nimiâ loquendi libertate, locum sæpe præbuerit.” Deinde est arrogans & Gallicè “Altierus,” & Spanhemii judicio & tuo. Haftenus nigro lapillo; nunc vario: “Fœlix ingenium, nisi crabrones irritasset.” Æmulos nimirum suos, non ipse aquila, sed ut muscas olim scarabeus ille vespæ filius. “Nullum novit Salmasius nobiliorem genium, si laboris tolerantior fuisset.” Ignavus igitur Morus; & tamen semper genio satis indulgit. Additque ipse Salmasius “variè læsisse uxorem suam:” Unde protervus in matronas etiam Morus; “præter inconsiderationem” quoque “tali homine indignam:” Salmasio itaque judice, quid est Morus nisi morus? Hic autem fateor satis causæ fuisse, cur “ægrum” te subscriberes; manifestò enim febricitas. Qui sic tibi dixisse Salmasium ais, “siquid in” Pontia “peccavit” Morus, “ego sum leno & uxor mea lena.” Festivè tu quidem in hoc dramate personarum numerum auxisti, & uberem ridendi ansam, sicui otium esset, porrexisti. Verùm siquid hujusmodi Salmasius amico tibi & privatim, siquid incommodius de se vel de uxore familiariter locutus est, id tu, nisi planè delirares, amicitiam saltem reveritus & arcanum domesticum, non tam stolidè hoc in loco effutisses. Sed reddis ad laudes, “acutum judicium Mori;” adjuuge “inconsiderationem” illam “tali homine indignam,” res duas inter se conjunctissimas. “Fœlicitatem in concionando;” & infœlicitatem in scortando: par alterum in Mori laudibus appositissimum. Accedit corollarii loco “trium linguarum peritia: quæ professorem hunc tandem consummat nobis trilinguem; id est, cum supradictis virtutibus paulò plus quàm triobolarem. Cum voto denique finem facis ineptiendi; ut “Deus Christianorum” (modo enim reliquisse “Deos bonos” tuos videris) “hanc mentem inspiret Potestatibus, ut hanc scripturandi licentiam Christianis infamem compescant.” Vos itaque priores compescant, à quibus hæc omnis licentia primò exorta est: mihi mei defendendi jus ac potestatem adversus contumelias vestras, uti spero, non eripient. Intelliges tum ipse, quàm ego libens omni hoc genere contentionum superfedeam. Atque tibi jam, ut puto, satisfactum est: idque eò ampliùs feci, quòd Doctorem te Sacrosanctæ Theologiæ cum amplissimo phylacterio agnoscerem; Doctoribus autem mirificè delector.

Nunc Vlaccum paucis dignemur: nam & Vlaccus responset, Typographus meus, & necessarius jam factus. Responso hominis breviter colligam, ut perspiciatis quàm bellè quadrent. Es veterator, inquam, Vlacce. Sum bonus, inquit, “Arithmeticus.” Et tamen queruntur, qui tibi expensum tulerunt, pessimè te numerare. Ego ad probitatis normam te exigo. Hem tibi, inquit, “canonem Logarithmicum!” Sophistica hæc est, Vlacce, non Logistica: perinde quasi idcirco solum Arithmeticam didicisses, quod in ea falsi regulam doceri audiveras. Clancularius es, inquam, & obæratu fugisti. Tu mihi “Sinuum tabulas,” & “Tangentium,” & “Secantium” crepas. At quibus tecum ratio est, expensi tabulis te urgent: idque ipsum est quòd sinuosum te nimis, & alieni cupidiùs tangentem, & malè secantem queruntur. “Trigonometriam,” inquis, “conversis Sinubus in Logarithmos artificialem absolvi.” At artificia interim tua & versutias Creditores luunt: Non trigonometram, sed tetragonum sine fraude cum illis te esse oportuit; non angulos & obliquitates, sed suum cuique metiri ac reddere. De cætero, ad tuam te confessionem ipsam rejicio. Londini, Parisiis, iniqui Librarii, iniquum judicium, iniqui Judices; tu solus integer & castus: at illi contra te unum omnes cùm audientur, vera esse ea quæ de te dixi, nemo non fatebitur. In me autem quàm scelestus fueris, facilè evincam. Primùm scripsisti ad Hartlibium, petens, ut
mea,

mea, siquid haberem, posses excudere; & simul de mea oculorum calamitate, essimne omnino orbus luminum, sedulò & quasi dolens quæsisisti: mox proditoriè, cùm intelligeres nihil tibi à me excudendum venire, cæcitatem mihi, quam quasi sollicitè modò & dolenter inquirebas, eam statim sceleratè insultans palam exprobraisti. Nam Typographus, inquit, sum; "quid ad Typographos tam magnæ controversiæ, nisi ut operam suam?" Acutum fanè & typographicum! Non alius quisquam typographis plus hac in parte quàm ego concesserim. Num ergò tu famosissimo libello tuum subscribere professum nomen quasi author esses, debuisti? & cujus ex libris lucrari cupiebas, neque nunc primùm, ut audio, lucratus es, ejus nomen turpissimis contumeliis maculare, cum privilegio scilicet, licere tibi existimasti? "Bellum," inquis, "erat;" & simul miratur tua vastitas, quòd, factâ pace, bacchationes in me privatim tuas & singularem insolentiam impunè tibi esse noluerim. Nescis enim, vappa, quid belli ratio, in causa etiam longissimè diversa, ab temulenta tua rabie discrepet. An siquis existimationem meam privatim per causam belli famoso libro violaverit, ea mihi injuria devoranda est, ut ne possim, cùm visum erit, me justâ & expectatâ defensione vindicare? "Non me puduit," inquis, "quanquam ignominiosè accusatum, alteram editionem adornare." At non omnes tibi similes sunt Vlacce, ut non pudeat fidem, pudorem, omnia lucro postponere; cujus foeda cupiditas adeò vilem tibi & abjectum animum ingeneravit, ut tuis ipse typis teipsum graphicè nebulonem depinxisse non erubescas; eodémque tempore mihi maledicere, & meis ex libris quæstum facere. In quo quid canì similius fieri abs te potuit? cujus ego allatrantis capiti, cùm os illud vehementer inflixissem, exclamas tu quidem & quæritaris; mox ut esculentum esse comperisti, reversus blandulè, rodīs simul & ligurris. Tu verò mea aut non omninò attigisse debuisti, aut non corrupisse; nunc inimicus librum meum non solùm excudisti, sed ultione vilissimâ deformatum ac mutilatum & adversariis hinc inde obsessum exposuisti: quorum alterum rapacissimam lucelli cujusvis aviditatem tuam, alterum & tuam singularem malitiam & tuarum mercium improbitatem declarat. Hæc tua sunt, Vlacce. Nunc remoto te circumpede Herum tuum aggredi tandem ab latere aperto liberiùs licebit. Qui quamvis non modò intus turpis, & sibi conscius, sed foris jam penè omnibus manifestus atque perspicuus sit, tamen cùm in audacia positam sibi esse spem unicam statuerit, absterfo ore, ut in proverbio sacro scortum illud, & assumptâ non solum viri sancti oratione atque personâ, sed sapientissimi quoque titulo Ecclesiastes novus cum malâ cruce, & sacrarum literarum Professor profanus incedit. Adeò ut mirentur omnes in quo summa esse tot vitia reperirentur, in eo illa omnia potuisse ab impudentia tam longè superari.

Ego verò eorum quæ de te scripsi, More, cùm "affinxi" fanè nihil, affirmaverim autem ea quæ & creberrimâ passim famâ, & mihi privatim testibus idoneis essent cognita, utrius hoc nostri "ad sempiternum dedecus" futurum sit, non id tuum, quod tamen tibi arrogas, judicium erit, sed, Dei voluntate, hominum integrorum sententiis dirimetur. Tu interim præfationes mihi (quid enim "tui præfatio" sit nondum assequor) vel "vanissimi" vel "mendacissimi," quanquam uberrima tibi mendaciorum copia est, mitte "comparare." Testimonialium ut sis tibimet callidissimus æruscator, præfationum ramen coactorem te mihi nolo. Nam quod ais, quæ de te protuli "ejusmodi esse, nemo ut sit eorum quibus paulo propius innotuisti, quamvis iniquior esset, quin falsitatis perpetuæ coarguat," id usque eò veritati planè contrarium est, ut eorum qui te "propius" norunt, multi nuntiis, non nemo literis questus mecum sit huic me argumento facinorum tuorum tam uberi & copioso parùm satisfecisse; tantum abesse, quicquam ut finxerim, ut permultas, præclaras etiam, tuas res gestas silentio præterierim: se, si adfuissent, quod & optabant quoque nonnulli, largiore me palmarum tuarum accessione & copia facile fuisse instructuros. Tuum ergo illud "miserere," quo tu & operarius tuus, par bipedum odiosissimum, "misereri meam vicem" vultis ridiculè videri, vobis vestrisque vicibus moneo reservetis, ego à me procul arceo: miserationes improborum cujusmodi sint, didici. Nam quid est, obsecro, quod miserationem hanc vestram

vestram inhumanam tandem commoverit? quòd “in te” nempe “hominem immeritum grassatus sim.” At ô gemina impudentia, & consciorum par callosissimum! vósne ut audeatis vos “immeritos” asseverare, nisi fortè vocis ambiguo colluditis, quorum alter Clamorem illum infamem atque infandum edidit, alter excudit, uterque divulgavit? Discant hinc omnes, quæ vos “cum bono Deo” affirmare soleatis, quàm sint pro nihilo habenda. Nec precationem feliciùs, quàm miserationem adscivisti; ut ad “justam nominis tui defensionem aggredienti veram & verecundam suggerat tibi Deus orationem, ab omni mendacio & obscœnitate prorsus abhorrentem:” Alterum enim nunquam es præstiturus, ut mendaciis abstineas; alterum iniquissimè precaris, ut cum tua facta obscœnissima sint, orationem suggerat tibi Deus factis abhorrentem: quod contrà precari debuisses, ut suggereret tibi Deus non verecundam, sed obscœnam: sic enim tua facta verbis saltem propriis & non mendacibus Deo atque hominibus confessus esses; sic non hypocritam egisses; quod Deo longè gratius fuisset. Nunc non Deus te, sed tua illa Dea audit Cotyto, sive ea Laverna, sive utraque est, labra tacitè moventem:

“Da mihi fallere; da justo sanctoque videri:

“Noctem peccatis, & stupris objice nubem.

Quæris quí sciam quæ tu tecum? dicam. Vocale quiddam, si nescis, omnis, totûsque homo est: non lingua, non vox hominis sola loquitur; vita ipsa, mores, facta, quid quisque velit, tacente sæpiùs linguâ, clamant atque testantur. Tu itaque hæc tacitè; illa clarè; “Orationem videlicet ob omni mendacio & obscœnitate prorsus abhorrentem, hoc est inquis dissimillimam tuæ.” De hoc utroque sigillatim à me tuo ordine respondebitur. A mendaciis exordiris: “nam ut hinc,” inquis, “ordiar, quid mendacius ipsa fronte libelli tui? quem,” nescis quare, Defensionem secundam pro populo Anglicano vocem; “re quidem verâ” inquis “tetrissimam contra me Satyram & ventosissimum Panegyricum à te dictum tibi.” Næ tu mendacia jejunos admodum & esuriens, sed inani morfu captas, si toto libro nihil mendacius ipsâ fronte invenire potes: Quam ego & veracem esse, & per omnia libro consentaneam facillè demonstrabo; quid enim appositius, quid accommodatius ad defensionem Populi Anglicani, quàm si ejus vitam & mores turpissimos esse convincam quí probrosissimo libello edito Populum Anglicanum tantâ injuriâ laceffisset? eum te esse confirmo. Quid si digressus aliquoties essem, & in materiâ præsertim tam trita & sæpe tristi Lectoris nonnunquam recreare animum aliunde experirer? Tûne adeo pressus & minimè laxus homo es, ut latum unguem ab argumenti cancellis discedere quoquam licere non putes? quæ lex Rhetorum tuorum digressiones istiusmodi reprehendit? Ego si exemplis, quod possem, Oratorum illustrium explicarem quid hac in parte liceat & usitatum sit, efficerem ut appareret statim facili negotio, quàm tu harum rerum rudis atque ignarus sis. Nec solam Satyram, quod ais, in te scripsi, sed ut perspicerent omnes, libentiùs me & multo studiosiùs bonos collaudare, quàm malos vituperare, clarissimorum aliquot nominum laudes qui vel patriam armis & consilio egregiè liberafissent, vel mihi saltem facta eorum defendenti favissent, (cum id etiam causam cohonestaret) & passim admiscui, & plenius introduxi. Atque adeò ne hoc quidem, quòd serenissimæ Suecorum Reginæ gratias potius, quàm laudes persolverim, tu unquam ostenderis à Defensione Pop. Anglicani, cui illa impensè existimata est favisse, alienum fuisse. Quid si, quod objectas, me denique laudassim aliquantisper digressus? quis ea tempora, eas persæpe causas incidere non fateatur, ut propriæ laudes etiam sanctissimis modestissimisque viris indecoræ non sint, nec unquam fuerint? hunc etiam locum uberrimum exemplorum illustrare copiâ si vellem, equidem me omnibus facillè probarem tu obmutesceres. Sed me nusquam laudavi; nec, quod criminaris, Panegyricum à me mihi met dictum usquam invenies: Singulare quidem in me divini numinis beneficium, quòd me ad defendendam libertatis tam fortiter vindicatæ causam præter cæteros evocasset,

&

& agnovisse fateor, & nunquam non agnoscere debere: & præclaram hinc minimèque culpandam, ut ego quidem arbitror, exordiendi materiam sumpsisse. Petitus deinde ab illo Clamore Regio convitiis omnibus atque calumniis, & infimorum numero habitus, non me laudibus, quanquam id nefas non erat, contra adversarios despectores, sed nudâ ac simplici rerum mearum narratione contentus, tuebar: id Populi Anglicani quem defendebam, quanti interesset, uti ego meam existimationem non planè abjicerem nec obtrechandam quibusvis & obculcandam relinquerem, præfatus antequam mei facerem mentionem sedulò ostendi: offensionem denique sicujus fortè hac in re incurrissem, haud negligenter sum deprecatus. Hæc tu si propter invidentiam & livorem aut non legere aut meminisse non vis, quid est reliqui nisi ut crepes? nullum enim in fronte libri mendacium, nisi abs te per malitiam atque calumniam conflatum reperitur. Quanto mendacior "Alexandri Mori fides publica?" an te omnia in illo libro ex fide publica scripsisse audes dicere? atqui aut hoc tibi necessariò dicendum, aut libri illius fronti nulla fides est. Ita tu dum in titulo tuo putidus, in meo malitiosus es, aut fides publica frontem per te, aut tua frons fidem perdidit. Pergis de mendaciis. "Alterum est," inquis, "authorem esse me libri, cui titulus, Clamor sanguinis Regii." Quod cum ego verum esse firmissimis testimoniis jam suprà demonstraverim, tèque illius libri certissimum curatorem atque editorem, omnium jure gentium & legibus pro Authore habendum esse, sequitur ut quæ mei fallendi spe nixus hoc loco vociferaris, quasi author non esses, tametsi infirma per se, atque inania sunt, nunc fundamento illo fallaci subruto, suâ sponte corruant atque subsidant: simulque ut totum illud mendacium, illa omnis "temeritas, impudentia, immanitas," quâ me per summam impudentiam hinc oneras, in teipsum recidat. Exclamantem itaque & frigentem & tuo laqueo impeditum, te hîc prætereo: nugas autem quasdam tuas sine risu non possum; per quas acutiùs & miserabiliùs exclamare te putas. "Nam licet," inquis, "ea crimina quæ in me conjicis vera essent, tamen contra jus & fas omne esset, quod nullius in nos authoritatis, quoddam tribunal excitas, criminationes publicè spargis." An nescis ergo, hominum ineptissime, idem hoc tribunal esse, eandem sellam atque authoritatem, jus idem criminandi & judicandi, quod ego vestro primùm Salmasio, mox Clamatori Regio defensione justissima eripui? vestrum ego nunc exemplum atque judicium in vos converto, vestro jure utor; vestrum ipsum tribunal, vestra subsellia, quæ in nos parastis, de vestris erepta manibus in vos justissimè statuo. "Deinde," inquis, "tametsi libri author illius essem, non tibi tamen integrum fuisset tot scommata nihil ad causam pertinentia huic propinare sæculo." Videte, quæso, æquitatem hominis: Sibi & Salmasio licere vult omnia, calumnias, mendacia, contumelias; nobis vera in illos crimina retorquere, quasi ad causam scilicet minùs pertinentia, non licebit. Sanè qui res, rationesque rerum recto judicio ponderare solent, non dubito quin mecum sentiant, nihil vehementius ad causam pertinere, quàm quali quis vitâ atque moribus sit qui eam acerrimè defendat. Ego causam Regiam, qui vehementissimè defenderit, si aut corruptum esse aut facinorosum arguo, haud levi argumento impugnasse me causam Regiam fatis intelligo: Si mendacem, si turpem, si perfidum per omnem vitam criminatorem nostrum esse ostendo, eundem quoque in nos esse eò faciliùs fidem facio. Tu interim cùm duo tibi proposueris, "alterum," ut ostenderes "nec esse te libri autorem illius, nec id fuisse mihi persuasum;" alterum, "falsa esse quæ in te conjecta sunt probra," nihil horum efficis; sed dissolutus ac fluens, modò huc, modò illuc vagando, tum eadem inculcando, ignarus quàm in propinquo tibi effusè nunc, pabulanti latens à tergo atque intactus hostis instet, dum nescire me putas quid sit libelli authorem esse, aut quid tu feceris, in eadem perstas vel futilitate vel fallacia. "Quid commerui? quid peccavi? quando Populum tuum læsi?" Cavillaris etiam; "quando boves tuos aut equos abegi?" Non tu boves meos abegisti, Cacus pastor ut sis; sed alienas oves abduxisti, tuam deseruisti Phryx novus Alexander, vel etiam Caraphryx Morus. At "sciscitari ex amicis" credo poteram, quos isthic apud nos habes,

nec "paucos nec vulgaris notæ." Quasi verò ego, qui "divinus," ut ais, "non sum," tuos amicos quinam essent, scirem, qui ante hunc Clamorem belluinum abs te editum, ne vagiisse quidem adhuc te aut infantem natum sciebam. Aut tu planè sensu, vel saltem logicâ destitutus es, aut ejus rudimenta non sic dèdideris, relationes in sensum non incurrere. Itaque & inimicos esse tibi tam multos eòsque tuâ non pietate, sed turpitudine quæritos necdum audieram; neque ut "ludibriis" tam esses "opportunos," neque ut tu Veneris nepos, "Junonem" sic iratam tibi haberes: quæ tibi essent infensa numina æque ignorabam, & qui essent Crantzio "Dii boni. Anni duo sunt," inquis, "ex quo tuum hoc drama exornas." Quanquam hoc perridiculum est, quod optasses nunquam editum, id serò editum queri, & sum ego qui elaboratum rectè atque limatum siquid est, id diu accurasse si dicor, non reprehendendum me magis quàm Scriptores quosque optimos putem, qui tarditatem scribendi imputatam sibi à sciolis facilè contempnere, tamen & hoc esse falsissimum ex præmio superioris libri intelligitur, ubi cur maturius non respondissem causam reddidi, & errare te vehementer scito, si operis tam ardui fuisse credis vel inanem clamorem refutare, vel te cuius obnoxium ludos facere. Nec mihi tot subcissivis horulis "dicta illa Floralia," quæ vocas, quot tibi fertivis noctibus atque dieculis facta illa Fescennina steteret. Et "periisset" sanè, hîc enim tecum sentio, paradisus ille tuus, & ficus & morus & sycomorus, quibus nequitiam tuam, quantum potuit fieri, honestè adumbratam, quoniam sunt qui rem oculis non visam, factam credi nolint, istius defensionis inanitatem ridens, vel argutè vel contemptim exposui: periissent, inquam, illi omnes non sanè flosculi, sed arbusculæ, nisi tu in horto mœchatus esses: ex hortensi & suburbana cultione tua, non ex urbanitate meâ amœnitas ista omnis effloruit. Quod autem "in frontispicio Satyræ in te meæ" (quæ non magis Satyra est, quàm quæ est Marci Tullii in Vatinius quemvis oratio) "tanquam propylæum operis illustre collocasse" me ais, "quid Morus Græcè significet," frustra tu quidem propylæa somnias; non ita eram decori nescius, ut sublime quicquam aut tragicum in historia tua ponerem: Ego tuguriolum illud tuum in horto, tu Palatium illud vetus, in quo hortus ille erat, fortasse cogitabas; & in illa plitoris cellula, haud dubiè Palatinus adulter tibi videbaris. Id ipsum autem Græcè significare te dixi quod etsi lingua nulla esset, reipsâ te esse nunc dico. Illud tamen negaverim, quoties te tuo nomine Morum appello, "invidiam me velle," quod quereris, "ex nomine facere," & moriam tibi objicere; mihi enim id serè in mentem non venit: sed Professori Græcæ linguæ Græcum etymon Mori ita perpetuò salire per cerebrum tibi solet, ut nemo salutare te possit More, quin tu ab eo te stultum appellari morosè admodum suspicèris. Hæc sunt & hujusmodi quæ tu paginis paulo minùs viginti, cùm Authorem te non esse Clamoris Regii probare debuisses, nugatus es: in quibus singulis si otîari tecum diutius & morari vellem, ipse Morus essem. Nunc tandem seriò videris velle agere. "Non rumores, non sermones, sed literas testes dabis, admonitum me fuisse ne in hominem innoxium incurrerem." Literas ergo inspiciamus, quas in medium affers "amplissimi viri D. Nieuportii Fœderati Belgii Legati" ad te scriptas; quas tu, ut videtur, literas non ad probationis vim, quam nullam habent, sed ad ostentationem solùm legendas proposuisti. Is, quod singularem "viri amplissimi" humanitatem declarat (quid enim is non viri boni, qui tui indignissimi causâ tantopere laboraret?) ad Dom. Thurloium Secretarium adit, tuas literas communicat. Cùm nihil se proficere videret, ad me duos viros nobiles, amicos meos, cum literis iisdem tuis allegat. Quid illi? Literas illas Mori recitant, rogant, & legatum Nieuportium idem rogare aiunt, uti literis tuis, quibus authorem Clamoris Regii negares te esse, fidem haberem. Respondi non esse æquum quod postularent; neque tantâ fide Morum, neque id fieri solere, ut contra famam communem & rem alioqui satis compertam negantis de se rei & adversarii solis literis crederetur. Illi, cùm aliud è contra nihil quod dicerent haberent, pugnare desinunt. Si hæc non credis, tute percurrere Legati literas, quibus ego nunc testibus in te utor. "Optabat cum non invulgare librum:" verùm id mei juris erat & potestatis.

“Ne

“ Ne tibi hanc injuriam facerem, ut illud tibi opus imputarem:” At liquere sibi, aut unde sibi liqueret, injurium tibi hoc esse quod imputassem, non scribit. Saltem ut “ nihil vellem inferere, quod te tangeret.” Quidni verò te tangeret quod ad te pertinet, nisi id ad te non pertinere demonstrasset? demonstrare autem non potuisse, argumento firmissimo est, quod cum Dom. Thurloio Secretario idem denuò persuadere vellet, nihil habuit quod mitteret, præterquam idem illud exemplum literarum tuarum; ex quo & illud facile perspicuum est, “rationes” illas ad me allatas “ob quas optabat,” ne vellem eum librum evulgare, nihil conjunctum cum Reipubl. rationibus habuisse. Noli itaque tu literas Legati corrumpere: nihil illic de “hostili spiritu,” nihil de “importuno tempore:” tantum “dolere” se scribit “noluisse me rogatu suo tantillum moderationis ostendere:” id est, noluisse me suo privatim rogatu tibi adversario publico rem gratam facere; opus excusum & jam penè editum revocare & de integro retexere. Excusatum me habeat “vir amplissimus,” & præsertim Legatus, si injurias publicas privatis intercessionibus condonare noluerim, nec sanè potuerim; multoque minùs eas injurias Clamoris Regii, quæ neque ad bellum neque ad pacem recens factam ullo modo spectarent. Bellum illud contra Anglos, non contra Rempubl. fuit: bellum vestrum non contra Anglos, sed contra Rempubl. est. An siquis Regiarum partium per bellum Regium quicquam in nos commisit, id per pacem Batavicam à nobis non erit vindicandum? siquis in Rempubl. nostram contumeliosè quid scripsit, id post pacem cum Batavis factam non erit refellendum? an per alienum bellum plus Regiis in nos, quàm per nostram pacem nobis in Regios licebit? At non nos cum Regiis ut eorum Clamatoribus, sed cum iis Provinciis pacem fecimus, à quibus causa Regia longissimè sejuncta est; eamque pacem in qua de hostibus nostræ Reipubl. non modo non favendis, sed ne tecto quidem recipiendis nominatim exceptum est. At enim hoc “intempestivum” & “ἀπειροκαλον” fuit, quod alienissimo tempore cum omnia hic & isthic festis ob pacem ignibus collucerent, tu solus gelidâ perfunderis. Equidem non in eo positam ἀπειροκαλίαν existimabam Tu laetus homo ista meliùs: doleo non satis perpensa à me officii momenta in te mei. At graviter peccatum est; tum enim “lætis clamoribus nostrum vestrumque cœlum consonabat.” Quasi verò te ardelione & incendiario benè multato, non multo lætiùs illi ignes pacifici & sociales relucere: quasi etiam “vestrum nostrumque cœlum” faustis clamoribus non multò lætiùs consonet; cum infaustus & feralis inimicorum clamor compescitur. Quod tu itaque alienissimum tempus, id ego opportunissimum fuisse contendo: nec “obstrepuisse” me, quod ais, “Pacis articulis,” sed acclamasse & plaussisse. Postremò & me prorsus ignoras, & tibimet intra paucos versiculos manifestò mendax deprehenderis. “Abs te,” inquis, “quo factum sit animo non interpretor:” Et statim, quod “depositis armis, animum retineres armatum.” Mirum ni ex eo bello quæstum feci, aut stipendium aliquod navale, qui factam pacem usque eò molestè tulerim. Dicam igitur quod me dicere neque ullum obsequium, neque necessitas cogit. Falleris tu quidem magnoperè, si quenquam esse Anglorum putas, qui Fœderatis Provinciis me uno sit amicior, aut voluntate conjunctior; qui præclariùs de Republ. illa sentiat; qui eorum industriam, artes, ingenium, libertatem aut pluris faciat, aut sæpiùs collaudet; qui bellum inceptum cum iis minùs voluerit, susceptum pacatiùs gesserit, compositum seriò magis triumpharit; qui denique obtrectatoribus eorum minùs unquam crediderit. Unde tu nullam in me calumniam mendaciorum aut minùs congruentem affingere potuisti. “At illum rerum cardinem aucupatus esse videor, ut prodeuntibus demum articulis pacis obstreperem.” Tu scilicet cardo rerum; in te pacis articuli vertuntur; hunc si attingas, actum de pace est. At quem hominem? quo numero? civem credo egregium, Senatorem primarium, ornamentum curiæ: immò ne civem quidem, sed inquilinum, alienigenam, & Scoto-Gallum impurissimum, odiosum omnibus atque offensum, Reipubl. hostem, qui si quod expulsus, ejectus, & in rem malam amandatus esset, ne tantillum quidem articulis pacis noceretur; immò satisfaceret potiùs. Tu itaque desine, si sapias, politicari; & pacis articulos

riculos cave dehinc miffites, nequis te ex pacis articulis Regii Clamoris editorem ad supplicium pofcat. Pollicitus fum, inquis, Legato, “nihil indecens exiturum è calamo meo.” Neque fefelli, vel fiquid omninò illa in parte commifi, in me folum commifi, dum tuos excutere putores, tuo tractare inquinamenta fufinui: &, quòd illic etiam præfatus fum, non tam quid me magis decuiffet, quàm quid te dignum effet fpectabam. Nec tamen indecentiùs aut acerbìùs in te ego, quàm olim viri graviffimi in improbum quemque ac perditum & concionibus honeftiffimo quoque civitatis in loco atque conventu habitis, & fcriptis palam editis invefti funt. Verùm ad illud nunc venio quod virum fanctiffimum & hujus ætatis longè caftiffimum offendit Morum; “illoto” fcilicet “fermone utor, verbis nudis & prætextatis.” Propudium hominis & proftibulum! Tène illota verba reprehendere, qui facta turpiffima patrare non erubuifti? Jam non pœniteret profectò, fiquid in hoc genere liberiùs paulo dixiffem; etiamfi aliud inde nihil aftequutus effem, nifi ut elicerem ex te diffimulationem hanc improbiffimam, téque perfonatum omnibus vel hinc palam educerem hypocritarum omnium deterrimum. Quod autem tu mihi dictum libro toto oftenderis, quod verbum illotius, quàm hoc ipfum Morus? fed non in verbo neque in re, fed in te vitium omne atque obfcœnitas tota eft. Tu Fauno quovis aut nudo Satyro turpior, bona verba uti nuda effent tuis moribus effecifti. Tuam nulla umbra, ne ficus ipfa quidem, velare turpitudinem potuit. Qui te dicit, tuâque flagitia, eum neceffe eft obfcœna dicere. Itaque fi in tuum opprobrium vel nuda verba exeruiffem, facilè me etiam graviffimorum Authorum exemplo defendiffem. Qui ita femper exiftimarunt, verba nuda atque exerta cum indignatione prolata, non obfcœnitatem, fed graviffimæ reprehenfionis vehementiam fignificare. Quis unquam Pifoni Annalium fcriptori, qui propter virtutem & pudicos mores Frugi dictus eft, vitio vertit, quòd in Annalibus queftus eft “adolefcentes peni deditos effe.” Quis unquam Salluftium Scriptorem graviffimum reprehendit, quòd etiam in Hiftoria dixit;

“Ventre, manu, pene, aleâ, bona patria dilacerari.”

Quid Herodotum, Senecam, Suetonium, Plutarchum, Authores omnium graviffimos adducam? quos tu fi negas verba etiam plusquam prætextata, réfque fatis turpes rebus gravioribus aliquoties immifcuiiffe, fatis declaras te iis in Authoribus verfatum non effe. Hoc fi omni tempore & loco indecens eft, quoties tu Eraſmo doctiffimo qui Roterodami ftat æreus, quoties Thomæ Moro noſtro, cujus tu nomen tuo commaculas, quoties denique ipsis Eccleſiæ patribus antiquis, Alexandrino Clementi, Arnobio, Lactantio, Eufebio, dum obfcœna veterum religionum myſteria vel denudant, vel derident, indecentiæ & obfcœnitatis dicam ſcribere debebis? Verùm tu fortaffè, ut funt ferè hypocritæ, verbis tetrici, rebus obfcœni, ne ipſum quidem Moſen iſtâ noxâ immunem abs te dimiferis; cùm alibi ſæpiùs, tum etiam ubi Phiniæ hafta quâ parte mulierem tranſfixerit, ſiqua fides Hebræis, apertè narrat. Ne ipſum quidem Jobum pudentiſſimum ac patientiſſimum, dum meretricem ſibi uxorem nudato & priſco ſermone imprecatur, ſi ipſe alienæ uxori infidiatus unquam fuiſſet. Non te Salomonis Eupheſimi cenſorem, non Prophetarum ſcripta tuam turpiculi inmò nonnunquam planè obfcœni cenſuram effugerint, quoties Maſorethis & Rabinis, pro eo quod diſertè ſcriptum eſt, ſuum libet Keri adſcribere. Ad me quod attinet, fateor malle me cum ſacris ſcriptoribus *εὐθυρόρημονα*, quàm cum futilibus Rabinis *εὐσχημονα* eſſe. Túque fruſtra Marcum Tullium inclamas; qui ſi “in aureo” illo quem citas, “de Officiis libro,” illud jocandi genus elegans, urbanum, ingenioſum, facetum arbitratur, quo genere non modò Plautus & Atticorum antiqua comœdia, ſed etiam Philoſophorum Socraticorum libri reſerti ſunt, id quod illic legiſſe poteras, non ille mihi quidem nimis anguſtos, non nimis ſeveros decori ſtatuiſſe fines videtur, ut cuiquam difficile ſit intra eos fines ſeſe continere; nedum ut ego me non continuerim. Noli itaque tu mihi homo inquinatiſſimus, de honeſto

& decoro ineptire; non est tuum, mihi crede; immò tu sic habeto, nihil minùs decere, nihil ab ratione ipsa decori magis abhorre, quàm te talem, qualis es, lautum sermonem usurpare, aut illotum reprehendere. Sed videris nunc velle rem omnem in pauca redigere: "Non sum," inquis, "autor Clamoris." Non suades. "Res patet, dilucet, eamque pluribus argumentis affirmare tam sit ineptum, quàm in clarissimum solem mortale lumen inferre." Desine ampullas; dic tandem aliquid. "Ipse ego quantum possum reclamo." Nempe nunc denuò; minacitèr modò & regiè; nunc miserè. "Amici non tacent." Ex ore tuo. "Ecclesiastæ admonent." Fide tuâ. "Legati confirmant." Ex literis tuis. Quid hoc omne aliud est, nisi illa initio tua singularis negatio, "Non sum author?" Verùm tu, antequàm ad hunc locum pervenisti, jamdiu intelligis miser quo loco res tuæ sint; quos in laqueos te indueris; quibus à me vinculis obses tenearis: nunc quantum voles clama, Te non authorem Clamoris esse; cùm omnium gentium leges atque jura, Præconem te mihi pro Clamatore, Procuratorem pro Authore tradiderint. Quid nunc Authore fiat, aut ubi terrarum degat, nihil moror: vixerit sanè in Gallia, & simul in Hollandia "jucundum fuerit videre," quod narrat ipse, "quibus ludibriis, quibus periculis Legati nostri" eo tempore conflictarentur: sit vel Satanicæ minister Synagogæ, non laboro; hoc saltem unum benè fecit, quod te tam diligentem sibi tamque fidelem diaconum, non Evangelii, sed infamissimi libelli ministrum reliquit. Age nunc triumphos de me istos, quos ego flebiles tibi efficiam: profer in medium, si potes, mea illa "mendacia, meam illam imprudentiam, temeritatem, audaciam, pertinaciam & impudentiam," meum illud ingens piaculum quòd te Regii Clamoris affirmaverim authorem. Clama quantum potes è longinquo ad Populum Anglicanum quem illo antea nefario Clamore edito tam indignè læsisti: nam accedere non audes. Vociferare, inquam, si fatis in tuto es; "Quantum te, Popule Anglicane, tua de Miltono fefellit opinio!" Hæc enim ipsa dum clamas, dum plaudis tibi, & tanquam elapso gratularis, nescis me lustra tua, & sylvas anonymas indagasse; nescis in plagis te meis esse; sentit Pop. Anglicanus me non pœnitendum vel defensorum juris sui, vel venatorem ferarum suarum. En ego te reluctantem obtorto collo, traductum per ora omnium, pestem populi, in Ecclesia verrem, caudâ non minus, quàm obliquo dente maleficum, in conspectum omnium protraho. Téque belluam Pop. Anglicano inspectandam, non Ædilitatis, sed Defensionis meæ gratissimum munus edo. Tu interea, nequid desit ad triumphum, quem de me, ut putas, deluso atque decepto agis, quòd authorem Clamoris te dixerim, adhibes, ut solet, jocos. Et "frontem," inquis, "immeritò perfricare diceris, tota enim jamdudum frons tibi periit." Noli nunc de me queri; noli "sarcasmos," & "fannas" & "scommata," simulatâ rursus gravitate, reprehendere: memineris ut hi ludi à teipso instaurati & introducti nunc sint; ut reprehensos modò & damnatos ipse nunc revoces. Facetus esse cupis; non succurrit in præsentia: suggeram itaque ego tibi jocos quosdam tuos; & quod triumphum maximè deceat, militares: quique admoneant te temporis cujusdam, in quo frons tua tam validè "perfricta" est, ut tibi tum multo maluisses totam frontem periisse. Meministi fortasse illius diei, immo verò diei, credo, & horæ & loci meministi, cùm tu Pontiam in domo Salmasii ultimùm, ut opinor, convenisti: tu illam, ut copulæ renunciare; illa te, ut nuptiis diem diceres. Quæ ubi è contrario pactum stupro conjugium dissolvere in animo tibi esse videt, tum verò tua innuba, non enim dicam Tiphphone, impatiens tantæ injuriæ in faciem tibi atque oculos, non sectis unguibus, furens involavit. Tu qui teste Crantzio (præstat enim non sine tua fide publica tantum certamen exordiri) qui teste, inquam, Crantzio "Gallicè Altier," Latine feroculus esses, teste Deodato, "terribiles ungues ad tui tutelam haberes," pro virili tua parte ad foemineum hoc genus pugnæ te comparas. Stat arbitra certaminis Juno Salmasia: Ipse Salmasius in conclavi proximo decumbens pedibus æger, ut prælium commissum audit, risu penè moritur. At heu nefas! imbellis noster Alexander, & Amazoni congressus impar, succumbit. Illa inferiorem nacta, in frontem & supercilia nasumque hominis tum primùm supernè peccat: miris capreolis & Phrygiano opere totum jacen-

tis vultum percurrit: nunquam tibi More lineamenta Pontiae minùs placuere. Ipse plenâ jam utrâque margine genarum, scriptus & in mento necdum finitus, ægrè tandem surgis: sed ne pœniteat te, homo ad unguem factus; non jam Professor, sed tamen Doctor Pontificius: jure enim poteras tanquam in picta tabula scripsisse, "Pontia fecit." Quid autem? Doctor? immò codex jam factus, in quo ultrix Pontia sua adversaria exaravit stilo novo. Sensisti puto Vlacci tabulas Tangentium & Secantium ad radium Cifrarum nescio quot lugubrium in pelle tua excudi. Tu tum More "facie non integrâ" domum te proripuisti; fronte quidem exporrectâ, quam vix contrahere jam poteras; superciliosus tamen & caperatus, quippe derepentè multò literatior; & quantum potes, abdis te quoque, reconditæ ut posses dici homo literaturæ. Eho noster Ecclesiastes! ubi es? quid lates? expectant te jam nunc, qui "tibi aures è superiore loco dicenti accommodare" solebant. Sed tibi misero nunc Pontia è superiore loco dixit, tuisque auribus unguis accommodavit. Redde nunc tuum vultum nobis, Ecclesiastes, antiquum sanè & rugis venerandum; cur apocryphus vis esse? cùm ipsâ Pontia Pontifice canonicus jam maximè sis & rubricatus. Quin etiam hinc Critici, inde antiquarii ad fores te inclamant; tui videndi desiderio ardent. Emanavit, nescio quo pacto, novas quasdam inscriptiones Gruterianas apud te esse; alii Arabicas, alii Copticas aiunt; qui veriùs, Ponticas ex terra Taurica. Omnes uno ore consentiunt pulcherrimas esse oportere, utpote in ære frontis tuæ tam graphicè, Pontiano præsertim onyche, insculptas. Nemini respondet Morus, omnibus negatur, spernit omnium desideria; & delibutus unguentis domi, literas dediscere Pontianas mavult. Hæc habui, More, quoniam te mecum jocandi cupidum animadverti, quo ego tuum de me triumphum velut militari carmine exornatum volebam. Quidni enim pugnas tuas tum maximè commemorarem? quanquam palma quidem erat Pontiae; illa tibi lemniscos tantummodo reliquit. Etenim quod tuum non est, tibi non attribuo; tametsi tu id toto libro, quasi absurdum meum insectaris, oblitus te procuratione & chirographo tuo fidejussorem mihi factum; oblitus, quod æs alienum tu esse dicis, id nunc legitimè non minus tuum esse, quàm cujum tu esse dicis. Tu itaque cæcitatem cyclopeam mihi exprobrâsti; & quod impudentius est, dum id negas fecisse, iterum facis: Qui nulli tum fuerant oculi, nunc "ex emptiles" & "Lamiarum" sunt. "Narcissus" nunc sum; quia te depingente nolui Cyclops esse; quia tu effigiem mei dissimillimam, "præfixam poematibus" vidisti. Ego verò si impulsu & ambitione Librarii, me imperito, Scalptori, propterea quòd in urbe alius eo belli tempore non erat, infabrè scalpendum permisi, id me neglexisse potiùs eam rem arguebat, cujus tu mihi nimium cultum objiciis. Tu itidem is es, qui clarissimum virum, Consilii Statùs tum Præsidem, contumeliis incessisti; de quo iratior, quam de meipso, quæsi ex te quid aliud esset calumniari perpetuò bonos, quam esse Diabolum. Hinc tu pulchram nactus hypocritandi occasionem ex Crantziana videlicet calumnia, quasi ego "Christi Doctrinam de Divortio quemadmodum à Theologis explicari solet, diabolicam" dixissem, qui ater modò eras & maledicentissimus, nunc albus repentè factus, & mitis & patiens "agis gratias," quòd "te communi cum cœlesti doctrina convitio honestem."—Hyæna! aut siqua alia est belua, tam tetrâ fraude noxia atque infamis! tunc cœlestem doctrinam tot tuorum facinorum asylum atque perfugium speras fore? Sed perge quò tendis: si enim Theologorum quasvis explicationes pro cœlesti doctrina amplecteris, toto cœlo, ut te dignum est, erras. Quin & Apostoli gloriosum illud cum bestiis pugnandi martyrium tibimet tribuis nequissime; qui nuper non homo cum bestia, sed ipse bestia cum homine, id est cum fœmina, de fide connubiali abs te rupta pugnam tam inhonestam pugnâsti. Reversus deinde ad mores pristinos, solitâque jactantiam, dicendo me provocas. "Neque verò," inquis, "mihi tantum derogo, quanquam nihil arrogo, ut te commodiùs aut faciliùs quàm me putem posse dicere." Concedo equidem, si tibi istum in modum furari licet: hæc enim ipsa verba, quibus copiam tuam venditas, ex oratione Marci Tullii pro Roscio Amerino apertissimè furatus es. Atque hinc puto est, quòd

quòd Francofurtanas nundinas librorum tuorum Catalogo tam copiofo nobis obtrudas, cum editorum tum edendorum: ex quibus aliqui sunt quos videre gestiam; & imprimis illum “de gratia & libero arbitrio,” ad amicam præsertim illam si scriptus est, cujus tu nunc gratiam, rejectâ pro arbitrio Pontiâ, accommodato forsitan argumento ambis: tum illum “de Scriptura sacra,” quorum Scriptores multa humanitûs & imprudenter scripsisse ferunt te affirmare: illam deinde “pro Calvino,” quem tu veluti Prophetam extructo monumento Phariseus exornas, vitâ & moribus jugulas: nam quæ “prodibunt” opera tua, quæ “premis & retractas, & ad umbilicum spectantia moliris,” ea meritò suspicantur omnes esse turpissima. Illam “de piis fraudibus dissertationem” fanè expecto: nam de impiis abs te factis fraudibus abundè audivimus: enim verò “Commentarius ille tuus,” quinam sit in quintum “Evangelium” futurus demior; nam illa quatuor priora jamdudum factis abnegasti: unde & “Theoremata illa practica” mirè desidero, nam tu in practicis egregius homo sine controversia es; id quod de te tot fabulæ non fabulæ testantur! Ad illa autem “loca novi fœderis, & axiomata quibus ex veteri novum fœdus illustratur,” Pontia quoque notas vellem simul ederes. Et postremò isthuc memineris, te alterum volumen operum tuorum, quod Genevæ in Bibliotheca publica etiamnum extat, totum omisisse: uti etiam inscriptiones illas, cum frontispicio mirabili, quas quamvis opus Pontianum, in tua tamen membrana tuas esse, adstipulante etiam Justiniano, rectè dixerim: nam Noctes tuas, nescio an Atticas cum Pontiâ, sive dialogum morillum, alii spurium, alii duntaxat embryonem, qui subtiliùs non inter libros, sed inter liberos tuos numerandum existimant. Sed properabas credo ad alteram instituti operis partem, calumnias meas. Nam mendacia, id nempe unicum, quòd te authorem Clamoris dixerim, partem tui operis longè maximam tandem aliquando confecisse te significas. Cum autem leve hoc merito cuiquam videri possit, etiamsi falsâ aliquâ persuasione imbutus attribuissem tibi librum istum, alioqui nec improbatum tibi, nec tua existimatione indignum, cur unam tantummodo noxam tam verbosè tam iracundè summa cum invidia rei per se levissimæ sic exaggeres atque exagites, perinde quasi in se omnes impietates & crimina complecteretur, nisi jam antea docuissem, id magis mirandum possit cuiquam videri. Sed ea nimirum arx erat unica, in qua spem omnem collocaveras; si persuasissem plerisque te authorem Clamoris non esse, méque mentitum, in altera parte quam de calumniis vocas, de quibus quod pro te dicas nihil prorsus habes, sperabas te facili defensione usurum contra me scilicet mendacem jam antea compertum, téque omnes vitæ maculas apud longinquos & ignotos hâc arte gratis eluiturum. Verùm ego cum præter spem opinionémque tuam te authorem Clamoris tergiversantem licet & reclamantem legitimè arguerim, non dubito quin ad flagitia quoque tua, & quas tu calumnias dici mavis, accuratiùs prout res ferret exequendas apud omnes rerum æquos æstimatores fidem integram attulero. Nunc quàm frigidè, quàm invitè, quàm planè fontis in morem vafri ac vetuli has abs te dictas calumnias tractes, quàmque infœliciter amoliri abs te coneris, reliquum est ut ostendam. Primùm cunctabundus, & incerto pede à prioribus castris in hæc altera cum multis impedimentis ægrè & ne vix quidem transis: quippe à mendacio non ad alterum mendacium, id enim non audes dicere, sed ad “calumnias” duntaxat & “rumusculos.” Itaque ad mendacium illud toties jactatum, modò dimissum atque præteritum perpetuò recurris, cum præsens arguere, siquod esset, deberes: & adversarii quod miserum est, quàm tui securior, in illo errore, quemadmodum credi vis meo, quam in tua nunc apud te recta conscientia multò plus repositum tibi spei atque præsidii declaras. Atqui non meo, siquod fuit, mendacio, sed tuâ de veritate, siqua fuit, munire debuisti. At enim “authoritate propria meras calumnias intento, quas nullo argumento probo, nullo teste confirmo.” Vis igitur dicam apertius rem ipsam? nam te, ut video, præ ista mollitie frontis non perfrixtæ, sed inscriptæ modò, pudet dicere; qui ne stuprum quidem aut adulterium toto responso nominare homo pudentissimus & flos castitatis ausus es, ne “vanissimam fabulam” scilicet & obscœnam, id est tua facta “retexeres.” Dicam ergo, & quia non abnuis, rerum ordinem sequar. Est

Est Claudia Pelletta quædam, pellicem posthac nominemus licet, nescio an tuam solum; quæ, cum ancilla in eadem domo honestissimi viri Genevensis esset, in qua tu hospes eras turpissimus, cum calone & rhedario communis tibi fuit. Eâ mulierculâ, postmodum nuptâ, quod stupri tecum habuerat commercium adulterio continuavit. Cedo "testes," inquis, & "argumenta." Nugator! quid tu testes ex me ubi non sunt, quæris, quos ubierant, fugisti? Genevam revertere, ubi horum criminum jamdiu reus factus es. Dic velle te modò abolendæ calumniæ causâ judicium his de rebus legitimum fieri; invenies qui tecum libentissimè his de criminibus experiri lege velint; qui vadari, qui sponsonem facere non recusent. Nec testes deerunt. Aderit imprimis Hortulanus ille qui te vidit, cùm in illud tuguriolum cum fæmina solus intrares; vidit, cùm illa Claudia tua clauderet fores; vidit postea egressum te, amplexantem palàm cùm muliere impudica, & usque eò petulantem, ut illum veterem hortorum custodem obscœnum, non ex ficu, ut olim, sed ex moro factum conspexisse existimaret. Aderunt & alii quos viri gravissimi, qui tuum nomen detulerunt, testes in promptu habent. Cujus tu testimonii vim veritus cum dimanasse rem illam sentires quam in occulto patrasse te arbitraberis, ut infamis ille reus Siciliensis, non jam quid responderes, sed quemadmodum non responderes, cogitare cœpisti: & paulo ante ferox judicii cupido (nam de aliis quoque multis rebus & antea & tum etiam deferebaris) demissus repentè & consternatus abeundi licentiam (id quod plerique maximè volebant, ne in rem tam fœdam de Pastore suo inquirere cogerentur) quasi jamjam abiturus petisti. Per hanc tu rationem liberatus judicii metu, cùm alibi non haberes quò te reciperes, omni munere cùm Ecclesiæ tùm Scholæ, omnique stipendio privatus, octo circiter vel decem menses in eadem urbe fœdis factis notatus detrectatâ causæ dictione vixisti: quo nullum majus argumentum contra te esse potuit. Nunc posteaquam oblatum tibi certamen defugisti, tuisque commodis carere omnibus, quàm judicium de illa re pati maluisti, posteaquam tuo ipsius judicio temet ipse damnasti, à me homine longinquo testes & argumenta ridicule sanè quæris. Quinimò, ut dixi, Genevam revertere; & quando vadimonium illud tam malè obiisti, i fodes ad supplicium quod te illic manet adulterio debitum; si pristina illius urbis religiosissimæ disciplina nondum refrixit. Ad illa verò sponsalitia stupra tua quod attinet cum Pontia, quæ te ubique decantatum & digito monstratum insignem hominem illis in Provinciis reddidere, multo minus est cur à me "testes" & "argumenta" postules. Famam ipsam communem, constantem, & illa centum vel potius mille ora, si vis, in judicium voca: hæc totidem sunt testes quibus si in foro sæpe creditum est, cur ego de adversario publico non crederem? cur ego solus quæ in ore omnibus & sermone sunt, adversarius tacerem? sed nec testes hic mihi, nec justo numero nec literæ defunt; in quibus literis & libidines tuæ & illa perjuria quorum ope elapsus ex judicio es, cum horrore ac detestatione maxima narrantur. Sunt & muti testes qui etiam sine voce testantur; illa nocturna itinera quæ toties Hagacomitis Leidam cucurristi; illi nocturni & furtivi congressus cum Pontia; cum qua tu muliere per causam, ut aiunt, impuditiæ divortium fecisti. Si tu eam parùm pudicè versatam interdum cum aliis credidisti, cur alii te continentiorè noctu cum eadem consuevisse crederent? an expectas dum servulum tuum in te producam, nequitiarum tuarum diu conscius, donec, nondum planè amisso pudore, aufugere abs te in bonam frugem conspectæ ipsis oculis libidines tuæ pudefactum coegerunt? Opus utique non erit servum illum ad quæstionem poscere: Ipse detestatus tanta in Ecclesiastico homine flagitia, latè prædicat. Tu interim ut lectorum, si non aures, at saltem oculos invitare possis, oratiunculam nescio quam infercis hîc putidissimam, Historicorum more, lunulis adnotatam, quasi acutissimam nimirum & lectu dignissimam: non orationem, sed chorum quendam Battologorum introductum abs te aliquis putet; amicorum scilicet tuorum, hortantium ut "te ipsum reverearis;" ut "ungues tuos," quos tibi fatentur "non deesse," ad necessaria magis tempora, Pontianam credo alteram dimicationem, velis potius reservare: mecum ne velis "in arenam descendere." Sed perdunt suam operam amici verbosissimi, sua monita præclara, tot curta adagia, triviorum symbola, oleum nempe tuum Battologiæ

tologiæ professor : illis posthabitis me potius usus es consultore adversario, ut responderes cum tuo magno malo. Non ut “tuum” ego “silentium in conscientiam ne verterem,” sed ut conscientiam tuam suo, quod optat, silentio frui ne sinerem. Nam attendite quæso, & cognoscite nunc, si unquam aliàs, hypocritam numeris omnibus absolutum. Videt necesse sibi esse aliquid pro se dicere ; se intuetur, quamvis invitus ; videt in turpi præter turpe nihil esse quod possit responderi ; circumspectat ecquid foris propè se refugii sit, ecquid adminiculi quo inniti possit ; ecquid quo se tegere, sub quo latitare ; ecquos in societatem & communionem scelerum suorum possit attrahere, ecquem ordinem aut genus hominum suis privatis rationibus illigare, ut causam suam quasi communem communi periculo & aliorum existimatione defenderet ; nihil magis idoneum invenire potuit, in quod omne suum dedecus transferret, nihil in quod deonerare spurcitiam suam commodiùs posset, quàm ipsam Ecclesiam Dei : “Si mea,” inquit, “propriè tantum res ageretur, imponere fibulam ori meo & obmutescere poteram exemplo Domini mei : sed universus ordo noster, & Ecclesia Dei per meum petitur latus.” O scortum & ganearum Antistes ! cujus non ori magis, quàm inguini fibulam impositam oportuit ; quanto tibi præstitisset obmutuisse, “exemplo Domini tui,” cui Christus Dominus silentium cum capistro imperavit, quàm ecclesiam Dei hâc tantâ ignominiâ affecisse ? Ais “universum Ordinem vestrum à me licèt obliquè stigmatè notari.” A me ais ? dic ubi ; recita, si potes, locum ; nisi fortè quòd ego in mercenarios, id tu in Ministros Evangelii dictum putas. Erras More ; & aliud fortasse multo justius haud absimile conquestus esses ; non ego vestrum Ordinem obliquè, sed te extra ordinem tua Pontifex & obliquo & directo & transverso stigmatè notavit. “Ecclesia,” inquis, “Dei, cui mea omnia tempora consecravi, per meum petitur latus.” Per tuumne latus turpissime ? qui tantum abest, ut omnia tua tempora Ecclesiæ consecraveris, ut ipsa Ecclesiæ tempora, omisso nonnunquam matutino concionandi munere, furtivis libidinibus consecrâsse haud semel dicaris. Ne repetam quid etiam temporis famosis libellis Ecclesiastes consecraveris. Per tuumne latus ? at nihil omnino est quod graviore cum vulnere Ecclesiam petat, quàm tuum ipsum impurissimum, Ecclesiæ tam malè contiguum latus. Hoc si vis intelligi per tuum latus, id est, per tuam turpitudinem, propter tua scelera Ecclesiam opprobriis impiorum peti, maculâ aspergi, infamiam contrahere, hoc quidem verum esse non diffiteor. Itaque universus ordo tuus, & Ministri præsertim Gallici, qui te optimè norunt, ne tuo illo pestifero latere diutius periclitentur, te ipsum quantum possunt, tuique contagionem amovere ab se atque depellere conantur : causam ullam aut rationem tuam communicatam sibi nolunt ; ne scelerum tuorum atque dedecorum participes fiant : ejectum te ex suo ordine, & exturbatum, ut meritis es, cupiunt ; & illam, quam ais “fibulam” ori tuo impudicissimo affigere conantur. Macste estote integritate vestra atque constantia, viri Ecclesia digni ; prospicite, ut instituistis, Ecclesiæ puritati, existimationi, disciplinæ exemplo : amovete à lateribus vestris immundum illud & verrinum latus, cujus non solum ictu Ecclesia læditur, sed affricu etiam polluitur. Nolite hanc indignissimam contumeliam pati, ut is, cum flagitiorum suorum nomine meritis conviciis atque infamia petitur, non se peti, sed quasi is, quia cœnum hominis est, idcirco murus & munimentum Ecclesiæ esset, per suum latus Ecclesiam peti dicat. Abigite procul ab Ecclesiæ septis concionantem lupum ; vocem illam hircinam tot stupris & adulteriis impuram, populo verba dantem, imò vendentem, idque è superiore, quod jactat, loco, ne siveritis in sacro cœtu amplius audiri. Profectò si Ethnicorum legibus, verbi gratia Solonis cautum est, nequis Rhetor turpitudine vitæ notatus, civilem concionem habendi ad populum, ne Atticorum quidem si disertissimus fuisset, jus haberet, additæque præclara ratio est, plus exemplo nocere turpem, quàm oratione quamvis castissimâ atque sanctissimâ prodesse, quo etiam nomine Timarchus, vir inter primos illius Reipub. accusante Æschine, damnatus est, quanto est indignius scortatorem atque adulterum tanquam Dei nuntium & ministrum, ad Christianum Populum sacras habendi conciones jus in Ecclesia perniciosissimum obtinere. Nolite committere, ut

Magistratus Ethnicus, Deique experts, religiosior atque sanctior in foro fuisse, quàm Christi sacra synodus in Ecclesia esse videatur, Nolite vereri, quem iste scrupulum calidus iniecit, si eum quem approbâstis, cui sanctas manus imposuistis, cui gregem Dei commisistis, perspectum nunc adulterinum & spurium ejeceritis, nequis vestrum judicium aut prudentiam desideret; neque enim Paulus hac in parte, ut nôstis, vidit omnia: illud veremini, si Pastoris in munere talem retinueritis, ne omnes non judicium modò & prudentiam, sed religionem quoque & pietatem & gregis denique curam in vobis requirant. Hæc ad pastores de te, More; nunc ad gregem pro me pauca dicam. “Patriæ,” inquis, “meæ greges qui pascuntur inter lilia, nescio quam in invidiam vocas.” Utinam ne ista lilia, spinas esse aliquando sentiant; verùm non ego tuæ patriæ greges in invidiam, sed tuus Clamor Regius ad societatem sui furoris vocare cupiebat. Quem enim non irritâssent istiusmodi opprobria? “maximè omnium Galli nostri reformati, non modo horrendo facto perculsi, sed ejusdem injusta infamia pressi, plurimum allaboraverunt, ut parricidium & parricidas cognoscerent.” Hæc & multa alia acerba quidem & planè hostilia Clamor iste Gallorum sub nomine Reformatorum, in nos clamitavit: ad quæ omnia respondi solum, Gallis etiam reformatis impositam eandem olim necessitatem fuisse, ut suum quoque Regem hostis numero haberent. Verùm ego incogitantior (quid enim de me non fatear potius, aut non indictum velim, quod Ecclesias Gallicæ Reformatas, quas esse scio nobis omnibus charissimas, in invidiam vocare possit) incogitantior, inquam, fui, qui isti insanissimo Clamori vocem ullam Ecclesiarum aut fratrum interjectam esse credidissim. Scimus eos quo sub regno vivant, quibus in periculis, quibus in angustiis evangelii causâ versentur; & tamen amplum hoc sibi esse, si tueri sua queant. Nos ut vel minimam nostra causa invidiam apud suos Reges aut offensionem susciperent, nunquam petivimus; ut de nostris factis aut consiliis suum sensum declararent, tametsi fratrum judicia plurimi semper fecimus, tamen ne hoc iis periculum crearet, nunquam postulavimus; preces eorum, non sententias aut suffragia prodesse nobis censuimus, suam autem erga Reges fidem ex suo in nos odio verborumque acerbitate perspicui aut probari non arbitramur. Multa deinde præteris, “quæ nimis meum in religione animum produnt;” & sapis: fac & illud quoque prætereas, quòd “te hominem sacris addictum” Cotyttiis, credo, aut Isiacis, non Evangelicis (nisi addictum ita ut devotum intelligis) “adversarium,” quod ego mihi honestissimum duco, nactus sum. At enim illi “qui diversum à nobis in religione sentiunt,” sic enim tibi prospiciens, Ecclesiæ prospicere videri velles, “ex ista fabula Ecclesiis nostris insultandi ansam arripiunt, quasi patiantur, ipsæ qualia vulgò turpia dictu sacrificulis objiciuntur suis:” & meritò quidem, si patiantur, verùm spes est, non esse passuras: salus certè unica rerum est, si pati noluerint. Si enim patiantur, quæ tu in me tela levissime conjecisti, ea in te ego acutissima retorqueo. “Satanæ triumphus paratur, scandalum infirmioribus creatur, inimicis gaudium, sociis dolor, fidei damnum.” Hæc vera sunt non me accusante, sed te impunito. Talem esse quenquam in Reformata videlicet Ecclesia Ministrum adversarii gaudent: accusat aliquis? multum, mihi crede, de isto gaudio protinus remittunt: damnatur is incorruptis & integerrimis Ecclesiarum suffragiis? Nihil æquè dolent: nam qui Presbyterum Reformatum flagitiorum incusat, accusat idem sacerdotes omnes & sacrificulos eorundem facinorum sibi conscios: qui illum absolvit, hos multo faciliùs absolvat necesse est. Frustrà nos quidem opinionum quarundam & dogmatum, frustra etiam fidei reformationem gloriamur, nisi morum sancta censura pariter quoque vigeat. Non Doctrinam tantùm reformatam, sed Doctores reformatos esse convenit, si ereptam “sacrificulis,” ereptam “Satanæ insultandi ansam” cupimus. “Magnum,” ais, “honorem habere me Ordinibus Fœderati Belgii, quos indigere putem notore me:” monitore opinor volebas dicere. Immo verò tu illis quem honorem habuisti? quorum existimatio gravissima tam apud te parum potuit, ut eorum de te opinionem fallere turpissimè malueris, quàm flagitiosam vitæ tuæ licentiam refrænare; quique ejusmodi homo cùm sis, arrogare tibi tantum potes,

tes, ut existimes tot viros graves atque prudentes te “notore,” etiam “è superiore loco” indigere; tuo “admonitu” posse unquam sapere; ut idcirco os tuum è suggesto importunissimum tantæ gravissimorum hominum frequentiæ, & præsertim sacre concioni offerendum sit. Qui denique apud quos tanto te in pretio esse dicis, iis nihil aliud nisi aut minimum iudicium, aut maximam doctorum penuriam relinquis. Minimum profectò ipsi sibi honorem habent, qui abs te Doctore & Ecclesiaste meliores discedere se posse crediderint. Verùm tu nihilominus buccam inflas: “Quid nunc, inquis, memorem tot illustres ac principes viros, tot proceres, tot Ecclesias, tot Academias, quæ me foveant & ornant, vel optant & exambiant.” Et ego, quid, inquam, nunc memorem tot agyrtas, tot empiricos, tot seplasiarios, tot circulatores, quos Romæ aut Venetiis iisdem penè verbis suas pyxides & pharmaca vendentes, præteriens audivi. Atqui “dum hæc scribo,” inquis, “litteras accipio quibus ad Ecclesiastæ ordinarii munus & sacre Theologiæ professionem invitor in urbe nobilissima.” Nam hoc certè habes, in quo omnes Doctores circumforaneos venalitios ambitione superas. Primum per amicos tui similes occultam das operam, ut quot potes ex locis inviteris: posteaquam id difficile reperitum est, ex quo jam passim notus es, hoc solum (quæ tua animi egestas atque mendicitas vera est) miserè contendis, & nonnunquam perficis ut omnino inviteris, quamvis ea diserta lege & pactu interposito, ut omnino ne venias. Hoc modo invitatum te nuper in Galliam, & ni fallor, Montalbanum, invitatum & Franekeram, vel Groningham intelligo: Harum utram in urbem sanè nescio, in alterutram fat scio: de loco enim fateor nondum mihi satis liquere, de re satis. Hanc demum rationem excogitare coacti sunt homines importunitate tuâ fatigati & victi, quâ & abs te simul tanquam à peste sibi caverent, & tuæ miseræ gloriolæ multo cum risu vela panderent; tèque erraticum sophistam & planum tuisinet ventis ludibrium commendarent. Sed ne cui forte vanior quàm mendacior esse videaris, in illud nunc incidimus usitatissimum tibi & impudentissimum artificium quoddam tuum maledicendi simul & maledicentiam vituperandi. Quoties enim strenuè conviciando vel ad inopiam vel ad ravim, quasi ad incitas redactus es exhausto penu, dum novum virus colligis, subito bonus & bellus abhorrere te fingis à conviciis omnibus: nolle te scilicet “luto ludere,” nolle “fordes mihi regerendo manus tuas coinquinare; non placere tibi de cane latrante victoriam,” malle te “omittere latrantem caniculam.” Quid hæc quæso nisi convicia sunt? quæ dum deponere te dicis, totis viribus intorques; ita caudam atterere & simul ringere idem tibi est: idque ipsum agis, dum agere te negas; usque eò totus ex mendacio conflatus, ut ne verax quidem utrovis modo sine mendacio esse possis: si enim negas te nunc maledicere, quod tu negas, verba ipsa, te invito, fatentur; si fateris, tua eadem verba id ipsum, quod fateris, negant. Quid est, si hæc non est “maledicendi ars” illa, quam tu “Dæmonum Rhetoricam” infamis libelli editor “vocare te” ais “solere.” Sic tu nimirum homo sanctus & veriloquus, “Christum didicisti & doces:” id est, dum latrare te negas, mordes. Tibimet tam apertè mendax, in me ut sis religiosior, non expecto: tentas, ut video, omnia, captas omnia; siquem fortè rumusculum, aut fuffurum aquilones cum fugitivis famigerantibus ad vos perferunt, aures arrigis: Hinc illud, “non is es,” inquis, “de quo mentiri fama vereatur;” minùs quidem tu hîc subdolus es, quàm soles. Famam etiam mendacem mihi minitaris; dici nempe. “me aliorum ingenia ex moribus meis æstimare, nulli non vitio quod insequor obnoxium.” Ergo ego scortator, ut fama mentitur, ergo adulter; hæc enim in te crimina infector. Fac sanè periculum famæ; age, insimula, dic, siquid habes, audacter & clare; tempus, locum, nomina simul ede; quod ego in te facio. Dic cum qua Claudia Pelletta, dic cum qua Pontia, dic siquo in horto, siqua in domo, noctu an interdiu, siquod in iudicium adductus unquam sim, siquod unquam recusaverim: hæc tibi omnia dicenda sunt, hæc ego in te omnia demonstravi. Invenies profectò me ad injurias meas tuâque crimina persequenda attulisse hanc dicendi libertatem, & anteaactæ vitæ meæ certissimum indicium atque fructum, & agendæ posthac firmissimum propositum. Nunquam me

libertatis hujus poenitere audies, ut Lucium Crassum poenituisse olim ferunt, quòd Caium Carbonem unquam in iudicium vocavisset; cùm hac sua severitate præcisam sibi aut circumscriptam in posterum liberius vivendi veniam apud omnes arbitraretur. Is Caium Carbonem civem improbum in iudicium Senatûs populique Rom. vocavit: ego te, More, & meo & pop. Anglicani nomine, quem tu infami Clamore edito prior lacestisti, illo Carbone multò nigriorem, iudicia patria detrectantem, sæculorum omnium iudiciis trado. Quid tui interim famigeruli de me mussitent aut loquantur, unice securus. Tu senties eam esse vitæ meæ & apud me conscientiam, & apud bonos existimationem, eam esse & præteritæ fiduciam & reliquæ spem bonam, ut nihil impedire me aut abstertere possit, quo minus flagitia tua, si pergis lacestere, etiam liberius adhuc & diligentius persequar; teque simul tuasque etiam famæ quas meditaris corruptelas & perspexero facile & risero. Interea, ne cui dubium sit, quin tu omnia pervestigando nihil prorsus in me habeas quod verum crimen sit, aut si haberes, quin id cupidissime statim & malitiosissime diceres modisque omnibus amplificares, videamus quàm non crimina quæ sint, des crimini; etiam rectè facta quàm odiose calumnieris. Primum “cur Clamori auctoris anonymi responderim” quæris, “& non tot aliis qui nomen ediderunt suum.” Quis adversario tam aliena & inepta interroganti rationem redderet? ego tamen ut quàm æquanimiter tecum agam, videas, reddam. Cur Clamoris auctori responderim, rogas? quia iussus, inquam, publicè ab iis quorum autoritas apud me gravis esse debuit; vix alioqui manum admoturus. Deinde quia nominatim læsus: nam & tu hîc, quamvis id minimè velis ut existimationis aliquam meæ quoque rationem ducam, veniam vel invitatus dabis, quam omnes boni dant, scio, libentissime. At cur “non aliis,” inquis, respondisti? “Clamant & illi, nec minus fortiter:” rursus respondeo, ut prius, quia ad rationes publicas non vocatus non accedo. Deinde, quia non læsus; nam & hoc, quamvis tu id maximè velles ut impunè tibi quenquam lædere liceret, non est leve. Deinde quia ex vestro ipsorum iudicio tantum Salmasio tribuimus (quem Defensorem Regium, quasi solus is esset & instar omnium, nominare soletis) ut post illum posse quenquam alium dicere quod momenti esset non existimaremus. Vis plura? quia liberum erat; quia non vacabat; quia denique homo sum, humana mihi latera sunt, non ferrea, tu licet Alexander ærarius sis. Aliud quiddam opus est, ut mihi videtur, quo tot importunis Clamatoribus ora melius obturentur. Quàm multa tuus ille Stentor anonymus clamitabat, quæ à Salmasio clamata prius & conclamata erant? quibus ego toties repetitis, quamvis cùm miseriam ac tædio sæpius respondissem, tamen quia cum isto vociferatore verboso certare ubique non libuit, “languet” tibi scilicet “oratio mea, quoties pro populo dico:” tibi, inquam, cui “Gallica nive frigidius est” non esse tautologum. De me si accuratius dixi, non eò id feci, quo ego minus populo quàm mihi studerem, sed propterea quòd tuus Clamor tum quidem novum aliquid suppeditabat, unde possem ab odiosa crambe vestra nonnunquam respirare. Quod itaque facetè inquis “non immeritò Defensio pro populo secunda dicitur;” quoniam id faustum est, ex ore præsertim adversarii, omen accipio. Tu licet novum quotannis clamorem edideris, rumpas te prius licebit, quàm clamorem secundum edidisse dicaris. Alterum meum crimen est quòd in Laudes Reginæ Suecorum serenissimæ per occasionem ab adversario ipso datam, digressus sum: & inter alia dixeram (satis modestè quidem ut opinor) nequid adtribuerem mihi quòd Reginam contra Regiam, ut videbatur, causam, tam mihi faventem reperissem, nescire me planè quâ meâ forte id evenisset: malebam ad sortem, ad sydera, ad, siquis est occultus vel animorum vel rerum, consensum aut moderamen, quàm ad meum quicquid erat vel ingenii, vel acuminis, vel copiar referre videri. Hanc tu calumniandi simul & parasitandi materiam nactus, fremere extemplo, quasi indignum hoc esset; & “lutum” illud in visceribus tuis concretum, in ore mox tibi, ut frequentissime solet, fluitare. Age, despue; quid est? “eam” inquis “propterea tam importunè laudabas, ut cum ea te componeres lutum.” Tunc Morus es an Momus? an uterque idem est? utro te nomine appellem dubito:

bito : quis enim præter Morum aut Momum tam sinistrè ac perperam interpretatus hæc esset ? quod ullum dictum modestissimum hæc tanta malitia non depravaret atque perverteret ? Tum illud simul depromis ex peculio tuo servile & parasiticum ; “ nesciebat Christina se tibi esse tam familiarem.” Téne scabellum hominis ex tuis oculis & immunditiis Christinæ suggerere quid nesciat, aut quid dicat ? atqui sciebat se illa pro sua singulari in literatos benevolentia Salmasio familiarem ; cui me tamen arbitrio suo liberimæque sententiâ haud semel dicta est prætulisse. Sed “ hoc unum,” inquis, “ Regina non meruit abs te laudari.” Abs te ergo illaudatissime ? concedo libens ! quis enim obstare potest, si tibi modò libeat vel invitissimi cujusvis laudes contaminare ? experire sanè ; persequere modo istud, quod veluti specimen laudationum tuarum egregium hoc loco inferuisti ; “ quam supra mortalitatis modum inusitata naturæ vis, & stupendum ingenii lumen evexit.” Perge, inquam, & macte isto ore : ab isto exorsu quantumvis in sublime evoles per me licet : isto enim tenore, si perrexeris, mirificum tu quidem fastigium ac propè nubiferum tam altis substructionibus impositurus videris. Mihi, fateor, non placet sic altè insurgere ; unde statim necesse erit, vel ridiculè ruam, vel inter nubes frigescam. Attamen “ iis,” inquis, “ dotibus insignis es, quæ possunt etiam heroibus animum laxantibus placere.” Esto ; sunt & tua dotes & præsertim scripta, quæ heroibus placere quiddam aliud laxantibus, possint. Et in primis ista tua quæ sequitur sapientissima & ministello te digna ad typographos conciuncula ; quam idcirco prætereo : nam ad tertium jam crimen meum perveni ; quòd dixerim nimirum, uno cum famulo me peregrè fuisse. Crimen grave ; quo ego nomine haud uno in loco perstringor : id scilicet nefas erat meminisse, ne versificatores vestri, qui ex egestate nescio qua emerissem me per hanc rerum apud nos conversionem versificabant, cecinisse falsa reperirentur. Jocum verò hic tuum, quando hæc tam rara avis est, non possum prætermittere. Non equidem vobis “ Typographis litem unquam intenderim, non certè magis quàm illi servo qui Miltonum euntem peregrè comitabatur.” O longè & miserè petium ! quid hac capitis cucurbita facias, ex qua, ut id maximè labores, nullam salis micam potis es extundere. Sed quietus homo & fugitans litium es ; itaque non meo sed ne tuo quidem servo litem intendis, qui domesticæ turpitudinis tuæ fugitivus, secretiora flagitia & nefarias libidines tuas divulgavit. Quartum est, siquidem id crimen dici meum debet, quod tuum est mendacium, “ in eodem” scilicet “ libro, quem scatere,” ais, “ discinctorum nepotum festivitatis, ausum me censuram agere, & graviter concionari de Republ. deque civium officio.” Quis non germanum te nunc dicat Epicureum ? cujus neque in moribus honestas, neque in scriptis urbanitas ulla reperiatur. Mirum non est si hoc nomine facetiis omnibus infensior sis, cum quia negantur tibi, tum quia te pungunt : non mirum est, inquam, si tibi tam ulceroso sal omnis inimicus est. Id mirum, Professor cum sis, cur mihi succenseas qui sic diligenter salarium tibi curo. At verò quos tu “ jocos è lustris popinæque desumptos” falsò ais (nisi desumptos ex lustris idcirco dicis, quòd te illic latitantem extraxerint) eos si cæteri omnes non inhonestos aut illiberales, sed honestos atque urbanos tuamque putredinem perfricanti sales concessos non negaverint, tum quidem tua professoris insulsi ignorantia, ut persæpè alias, hinc satis manifesta est, qui id parum convenire dicas, quod Marcus Tullius in oratore summum esse statuit, ubi de oratione L. Crassi in Cn. Domitium summa cum admiratione sic loquitur. Nec enim concio major unquam fuit, nec apud populum gravior oratio, quàm hujus contra collegam in censura nuper, neque lepore & festivitate conditior. Et paulo infra, id uni Crasso contigisse ait, ut non solum venustissimus & urbanissimus, sed & omnium gravissimus & severissimus & esset & videretur. Quin etiam Platoni & Socraticis nihil magis convenire aut decuisse visum est, quàm rebus interdum severissimis intermixtus atque inspersus lepos. Hæc ego viris doctis & intelligentibus quin & supra & nunc denuò satis probaverim, non dubito. Te interim non reprehendo, qui “ mollior,” inquis, “ debuit esse transitus à naso ad supercilium :” nam digitorum Ponticæ credo adhuc meministi, quàm iste transitus abs tuo naso

naso ad supercilia minimè mollis fuerit. Fœlicem te quidem, si hoc tum mulierculæ persuasisses : sed de oratorum transitionibus, More, iudicium longè aliud faciendum est. “ At leges scribo,” hoc quintum crimen est, “ quibus se teneat non populus modò, sed illi etiam qui me præceptore nihil egent.” Quid tu mihi quo quis egeat, homo levissime & arrogantissime? tène “superiore ex loco” egent Fœderati Ordines concionatore, me ex inferiore, quod omnibus ex æquo civibus licet, nostri non tam egeant libero hortatore? non est, More, cur ego me natum in mea patria tam inutilem existimem, cùm te in aliena tam arrogantem videam; non est, quam ob rem te mercede concionantem, quàm me gratis monentem rectiora putem posse suadere. Hæc mea quinque sunt peccata mortifera; nam illa septem, opinor, conficere nequisti. Ex quo intelligitur, inania quàm fuerint quæ “condonâsse” mihi te dicis, cùm sint tam levia, quæ crimineris. Nisi & illud fortè criminofum mihi vis esse, quòd Deum testem invocarim; & certè parùm abest ut istud quoque in criminibus meis numeres. “Hinc illa,” inquis, “nimium fane sollicita protestatio.” Quænam ista fuit, More? audies vel invitus; nec illam nunc recito, sed iisdem conceptis verbis (neque enim pœnitet, & hic etiam peregrinationem meam calumniaris) rursus Deum testem invoco, me illis omnibus in locis, ubi tam multa licent, ab omni flagitio ac probro integrum atque intactum vixisse, illud perpetuò cogitantem, si hominum latere oculos possem, Dei certè non posse. Hæc tibi “nimium sollicita protestatio” est, More: cui non magis sollicitum est, Deum testem invocare, quàm invocatum pejerare. Quàm multi & quàm multis de rebus te accusent, non ignoras: aude modò, siquid in te integri, siquid incorrupti est, iisdem quibus ego nunc præivi tibi verbis, teipsum defendere. Dic age in hæc verba: Deum testem invoco me ab omnibus illis flagitiis quorum infimulor, integrum atque intactum semper vixisse; me neque Claudiae, neque Pontiae, neque ullius omnino fœminæ stupratorem esse aut adulterum. Non audebis, opinor, tametsi facilè perjurus esse diceris, in hæc verba præeuntem me sequi. Verùm si Dei non audes, hominum saltem fidem implora. Genevam, inquam redi, permitte te illic magistratibus & populo; dic illis ut castum & innocentem hominem, falsò infimulatum, deceat: Viri Genevenses, multorum apud vos & gravissimorum criminum accusor; si ita vixi, si inter vos ita versatus sum, ut hæc per idoneos testes & argumenta probari vobis possint, en sisto me; legitimum pati iudicium, quod antea recusavi, nunc non recuso. Hoc multo minùs audebis, sat scio: malis tergiversari, ut supra dixi, malis aliunde perfugia & latebras & diverticula veterani scortatoris in modum quærere. Veruntamen “honestam” fuisse illam “orationem” meam fateris; sed “præcedenti parùm consentientem.” Cuinam præcedenti obsecro? vellem recitasses: ego enim aliquot retrò paginis pro certo habeo, ne minimum quidem obscœni vestigium inveniri posse, quia tanto intervallo de te nulla fit mentio. Quòd siquem alium locum intelligis, ubi in tua vitia falsè animadversum est, velim te scire, quicquid tu ex “Platone” detorsisti, neque alienum esse neque inverecundum eodem in libro cum acrimonia & sale (“profligati” enim “pudoris” verba nusquam illic reperies) & turpia infectari, & de “Deo cogitare.” Sanè si oratoris præceptum hoc verum atque honestum est, in eodem vultu convenire & pudorem & acrimoniam, quidni itidem in eodem ore convenient? Nullius enim pudentis pudorem minuit vehemens & falsa turpitudinis exprobratio vel etiam irrisio, sed pudorem, in quo prius non erat, impudenti reo nulla res efficacius incutere videtur. Tu vide ut cum pudore & “cogitatione Dei” tua stare perpetua possint mendacia, Ecclesiastes adulterine; qui scripsisse me ais “Romæ martyrii fuisse candidatum; structas ab Jesuitis vitæ meæ insidias.” Ad quod utrumque mendacium diluendum opus est nihil aliud, nisi ut quis locum ipsum libri inspiciat: & cur ea de re aliquid omnino scripserim, conjecturâ per se assequi nemo facilè non poterit, cui id modò credibile non sit eum “ob flagitia in Italiam profugisse,” qui religionis ibidem confitendæ periculum toties adierit. Nugaris deinde multa, & “machæras & legiones” garris Pontiae mastigia. Verùm hæc satis risimus: nunc luculentam & insignem hominis calumniam quæso attendite; ut cognoscatis qua fide vel in sacris eti-

am literis, quas cum summa Ecclesiæ ignominia profitetur, versari soleat; quàm nulla isti falsario Ecclesiastæ religio sit verbum ipsum Dei sacrosanctum corrumpere, si id commodum sibi fore crediderit. Ego ut refellerem eos, qui Grammatistæ aut Critico Magni titulum & cognomen largiri ineptissimè solent, sic scripseram: Is solus magnus est appellandus, qui res magnas aut gerit aut docet, aut dignè scribit. Quis hac verissimâ sententiâ offendatur, nisi Grammatista? Quid hîc noster professor? id est, inquit, qui res magnas docet, "ut Miltonus de divortiis," aut dignè scribit "ut Miltonus idem pro Populo, bis magnus." Lepidum fanè interpretamentum, More! & ejusdem planè artificii, quo Evangelii etiam locum illum de divortiis non verbo, sed factis interpretatus es. Licet ob scortationem dimittere vel uxorem vel sponsam: Morus cum desponsata sibi Pontia scortatus est, ergo, licet Moro sponsam ob scortationem dimittere. Vos "O tot Principes, tot Proceres, tot Ecclesiæ, tot Academiæ, quæ hunc hominem fovetis & ornatis vel optatis & exambitis," evocate nunc certatim hunc vobis, quâ sacrarum, quâ profanarum literarum interpretem tam fidum & religiosum; ut sacras profanare literas apud vos quâ actis, quâ commentis suis possit. Vel si id minimè vultis, nam Doctorem hunc commentitium longè latèque olfecisse jamdiu videmini, date saltem & concedite hoc palpum tumori hominis & gloriolæ: evocate quæso per literas quàm honorificas Ludionem hunc cathedrarium; sed cum hac cautione, si salvi esse vultis, clam interposita, cum hoc urbanissimo interdicto, ut nullo modo accedat. Miros profectò reddet ludos inter tot Cathredas, dum professiones & prælectiones & murmura & plausus & Pontias novas sibi somniat. Sed dimitto nunc hominem, quia me prope dimittet. Aliò se vertit; imò verò "quò se vertat," non habet. Simulat velle nunc de vita & moribus suis causam pro se dicere. Exordiri jam putares hominem, & velle aliquid præfari; cùm in ipso statim præfationis vestibulo, elusâ omnium expectatione perorat. Tam tenue se esse argumentum, tam turpe etiam dum reperit, vel ipsa rerum inopia subito exarescit, vel ipsa foeditate perculsus & quasi syderatus obmutescit: Vultus, vox, latera deficere videntur; animus tamen veteratorius, & ut dixi antea, indurati utroque jamdiu foro veteris & crebri fontis artes non deficiunt. "Quò me vertam?" quò te vertas, miselle? quis unquam nocens reus demissa barba sordidatus & squalens tam miserabili procæmio deprecatus unquam judices est? quò te, si innocens, si insons, si tutus undique tibi esses, quò te, inquam, nisi ad te verteres? tecum loquerere, te consulere, extra te ne quæreres? Sed heu miserum te! discordia tibi tecum gravissima jamdiu est. Nihil tibi invisum magis, quàm tecum habitare, apud te esse; neminem libentiùs, quàm te ipsum fugis. Frustra: tecum enim fugis miser, te sequeris: Quod agitat intus est, intus & flagellum & tortor argus ille tuus, qui te semper non "Junoniis," quod quereris, "artibus," sed piaculorum tuorum Oestro agitatum, cinctus mille oculis ac testibus persequitur. Quid nunc agas? nam æstuantem te misere & pendentem video. An "tuas ipse laudes vesanus decantares?" vesanus profectò sis, si id suscipias; vesanus, si id unquam cogitabas. "Vitamne conscribas & facinora omnia tua?" pervellem equidem; sed vereor ne non "Morus," sed "Florus" nimium in tuis floralibus, id est, multo brevior quàm par esset, futurus sis. Vereor ne inideas nobis tot lepidas fabellas, qui unam solùm "retexere," hortensem nimirum illam, tantopere gravatus sis. Sanè qui illas lites Junonias omnes, qui illa jurgia Salmasii prætermiseris, qui prælium illud nobile Pontianum mihi tantis rebus parùm idoneo reliqueris, qui denique totam illam Ponticæ Sestiada sicco pede præterieris, præteribis opinor silentio Tibaltianam quoque illam, & illius nuper domus calamitatem, ubi tu procax in ancillam, proditor in herum extitisti: nam ancillis, ut videtur, quocunque vadis, nullum abs te refugium est. Tacebitur & vidua illa, quam tu, solatii tum plenus, nunc inops, cùm de marito recens mortuo velle consolari præ te ferebas, ejus pudicitiam tentasse diceris: Nec dices credo quâ domo egredientem te cum scorto intempestâ nocte Amsterodami illa mulier vidit; quæ delinita primùm pollicitationibus tuis, mox decepta, novissimè nomen tuum ad Presbyteros detulit; qui tuum nomen recipere, quod ob priora facinora ejiciendum ex suo ordine & circumscribendum.

bendum statuebant, ne aucto scelere, cùm augeri pœna tua non possêt, augetur ordinis infamia, recusarunt. Quid ergo? “an quæ fecisses uno cum servo itinera” nocturna illa nempe Haga Leidam “posteris narrares?” ne hoc quidem sat scio, voles: verùm illa servus ipse passim copiosè narrat, & permulta alia præclare abs te gesta: cætera jam tritissima plurimisque per ea loca testibus confirmata. Age vero; post dubitationem sanè miseram quæ te perplexum tandiu atque suspensum tenuit, post tui fugam, quò tandem fugis? quò ad extremum te recipis? “fidei,” inquis, “publicæ monumenta consulamus.” Acta tua credo jam publica, quæ in Bibliotheca Genevensium enumerata centum prope articulis, tuorum scelerum monumenta posteritati servantur. “A Geneva exorsus,” inquis, “fabellam nescio quam poetarum autoritate subnixam instituis.” Ferax tu quidem sæculum poetarum dicis, qui tot una in urbe, tibi que omnes infestos quæraris; nigrum te aliquem oportet esse, ipsoque moro nigriorem, quem tot poetæ oderint; festivum quoque hominem, qui quorum autoritas testium te jugulavit, eorum nunc poeticam iniquiorem in te causeris. Verùm ista te festivitas nihil in hoc tempore adjuvabit. Permulti sunt in illa civitate viri honestissimi, nonnulli Presbyteri, Doctores, Ministri, nescio an Poetæ, qui fabellam tibi hanc in foro agere cupiunt; qui non sua carmina recitare, sed tua crimina pro testimonio dicere parati jampridem sunt. Nemo sic unquam poetam recitantem, ut tu hos omnes contra te testantes & fugisti & fugies. Adeone verò singulari impudentiâ occaluisse, ut institutam in te legitimè accusationem testatissimam, cujus vim atque auctoritatem cùm sustinere non posses, discedendi, & veluti in exilium abeundi licentiam exorâsti, hanc tu quasi “fabellam nescio quam” eludere & uno verbo leviculo sic amoliri abs te posse, existimes? At “permulti sunt,” inquis, “in hoc Belgio, qui me Genevæ familiariter usi optimè omnium norunt quàm non ibi nullo in pretio fuerim.” Audi igitur quæ sint honestissimorum hominum de te judicia primò Genevæ, deinde in Belgio. Duorum verba ipsa ex literis desumpta, in medium proferam.

Literæ Genevæ datæ pridè Id. Octob. 1654.

Mirari certè nostrates satis non possunt, ita te interiora ignoti aliàs hominis nosse, tam nativis coloribus depinxisse, ut ne ab illis quidem, quibus familiarissimè usus est, tota hominis histrionia vel certiùs vel feliciùs potuisset adumbrari: unde hærent meritò & ego cum illis, quâ fronte ἀναίσχυς licet homo & oris improbi, in publicum rursus theatrum prodire sit ausurus. Illud enim summum fœlicitatis tuæ hac in parte compendium, quod non vel ficta vel ignota aliàs hominis scelera attuleris, sed quæ omnium & amicissimorum etiam ore decantata, integri cœtus auctoritate & assensu, immo plurium adhuc scelerum accessione luculenter possint corroborari.

Et infra. Credas velim vix ullum hîc reperiri amplius, ubi multos annos publico munere, sed cum summo hujus Ecclesiæ dedecore functus est, qui prostituti pudoris homini patrocinium suum vel audeat vel sustineat amplius commodare.

Hæ sunt eorum voces, qui penitissimè te nôrunt: quam turpem tui memoriam Genevæ reliqueris, hæ literæ, aliæque benè multæ si proferrentur, docerent. Nunc in Belgio aliisque locis quâ famâ sis, “quo in pretio” cognosce. Viri probatissimi tibi que noti non literas solùm, sed quoniam abs te priùs nominatus, idque in tua causa, atque laudatus est, nomen quoque edam. Is est vir gravissimus Joannes Duræus; qui dum Ottoni sola fide nixus interponit se, mecùmque agit, ut innocentem te scilicet missum facerem, non potest non fateri simul quàm longè alia de te cæterorum pænè omnium existimatio, aliúsque sermo sit.

Ex literis Duræi Basilia, Octob. 3. 1654.

Quod ad Mori vitia improbitatémque attinet, non videtur Ottonus ita de eo sentire: scio tamen alios pessimè de eo loqui, manus ejus in omnes penè, manus omnium in eum esse,

esse, plerisque etiam Gallicæ Synodi ministros dare operam ut ei Pastoris munus abrogetur. Neque hîc aliam Basileæ reperio de eo hominum opinionem, quàm quæ in Belgio est eorum qui eum minimè amant.

O pulchrum elogium! quo tu omnium penè mortalium iudicio Ismaeli hosti Ecclesiæ, quàm Ministro pacis & Evangelii similior judicaris. Hunc tuæ ubique gentium existimationis testem integerrimum, si potes, rejice. Mihi credulitatem desine obiectare: "Nemo omnes, neminem omnes sefellerunt," tua tibi verba regero. Hæc cum ita sint, perficiam haud multo negotio, ut intelligas, quàm exiguum tibi in aliis præsidium sit, cum tam exiguum tibi in teipso fuerit. Quod enim potest aliena fides testimonium de te aliis perhibere, cum tua fides perhibere nullum quod juvet aut cui confidas, de temetipso possit tibi? Et videte quæso quàm dissoluto animo, quam abjecto desertor sui & perfuga ad patrocinium alienæ fidei ab se transfugiat. "Neque vero," inquit, "tempus teram in eorum sollicita refutatione, quæcunque tu garris." Laudo te læti animi atque jucundi, nihil tu magis sollicitè, quàm sollicitudinem ipsam vitas. Mea modò "nimis sollicita" tibi fuit ad Deum "protestatio:" nunc tuam non minùs "sollicitam" putas tuorum criminum "refutationem." Atqui ego si duntaxat "garrus," haud multam sanè sollicitudinem tua refutatio desiderabit. Ignavissimus profectò sis, aut malè conscius necesse est, cui tam facilis tuimetipsum defensio, tam gravis & "sollicita" videatur: ineptus planè & ridendus, qui nullum tempus inutilius terere te putes, quàm in eo ipso quod ad rem, siquid vides, & ad causam maximè pertineat. Nam "quid proficiam," inquis, "si fabulam hanc penitus retexuero? statim aliam ordieris." Sanè quidem difficile id esset nemini; neque de nihilo te urit ista suspicio. Tanta enim tu solus fabularum sylva es, ut ex tuis unius rebus gestis atque nequitis suppeditare centum triviis atque circulis unde multos in dies rideant satis fabularum unus possis. Atque adeo hujus fabulæ actum jam quartum peregrimus: exit Morus; aliam credo vult personam induere. "Ut semel" inquit "defungamur, quod fuerit Ecclesiæ Genevensis, quod civitatis illius de me iudicium hæ docebunt literæ Testimoniales, alia occasione datæ." Ita est; ad elogia nunc transit sua; actus quintus incipit; nova planè persona, sed eodem tamen subtus latente Moro, prodit cornicula, sed & ea quoque personata: miris nescio quot repente plumis adscititiis atque coloribus ita indutus, ut Phœnicopterus nescio quis potius, & exornati quiddam monstri simile videatur. Aves Aristophanicas expoliassè hominem diceret; sed malà ave, ni fallor; cum se non jam fabulam agere, sed apologum Æsopicum in se verum demonstrare nudatus intelliget. Cum enim hæc plumas nec tuas esse, More, & partim obsoletas, quæque suâ sponte mox defluant, partim falsis coloribus fucatas, partim dolo, malisque artibus surreptas docuero, dubium non est, quin delusus abs te olim grex avium, nunc factus certior qui sis, de repetundis plumis jure tecum sit acturus; & ablato quisque suo, obscœnam sub phœnice upupam non deplumem te modò, sed depygem denuum relinquat: Primæ omnium "literæ Genevensium Testimoniales" cristam tibi erigunt: quas illi multò mallent, sat scio, aut nunquam tibi datas, qualis postea evasisti, aut abs te nunquam prolatas. Semper ego quidem de Genevensi Civitate, pro eo ac debeo, honesta omnia & sentire soleo & loqui: religionis cultum purioris, primùmque studium, in republica deinde prudentiam, æqualitatem, moderationem, constantiam propè admiror; quâ se tam arctis finibus, inter vicinos hinc inde potentissimos & imminentes, summâ in pace ac libertate per tot jam annos conservat & tuetur: rectiusque in re vix mediocri & melius id agit quod civilis vitæ omnis principium atque finis est, idque populo suo foeliciùs præstat, quàm summis opibus instructi, summis opinione hominum adjuti consiliis reges maximi servientibus præstant suis. De Genevensibus igitur, quod eorum laudem, & existimationem possit imminuere, non est ut quicquam velim aut queam dicere, etiamsi de his literis Testimonialibus ea dicerem, quæ & ab aliis dicta olim ipsi fatentur, & ad me recentius allata sunt. Sed necesse non est; non dicam igitur qua occasione sint datæ; propterea quòd ipse non hæc, sed "aliâ occasione" da-

tas esse ait. Non quæram, utrùm summa Ecclesiæ Senatusque voluntas honorarium hoc Moro testimonium sua sponte concesserit, an impudentissima hominis postulatio, cùm accusatus gravissimorum criminum nequisset se defendere, ab iis duntaxat abstulerit qui Ecclesiæ Pastorumque communi existimationi perperam metuentes, amandare ab se hominem quoquo modo malebant, quàm hæc publico judicio severiùs perquiri, nec sine offensa fortassis infirmiorum palam agitari. Non dicam, id quod multi tamen dicunt mihi que confirmant, nec conventu frequenti, nec solito conveniendi die datas hæc literas: ne id quidem dicam scribenti adstitisse Morum; unde illud fortasse “tralatitium,” & “exambire” ex elegantissimis Mori selectioribus tam in promptu erant; & “rupta concionante Moro subsellia, gemmæque illæ clarissimæ;” quæ omnia usque eo vel cupiditatem scribentis vel iudicium non grave significant, ut non solum nimio laudandi studio laudes ipsas corrupisse, quod vitium ab eo qui totius nomine Ecclesiæ scripsit, quam maximè abesse debuit, sed indignissimum ornare dum studet, non tam vivum decorare, quàm mortuum & putentem illis odoribus differtum funerasse videatur. Non dicam denique illa nomina in conventu subscripta non esse, circum vicos curfasse Morum, & pastores domi singulos adortum, quo sibi faciliùs hæc subscriptiones expugnet; Propterea quòd erant in conventu qui reclamare, qui intercedere, qui obsistere non desinebant, qui sese non audiri graviter conquesti sunt. Nihil horum dicam; quod nonnulli tamen dicunt, etiam qui illo tempore Genevæ rebus illis omnibus interfuere; multi aliis in locis “Deum hominumque fidem implorantes atque jurati” nulla se “simultate, sed officii” religione commotos, hæc dicere: adeoque illis literis fidem se adungere non posse; quorum inter primos virum sanctissimum Fredericum Spanhemium, Theologiæ professorem & pastorem reverendum fuisse intelligo: Hoc solum dico, hæc literas, quod idem de literis reverendissimi viri Joannis Deodati est dicendum, ante sexennium datas, multis postea maleficiis ab ipso Moro oblitteratas jampridem esse & antiquatas. Nondum increbuerat Claudia, nondum hortus, & illa, ad Claudiam nescio an cum Claudia, Mori suavissima cohortatio:

—Poma alba ferebat,

Qui post nigra tulit Morus:—

Id quod viris proculdubio integerrimis & honestissimis, harum literarum subscriptoribus, quin imposuerit non dubito. At postquam illa cum muliere, primò ancilla, deinde nupta, occultari diutiùs consuetudo istius nefaria non potuit, factus iterum reus, cùm honestam rationem defendendi sui nullam inveniret, & manifestis in rebus teneretur, fractus jam animo, atque id maximè veritus, si iudicium fieret, nequid in se gravius consuleretur, quo ipso die pronuncianda de se sententia Presbyterorum, deinde Magistratuum erat, iudicium declinat, licentiam abeundi petit. Illi necessitatem hanc rati se hoc modo effugisse, quam impositam sibi minimè volebant, ut Ecclesiæ Ministrum tantorum scelerum damnare, & in homine Ecclesiastico tam triste exemplum statuere cogerentur, libenter assensere. Petit insuper literas impudentissimus homo commendatitias. Id verò postulare ab iudicibus suis reum indignè ferentes, prorsus recusant: ita bonus ille tabellarius permanere sine literis illa in urbe, omni munere exutus, circiter decem menses coactus est: Etesiiis credo sacrificans, ut aliquam saltem auram commendatitiam impetrare aliquò posset: Donec multi gravissimi viri ne moram quidem ejus illa in urbe ferendam rati, rursus rem adducere in iudicium cœperunt. Id autem cùm ad novas lites, &, ut supra dixi, offensionem infirmorum spectare videretur, consultius tandem visum est, quoquo modo hominem ablegare: rursus itaque dant literas; “non frigidulas,” quod antea dixisse me queritur, sed, quod nunc dico, frigidissimas; non ut commendare cuiquam mortalium, sed amandare ab se hominem plane viderentur. Hoc si ita non est, More, postulo mihi respondeas, cur superiores illas Genevensium literas, haud uno nomine jam obsoletas, quæque recentiora facinora tua

à me tibi potissimum objecta, ne attingunt quidem; quæ ego vix attigi, ut minùs mihi comperta, “blasphemias” nempe “tuas in Spiritum sanctum,” aliæque opinionum monstra uberius commemorant, cur & illas in quibus parùm sibi de te credi à plerisque subscriptores tui queruntur, cur, inquam, illas utrasque in medium protuleris, has novissimas de medio removeris? Cedo proximas hæc literas post alteram in te accusationem illam gravissimam ab aliis ægerrimè, ab aliis facilè, sed eodem tui removendi animo ab omnibus concessas. Sapiens opinor, non exhibebis; non delectant te istæ literæ; ex quibus mutatam de te Genevensium opinionem, refrigerata amicissimorum studia manifestò perspicere possumus; eosque his literis non te laudatum, sed ab se, dummodo longissimè remotum, quasvis in terras exportatum cupiisse. Hæc Mori fides publica est; quâ se in Ecclesiam credere, quàm in Spiritum Sanctum planius facit. Quæ reliqua à me dicta in eum sunt neque diluit, neque refellit, ne oppugnat quidem. Sed quoniam, Vlacco fidejussore, tomum insuper alterum fidei publicæ promittit, in quo “virorum aliquot insignium, Senatûsque & Ecclesiæ Midelburgensis, & Amstelodamensis testimonia” dicentur, dum volumen illud, cudendum, puto, in Gallia, excudendum Hagæ-Comitis à Vlacco expectamus, aut ne expectamus quidem, visum est de toto hoc genere testimoniorum pauca differere.

Magnum ego ornamentum quidem virtutis testimonium publicum esse fateor; argumentum perinde certum atque firmum longè abest ut existimem; nam ut illud omittam quòd virtutis multo difficilius quàm nummorum spectatio est, hoc sanè constat, privatorum privatos mores, & præsertim vitia ad aures gravissimas, tot alioqui negotiis occupatas, rarissimè perferri. Et testimonium publicum tam qui petunt, quàm qui dant, boni juxta malique ferè sunt; & petunt quidem mali sæpius quàm boni, falsâ specie proborum induti. Ut quisque optimus est, ita minimè testimonio eget alieno: neque enim facit quicquam vir bonus ut noscatur, seipso contentus. Si commendato est opus, virtutem semper apud se habet commendatricem optimam; si defenso, obrectationibus nimirum & calumniis haud rarò appetitus, eandem circumdat sibi integritatem suam, & invictam rectè factorum conscientiam; quo veluti munimento atque præsidio firmissimo, improborum hominum & impetus vanos excipit, & tela frustratur. Contrà hic noster omnia: non enim virtutem, sed opinionem duntaxat ejus integumentum vitiorum, sibi comparaverat: ut reiectus, ut deprehensus, abscondere diutius improbitatem suam non potest, exors ipse fidei & naufragus ad alienam fidem se confert: quorum oculis antea servierat, eorum nunc manus commendatitias implorat; & singulari quadam atque inaudita hætenus impudentiâ, quorum judicium experiri non audet, eorum postulat testimonium. Propterea quòd meamet ipsius sententia damnatus turpissimè discedo, quòd sententias vestras horreo atque defugio, “literas” quæso date innocentiae, pietatis, pudicitiae apud vos meæ “testimoniales.” Si hæsitatur, si ambigitur, si ab aliis denique reclamatur indignitate rei vehementissimè commotis, quò non demittit se? quo non descendit? circumcursare, ambire, prensare, obtestari, & quò adire non audet, eò amicorum allegationes dimittere. Aguntur fortunæ hominis, agitur caput, existimatio, immò Ecclesiæ totius & sacri ordinis existimatio agitur. Expugnantur multi, partim fatigati, partim inducti, partim veriti nequid istius ignominiae in publicum redundaret, partim delictis ignoscere, literato parcere, laboranti consulere suæ bonitatis esse arbitrati. Ita tandem victor iste laureatas literas aufert; ita emendicata quovis tempore vel occasione, non jam testimonia de se publica, quæ si fuissent ipse abolevit, sed sua de publico reportata spolia ad coronam venditat; nec tam laudes videtur suas, quàm poenitentiam publicam circumferre. Quem enim non poeniteat præconem sese laudum ejus fuisse, qui ad omnes postea libidines tam turpem sui auctionem fecerit: nunc ejusdem sese mangonem fieri, qui servus omnium nequissimus ministrum se licitanti cuivis Ecclesiæ ex hac laudum catasta vendibiliorem, & sacrarum literarum miseris emptoribus venalem se pretii quantivis professorem profitetur. Nam viderint per Deum immortalem, qui ex istius vel commendatione vel impunitate ignoscentes & bonos haberi se postulant, ne ista bonitas in malum desinat; viderint ne ipsis bonis fraudi sit. Cùm necesse

fit, serpat latius, serpat ocyùs ista contagio pastoris in gregem, doctoris in scholam; atque in ipsos fortasse bonorum istorum liberos, qui sophistæ huic errabundo & infami in disciplinam traduntur. Viderint ne tot pigmentis illita atque ornata turpitudine, tanta bonarum laudum jactura atque dispendio dealbata labes, spem faciat & aliis, eamque mentem injiciat, posse se quoque tutissimo hoc exemplo, eandem scholis, eandem ecclesiis inferre personam, sine suo periculo cum summa etiam commendatione improbissimam. Cogitent, qui celari adversarios nostras maculas putant oportere, non celando sed eluendo maculas purgari: celando apparere multo manifestius, & majorem indies sceditatem contrahere. Postremò viderint, ne Ecclesiastas hujusmodi amovere ab Ecclesia tamdiu negligant, donec ipsa Ecclesia cum Ecclesiastis unà amoveatur. Sanè cùm Apostoli præceptum de Episcopo notissimum sit, eum ab extraneis etiam bonum habere testimonium oportere, quid adversariis lætius aut triumphandum magis potest accidere, quàm cùm legerint atque audierint, qui non levi atque incertâ, sed constante famâ, summæque consentiente, multis testibus, multis in locis flagitiosus atque nefarius compertus sit, eum quasi Ecclesiæ lumen unicum & ornamentum collatiis Presbyterorum laudibus, & multiplici commendatione publicâ decorari. Quod hostibus nostris gaudium ne diuturnum sit, provideri non aliâ ratione potest, nisi siquis poterit exemplo, réque ipsâ, demonstrare, nullum esse pestibus hujusmodi in Ecclesia reformatâ consistendi locum: hæc testimonia, has laudes tum olim datas, cùm is, cui dabantur longè alius affectaret videri, atque esse nunc perspicitur, ipsum nunc irritas & nequaquam suas usurpasse sibi fraude pessimâ; & amicorum de se elogia suo ipsius vitio abrogata, non ad vilissimas merces involvendas, quo fato mala scripta solent ferè perire, sed ad sceleratissimas flagitiorum ipsius sordes integendas, pro involucris abusum esse. Ego certe in priore illa defensione, & publicè jussus & privatim læsus, nisi siquam dicendo peperissem mihi honestam existimationem, eam silendo amittere, & quasi vacuam possessore, occupandam mendaciis & opprimendam relinquere maluissem, & patriæ, & mihi simul, cùm una eadèque causa esset, communem operam summo studio impendi. Nunc accusatus graviter ab eodem quasi immeritum & innoxium hominem per calumnias & mendacia infamasset, ut impudentiam illius redarguerem, innocentiam tuerer meam, & siquid vel antea jam dixi commodè, vel in posterum quod ex usu sit dicturus sum, si non doctrinæ & ingenii laudem, famam saltem integram, & colendæ veritatis fidem asserere possem, ad contentionem hanc per se minimè gratam, sed necessariam tamen, denuo descendi. Neque verò est, si hæc non essent, cur hujus operæ aut pœnitere me, aut pigere quenquam alium, nisi conscium sibi met, debeat. Sanè improbos vituperare, & bonos laudare, quandoquidem hoc præmii nobilissimi, illud pœnæ gravissimæ rationem habet, & æquè justum & justitiæ propè summa est: quin & ad vitam benè instituendam par ferè momentum utriusque cernimus. Ita denique cognatæ inter se hæc duæ res sunt, unòque & eodem opere absolvuntur, ut improborum vituperatio, proborum dici laudatio quodammodo possit. Verùm ut jus & ratio atque usus utrobique par sit, non itidem est par gratia: nam qui alterum vituperat, duarum is uno tempore gravissimarum rerum onus atque invidiam sustinet, & accusandi alterum, & de se benè sentiendi. Itaque laudant faciliè nunc boni, nunc mali dignos juxta atque indignos; accusare nemo liberè atque intrepidè, nisi solus integer, vel audet vel potest. Nos qui adolescentes tot sub magistris exudare in umbra eloquentiam solemus, vimque ejus demonstrativam in vituperatione haud minùs, quàm in laude arbitramur esse positam, tyrannorum antiqua nomina fortiter sanè ad pluteum concidimus. Et Mezentium, si fors ferat, putidis rursus antithetis enecamus; aut Agrigentinum Phalarim tristi entymematum mugitu, quàm in suo tauro, exquisitiùs torremus. In xysto nimirum aut in palæstrâ, nam in Republica plerumque tales adoramus potiùs & colimus, & potentissimos & maximos & augustissimos appellamus. Atqui oportuit aut non in ludicro primam ferè ætatem umbratiles consumpsisse, aut aliquando cùm patriæ, cùm Reipublicæ est opus, relictis rudibus, in solem ac pulverem atque aciem audere; aliquando veros lacertos contendere, vera arma vibrare,

vibrare, verum hostem petere. Parte aliâ Suffenos & Sophistas; aliâ Phariseos & Simonos & Hymenæos & Alexandros, veteres quidem illos, multo mucrone insectamur: hodiernos & in Ecclesia redivivos collatis elogiis laudamus, professionibus & stipendiis & cathedris, incomparabiles videlicet & doctissimos & sanctissimos viros, ornâmus. Ad censuram si fortè ventum est, sicui fortè persona & speciosa pellis detrahitur, si turpis introrsum, immò verò si palam atque apertè facinorosus arguitur, sunt qui hunc malint, nescio quo studio, quòve metu adducti, testimoniis publicè defensum, quàm animadversione debita notatum. Mea ab his fateor, quod aliquoties res ipsa jam docuit, satis longè disjuncta ratio est: ut siquid adolescens in illo otio literarum vel præceptis doctorum vel meis lucubrationibus profeci, id omne ad usum vitæ generisque humani, siquid tantè possem, pro infirma parte mea conferrem. Quod si etiam ex privatis nonnunquam inimicitiis delicta publica animadverti & sæpè corrigi solent, & adversarium nunc non modò meum, sed penè omnium communem, hominem nefarium, reformatæ religionis & sacri maximè ordinis opprobrium, literatorum labem, juventutis perniciosissimum præceptorem, immundum in sacris Ecclesiasten, impulsus omnibus causis justissimâ vituperatione persecutus sum, eo necne cum fructu, quo oporteat, viderint illi, quorum potissimùm interest exemplum in isto edere, me quidem spero (cur enim diffidam?) rem neque Deo ingratam, neque Ecclesiæ insalubrem, neque Reipublicæ inutilem præstitisse.

AUTHORIS

A U T O R I S

A D

ALEXANDRI MORI

S U P P L E M E N T U M

R E S P O N S I O.

HANC ego Defensionem meam cùm ante duos menses hætenus parassẽm, ne consumptum fortẽ biennium alterum in se profligando clamitet Morus, tanto cum desiderio Supplementum illud Fidei publicæ contra me promissum expectabam, ut nihil mihi longius videretur. Didiceram enim ex Vlacco perorante, recessisse quidem in Galliam Morum, non tamen quiescere : sed vel diffusum viribus Genevensium attritis, vel quòd manu tam exiguâ vix satis sibi instructus ad decernendum uno prælio videretur, novum contra me exercitum, & quod mirandum sit, Medioburgicorum & Amsterodamensium in Gallia conscribere : Consules etiam & Scabinos magna cum manu signisque infestis adventare. Serò tandem erepsere novæ copiæ ; sine quibus prima acies, opinor, labare atque dehiscere videbatur. Sed cur tam serò, cur ab extemporali homine tam tardè advenerint siquis miratur, erant scilicet literæ quædam mortuorum longo situ eruendæ ; erant quoque subsidia hæc consularia tam gravis armaturæ, mirâ itinerum ratione “ ex Gallia,” teste Vlacco, “ transmittenda :” Quid si etiam ibidem conficienda ? quibus cùm ipse Vlaccus, homo æquissimus, ut habeatur fides non postulet, sed quod “ æquum & justum cuique videbitur,” id ut “ judicetur,” sic omnino faciamus. “ Sufficit Vlacco,” Supplementi hujus collectitii Legato, Lectorum “ curiositati,” non incredulitati “ fatisfecisse,” nempe fidei publicæ, ex Gallia in Hollandiam, quasi postliminio quodam reversæ, fidem defore uniuscujusque privatam, haud ab re sanè suspicabatur. Primum hoc velim unicuique in mentem veniat, quod supra demonstratum est, publica testimonia quâ ambitione ferè comparentur ; in re privata quid valeant ; quàm sæpe hallucinentur : me deinde non ficta crimina in Morum, non ignota, non obscura, sed vera, sed jam vulgata atque testata, in foro denique & judicio agitata haud semel, atque versata protulisse. Non igitur calumniatores nos, non testes in se, sed suos esse judices intelligat Morus ! id jure æquissimo ; quoniam ipse in nos prior has partes sibi sumpsit ; nos ipse prior judicavit ; suam in nos sententiam iniquissimam edidit. Prolatis autem utrinque testimoniis cur secundum eos meritò pronuntiemus, qui Morum gravissimè accusant, in causa est cùm ipsius comperta in nos audacia atque improbitas singularis, tum ipsius testimonii quamvis “ publica,” tamen ambigua fides ; quæ consuetis atque tritissimis laudandi formulis prosequitur Morum, objecta illi crimina ab accusatoribus tam multis non diluit. Quid enim affert vel hoc supplementum, More, quod ad rem pertineat ? Accusabant te Genevæ gravissimi viri Theodorus Troncinus

cinus pastor & Theologiæ professor, duo alii pastores Mermilliodus & Pittetus multis opinor testibus adductis; accusabant multorum criminum, & commissi præsertim in horto quodam probri turpissimi. Tu hîc contrâ literas producis Deodati senis; qui venire in conventum jamdiu desierat; nec quid ibi gereretur, nisi ex te tuisque fautoribus audire consueverat. Literas deinde Sætorii, ne non falsissimè omni ex parte causam tuam viderere; tum Gothofridi Jurisconsulti, ne non satis cavisse; has omnes literas jam ante scriptas, quàm hæc tua flagitia vel ad Ecclesiam delata, vel amicis, ut solet, omnium ultimis, credibilia essent. Quæ igitur à me tibi objiciuntur, horum nihil negant: Fac autem disertis verbis negasse: haud quaquam tamen istorum negatio affirmatione potior tot hominum probissimorum erit, quorum præsertim testium vim ac veritatem cum sustinere non posses, petitâ subito abeundi licentiâ, non absolutus judicio, sed elapsus, evasisti. Literis deinde Genevensium non sine multorum gravi intercessione atque etiam indignatione, ut supra dixi, concessis, tu quasi Rheno amne lustratus (quod “devectum te in Belgium” ais) & noxâ omni ablutus, utcunque commendatus, mirum non erat si, convocatâ illic fortè Synodo Gallo-Belgicâ, tanquam Mercurius quidam novus Gallo-Belgicus, non tu quidem illuminatus, sed combustus, ut fit, in Synodo, ad tempus latuisti. Eas autem literas cum supra dixerim fore, ut in medium nullo modo proferres, ne prioribus hîc positis quanto essent frigidiores perspiceremus, lepidè tu quidem “exemplar earum nancisci te non potuisse” causaris. Quod autem dixi ad tempus, non semper latuisse te, id facilè constat, primùm quòd in illa ipsa Synodo “Trajecti” ad Mosam habita, quò primùm appulisti rumores quosdam “contra doctrinam” tuam & “conversationem” illis in Regionibus jam esse “sparfos,” & suspiciones haud leves de te passim vel novas haberi, vel veteres recruduisse, neque ita te iis absolutum, quin ad alteram postea Synodum novâ rursus commendatione opus tibi fuerit, declarat, quæ sequitur Ecclesiæ Medioburgensæ ad Campensem Synodum Epistola, declarat etiam illius Epistolæ subscriptor primarius Joannes Longus ejusdem Ecclesiæ pastor, qui tuâ tum quidem larvâ inter alios deceptus, perspectis nunc demum & exploratis moribus tuis, nunquam te nisi maximæ contumeliæ detestationisque causâ dicitur nominare. Immò verba ipsa tua declarant quibus fateris post seditionem Midelburgi ortam, in qua amicus quidam tuus potentissimus dignitate excidit, eos qui post eum rerum potiti sunt, in te non “æquè propensâ fuisse voluntate:” id tu eorum ignorantia assignatum vis, quibus tu Theologiæ professor celeberrimus. “non æquè familiariter innotuisses;” cum ad suspectos jam mores tuos revera sit referendum. Quid enim ad te advenam seditio? qui suffragiis omnium publicè accersitus non studiis partium, sed bonâ famâ ac diligentia in isto munere Theologico tueri existimationem tuam notus æque omnibus debebas. Hîc tamen quæreris quòd “ejectum” te dixerim “ab Ecclesia illa.” Ego verò non “ejectum” te dixi, sed tantummodo ablegatum; idque non de ipsa ejiciendi vel ablegandi formula, sed de voluntate eorum abs te jam alienata intellectum volui. In hoc non admodum errasse me testis esse potest vir, ut audio, probatissimus, quem suprâ appellavi, Joannes Longus ejusdem Ecclesiæ pastor, qui nunc, inquam, longè secus de te sentit & loquitur, atque primò sensit, cum in tuam commendationem “omnium nomine” subscripsit; Testis est vir spectatissimus Joannes Duræus, qui non unam Ecclesiam Midelburgensem ejectisse te, sed universam penè Synodum Gallo-Belgicam ejectum velle scribit. Frustra igitur Synodi Groudensis actum illud subjungis, quod factis recentioribus irritum fecisti; frustra, inquam, actum illud quod apertissimi te mendacii coarguit: etenim illius Synodi auctoritatem idcirco adhibuisse te ais, ut “sciam omnia ritè & solemniter” in Synedrio Midelburgensi de te “acta:” ipsa Synodus non ritè, non solemniter hæc esse acta, sed “nonnullos defectus in modo agendi” notat. Vellem scire illos defectus cujusmodi fuerint, cur tu Midelburgensium testimonia sine nonnullis defectibus in modo agendi auferre non potueris. Illud interea tenendum memoriâ est, quibus cum “defectibus” Genevensium testimonia adeptus sis: quanto reverà cum dedecore, quan-

to in speciem cum honore illi te dimiserint. Prorsus, quasi id unum sibi reliquum necessario decrevissent, laudandum te esse atque tollendum. Verum, ut dixi, laudes illas qualescunque perspecta postmodum & cognita vitæ tuæ turpitudine antiquavit jamdiu atque delevit: ut ad infamiam potius tuam hæc omnia conducere videantur, qui tam præclaram de te olim hominum opinionem, admissis in te postea tot probris, tam foede fefelleris. Ventum tandem ad Pontiam est; quam sic à me falsò nominatam contendis. Ego verò authorem Batavum & notissimum illud de te distichon, quo me faciliè defendam, recito:

Galli ex concubitu gravidam te Pontia Mori,
Quis benè moratam morigeramque neget?"

Bontiam, fateor, aliud apud me manuscriptum habet. Sed prima utrobique litera, quæ sola variat, ejusdem ferè apud vos potestatis est. Alterum ego nomen ut notius, ut elegantius salvo jure Criticorum præposui. Satis de nomine; nunc rem ipsam consideremus. Quis tam est reus, quis tam omni genere criminationum oblitus, qui, si solus audiatur, causam suam vel Cassianis iudicibus probare non queat? Tu quam attulisti hujus rei narrationem, ejusmodi est, ut nemo sit, modò integer atque attentus accedat, quin te, etiam inauditis accusatoribus tuis, vel planè condemnandum, vel suspitione gravissimâ non absolvendum arbitretur. "Uxorem" ais "Salmasii graviter tibi infensam, & ob eas rationes quas commemorare" non vis, "nihil intentatum reliquissè, ut te in nassam infaustissimi matrimonii compingeret." Primum illud suspiciosissimum est quod celas; illud nempe arcanum quod tibi tam modesto homini & ministro uxorem amici sic inimicam potuit reddere. Mirum deinde inimicitiae genus narras, quo impulsâ uxor amici tui famulam sibi dilectissimam nuptum tibi dare cupiebat. Nassa autem illud matrimonium quâ potuit dici? nisi tûte eam vel sponsione aliquâ tibi induissès, vel escam avidè nimis appetissès, atque ita meritò infaustissimum, quod stupro auspicatus essès, matrimonium reddidissès. "Nihil," inquis, "intentatum reliquit." Quid ergo inter alia tentaverit tu ipse nobis divinandum relinquis; immò ipse non taces, ipse effutire non erubescis; & illud suprà dictum à Crantzio, paulò infra quasi palmarium quiddam pro te ex ore Salmasii repetis; "Siquid in Pontia peccavit Morus, ego sum leno, & uxor mea lena." Hanc scilicet pulcherrimam fore defensionem tibi apud omnes amens credidisti, si ostendissès lenone Salmasio, ejusque uxore lena, te non ignobile stuprum fecissè; & non nisi dominis perductoribus ancillam vitiasse. "Hoc vulgo innotuit;" tu verò "palam vehementissimèque reluctari." Euge corculum pudoris, deliciæ castitatis! Tûne reluctari verò? virginali, ut videtur, verecundiâ homo, nassâ muliebri indutus. Nam piscis, nisi captus, non reluctatur: illa profectò mulier nisi thunnum te perspexisset, nisi facilem, nisi opportunum, nisi obnoxium ancillæ suæ deprehendisset, nunquam tibi istos laqueos ita elimasset, nunquam tibi Vulcanios illos casses tua Juno tam faciliè, adaptasset; nunquam in virum gravem, Ecclesiastem, doctum, celebrem, qui mariti domum inter amicissimos frequentasset, nunquam nisi in mulierosum & notæ incontinentiæ hominem tale quicquam moliri aut tentare ausa esset. At, inquis, "cum factione quadam se conjunxit, quæ qualis fuerit, aperire tibi nolo." Ergo hoc etiam non minùs suspiciosum nobis relinquis, quòd tuâ multùm interfuit aperuisse, quæ ista factio, quo in loco te tot Ecclesiarum, tot Synodorum, tot Magistratuum testimoniis ac sigillis loricatum hominem & cataphractum tam acritèr oppugnarit. Si ob vitæ sanctimoniam, concionandi assiduitatem, professoriæ facultatis præstantiam te odio habuisset, nihil æquè tibi laudi ac defensionis esse potuit: nunc cum in re omnium potissimum explicanda tectus atque astutus esse malueris, credendum est non factionem, sed benè magnum bonorum virorum numerum ob impuros mores tuos, vitamque offensam meritò te odisse. Deinde, si Midelburgi, si Amsterodami, ubi tanto in pretio atque honore apud omnes fuisse te prædicas, tam numerosa te factio adorta est, claudicare

dicare tua fides publica videtur; eosque demum esse factionem qui te tantopere laudarent. Sin Hagæ aut Lugduni primum ista factio in te tam acriter est concitata, nihil profecto obstat quod minus appareat deseruisse te tandiu & Pastoris & Professoris munus utrobique sacrum, ut Hagæ libellos famosos, ministerium tui Evangelii ministrares; Lugduni Pontiam ancillam, id est Nassam ipse tuam sectarere; tuosque illos, post diurnum sæpe discessum, tot nocturnos ad eam vicina ex urbe reditus, tot cum ea furtivos, inscientibus dominis, congressus vicinitati notissimos, tantum in te odium plurimorum commovisse. Hos tu "admissarios" uxoris Salmasii vocas; & ignominiam defuncti amici tui matronæ, ejusque propinquis non ferendam inuris. Hæc scilicet cum "Rufino" & factione illâ, "horrenda criminationum tonitrua displofit, & totum infans clamoribus Belgium implevit." I nunc, & à me conficta hæc esse clamita; dic meas has esse calumnias; quas ego non calumnias, sed criminationes ab universo penè Belgio, te confitente, accepi. Has ego tacerem? his non crederem? proque tua in nos nostramque Rempubl. injuria, scelere, audaciâ veras esse non judicarem? quam tu factionem, eam ego probissimorum hominum multitudinem, testimonium, judicium esse non arbitrer? Hoccine divinâ animadversione factum non putem, ut dum aliis famosos libellos tam diligenter adornares, famosus ipse passim libellus fieres? Tu verò cum "existimationem" tuam "hærere," ut ais, "ad metas" videres, & "linguis omnium vapulares," haud insolito audacissimi cujusque consilio, potentiorum studiis fretus, quos affectatis concionibus, & Corinthii æris tinnitu illo tibi fortè conciliaveras, "prior Pontiam in jus vocas." Contra Salmasius, non insaniam, ut tu appellas, sed "causam se uxoris destituere non posse" per amicos tibi denuntiat. Quod eum fuisse facturum nisi justam quoque causam credidisset, tibi verisimile esse non debet. Tu, "non sine consilio summorum & sapientissimorum totius Belgii caput," quorum nimirum patrocinium vel adulando, vel suppliciter ambiendo ad omnes nequitiarum tuarum eventus tibi comparaveras, "litem in suprema Hollandiæ curia prosequeris." Quo in loco potentiam quorundam, ut dixi, non innocentiam tuam præsidio tibi maximo fuisse, si vel teipsum audiamus causam hîc tuam quanto potes cum artificio & cautione dicentem, obscurum non est. "Desperabant" adversarii "fore se" illa in curia "superiores:" tuam "afflicturos" se esse "famam" non desperabant. Quid ita? quia paucorum vim atque opes in foro dominari, cæteros pæne omnes favere sibi videbant. At verò non tuam, sed suam ipsi famam accusatores tui afflixissent, si tu æquo judicio superior ipsorum opinione futurus videbaris. "Omnes," inquis, "omni ope me unum oppugnant;" non "defuisse" tamen "amicos" tibi "agnoscis:" paucos igitur & potentes fuisse illos necesse est: id quod etiam "miratos & conquestos esse inimicos tuos" usque eò non diffiteris, ut ne noceret tibi ista gratia tam aperta ac manifesta veritus, haud semel subirasce te simules amicis tuis, cumque iis expostulare, quasi parùm prudenter tibi & non satis cautè favissent. Itaque "suprema capita, quæ tibi suum in hac causa præsidium obtulere, enixè rogasti, siquid valeres gratiâ, ne quid eorum autoritas de victoria innocentiae tuæ delibaret." Illius judicii exitus qui demum fuerit, non dicis; Adversarii certè, tantum abfuit ut jure aut æquitate victos se esse arbitrarentur, ut quos tu reos modò feceras, hi nunc petitores ad Synodum provocarent; & quod obtinere à magnatibus jus suum non poterant, id impetrare per Ecclesiam facilè se posse sperarent. Verùm & in illa Synodo nimis multum valuisse gratiam gratis, ut aiunt, id est nullis omnino meritis tuis datam, etiam ex iis quæ pergis ipse narrare, satis constat. "Adfunt Delegati Lugdunenses; saccum produunt oppletum foedisissimis criminationibus:" satis amplum, opinor, si tua omnia flagitia contineret, ut induendo etiam tibi, si egisses fortè poenitentiam, sufficere potuerit. "Urgent Delegati, ut prælegerentur omnia, quæ secum sacco illo gerebantur:" vel ut latiniùs dixisses, portabantur in sacco; à te enim puto, gerebantur in sindone. Sed Synodi pars magna "reluctari, famosos esse libellos." Animadvertite quæso novam ac singularem judicum æquitatem atque prudentiam; qui criminationes cum testimoniis in judicium allatas, neque dum perlectas,

tanquam famosos libellos, rejiciendas esse contendunt. Horum vicit sententia: excurrit confestim unus eorum, gratulabundus Moro, & “bonum factum, inquit; nihil contra te legetur.” En iterum severos judices! quorum sententia in Mori gratiam sic manifestò lata est, ut unus eorum pati non possit quin ex ipso judicio de sella profliret, gratulatum reo. Puduit Morum ipsum tam dissolutæ sententiæ: perturbari denuò se simulat, & ægrè ferre, non perlegi illa volumina criminum suorum. Objurgatus itaque bonus ille Judex & acriter ab ipso reo increpitus, redit in cœtum; cæterisque facile persuadet, ut mutatâ priore sententiâ statueretur omnia legenda esse. At verò, quæ isti Judices primùm legenda non esse, ad arbitrium deinde Rei, conversis eadem horâ sententiis, legenda esse decreverant, de iis tandem perlectis quàm non attentè, quàm non severè, quàm denique in reum propensè judicaverint, intellectu difficile non est: Confurgunt judices; reum frequentes adeunt; “amplectuntur;” & cui palam modò gratificare, ei nunc apertè gratulari non dubitant. Quamquam ego in hoc toto judicio non tam Mori, quàm ejus personæ atque ordinis habitam esse rationem crediderem. Synodi præses ipse Riverius complexus te, “nunquam Æthiops, inquit, ita dealbatus est, quemadmodum hodiè tu fuisti.” Tunc verò adeò obesâ nare homo es, ut irrisum te potiùs, quàm absolutum hoc proverbio non sentias? Riverius cum Æthiopem te lavando & operam & laticem frustra perdidisset, dealbavit. Tu jam salve nobis, Æthiops; aut, si mavis, paries dealbate; quandoquidem quo Paulus Ananiam, eodem te Synodi præses titulo decoravit. Nunc ipsum decretum Synodi perpendamus. “Lectis chartis iis quæ allatæ fuerunt à Delegatis Lugdunensibus circa litem illam quæ in suprema Hollandiæ curia mutilabatur, nihil in iis repertum est, quod valeret adimendæ Ecclesiis libertati, quâ Morum ad sacras conciones habendas cum occasio se dabat, invitare solebant.” Hæc, etiamsi tuâ sola fide accipiamus, quàm obscura, quàm tepida, quàm ægrè absolvant reum, aut ne absolvant quidem, quis non videt? qui te olim maximis cumulare laudibus solebant, nunc multis criminibus insimulatum, ne uno quidem verbo tenuissimopurum aut insontem pronuntiant. Non commendant te Ecclesiis; “libertatem” tantummodo iis non “adimunt” quâ te, non ad Pastoris assiduum munus, sed “cum occasio se dabat,” ad concionandum fortuitò “invitare solebant.” Ista autem occasio si se nunquam daret, id sibi displicere aut detrimenti quicquam inde capturam esse Ecclesiam, haudquaquam ostendunt. Tibi interim pro ara pulpitem est; illa in aula te jactas buccâ notissimâ; & quo turpior domi, eò clamosior in cœtu es: quicquid in occulto, quicquid in “sacco” illo peccas, hîc tua cymbala, tua æra concrepare strenuè non desinis; & tuum illud rostrum nusquam impudentius, quàm in rostris offers. “I nunc,” inquis, “& stupra & spurios tibi finge.” Immo, ito tu, inquam, & stupra tua si audes vel uno verbo disertè nega: id quod toto hoc libro facere non es ausus. “Consulantur acta publica;” immò consulantur acta privata, acta furtiva, acta nocturna tua, quæ vulgatissima istis regionibus jamdiu innotuere. Unde spurii si non extiterint, non continuò tu castus, sed eò fortasse nequior fuisti. Hactenus quæ tu testimonia attulisti aut malè parta, aut jam exoleta, id est aliquanto priùs data, quam patefacta ea fuerint facinora quæ à me tibi potissimùm objiciuntur, ostendi. Quibus testimoniis si ab innumeris passim viris bonis quos nunquam nominatim læseras non est creditum, id quod ipsi Subscriptores tui queruntur, de me nostrisque hominibus, quos injuriis maximis ultrò irritasti, si non credamus, non est meritò quod queri quisquam possit. Postremas omnium literas Amsterodamsium Consulum & Rectorum, nescio cujus operâ, quove pacto comparatas, ex Gallia transmittis: neque ad tempus omni ex parte satis accommodatas, & ad rem certè minimè appositas. Ego quæ tu ipse flagitiosa feceris, coarguo; tu quid magistratus in te non fecerit hoc testimonio duntaxat ostendis. Scripsi equidem, & quod tum palam testatus sum, non pro certissimo, sed ut nuper audiveram, idque etiam per literas fide dignas, magistratum Amsterodamsensem tibi pulpitem interdixisse. Tu literas fateris “per omnes gentes” contra te ab “adversariis” tuis “missitatas.” Et eos adversarios nunc scribis esse tuos; ego & bonos viros

viros esse eos acceperam, & te adversarium sciebam esse meum. Ex ipsis quæro Magistratibus Amsterodamensium, num istiusmodi quippiam allatum ad se de adversario non tantum suo, sed civitatis etiam suæ, silentio prætermittendum censuissent? Hoc igitur si verum non sit, est quoque levissimum; de quo & ego minimè laborare, & tu minimè exultare debeas. Numquid est aliud quod testentur tibi hæc literæ? est aliud. Te “ex quo tempore apud se in publico munere versatus es, nihil admisisse quod iustum prædictis calumniis locum dare potuerit.” Quid si antè admiseris, quàm ad eos venisti? Nam quibus Consulibus admissa abs te quæque fuerint, cuius in scabinatum pruritiones tuæ inciderint, si ex ratione factorum non habeo dicere, id non dices, arbitror, ita magni referre. Quid, inquam, si ante admiseris? quod ego quidem pro certo habeo. Tum sanè & hoc quoque testimonium, ancile tuum, haud multò plus ponderis, quàm alterius cuiusquam habuerit; ut, quod de iis, quæ auditione tantum acceperat ab aliis, testificetur. Quod autem adjungitur te “extra culpam notamve fuisse,” id adeò liquidò non ita se habet, ut etiam reliqua in dubium vocare videatur. Non alium igitur atque te ipsum tuis Consulibus opponam; qui te culpatum, notatum, vexatum, linguis omnium toto Belgio vapulasse, haud semel, pluribùsque verbis confessus es. Commodùm itaque interferunt, “ut ad nos relatum est.” A quibus autem? nam & ad nos longè alia & à plurimis relata sunt: utrorum qui hæc tam variè referunt anteponenda fides sit, ipsi nostram æquè ac suam existimationem esse sciunt. At verò non ad se omnia quamvis consules, relata esse ut doceam, respondeant mihi rogo libellus iste in nos famosus, à Moro editus, relatùsne ad se fuerit? quem libellum edidisse in nostram Rempubl. non ministri erat Evangelici, sed ardelionis & calumniatoris, & nebulonis maledicentissimi. Si negant de hoc libello quicquam sibi perlatum, posse & multa alia etiam improbiissima non perferri ad se de hoc Moro velim existiment. Sin fateantur allatum sibi esse illius libri editorem fuisse Morum, suum tamen illi testimonium tanquam homini reverendo, probo, inculpato perhibuerint, sciant nos istiusmodi testimonium etiam Consulum & Scabinorum tanquam levissimum, & nullius planè authoritatis repudiare. Horum, inquis, Rectorum “gravitatem, fidem, auctoritatem si noffes, sexcentis millenorum Miltonorum libellis retundendis parem agnosceres.” Ego verò, mi homo, id nescio an ita facilè agnoscerem; quandoquidè & id nescio, ἀριστίνδην, ἀρετίνδην, virtute an censu magistratum illum in civitate sua obtineant. Neque me latet Consules, & Prætores, illustriora longè quàm nunc sunt nomina, etiam verrem, reorum omnium Romæ perditissimum, studiosè defendisse, cum provincia tota, virique boni universi gravissimè accusarent. Hoc summum fidei tuæ publicæ propugnaculum, eadèque basis & firmamentum maximum, quàm nullo tamen negotio labefactetur & corruat, vides. Sequitur Ecclesiæ Amsterodamensis Gallo-Belgicæ testimonium, subscriptore imprimis Hottono, Mori intimo, & quod suprà demonstravimus, Regii Clamoris conscio. Valdè nobis probatum sit necesse est huiusmodi testimonium, cuius subscriptionis princeps est Hottonus. Sed tamen quid afferat, videamus. “Tantum abesse,” ait, “ut eorum criminum eum reum esse sciamus aut agnoscamus, quorum à quodam Miltone Anglo accusatur.”—Hujus fidei vīs maxima, ut video, in ignorantiae professione posita est. Quid hoc testimonio faciamus? quid hac fide? quæ suā se potissimum ignorantiam commendat. Reum esse nescimus, non agnoscimus: hoc quis præterea toto propemodum Belgio ignorat, quæ illi præcipuè crimina objicio, eorum ipsum in utroque foro, non reum modò diuturnum fuisse, sed plurimorum iudicio damnatissimum; nec nisi potentium quorundam studiis, utque sacro potius ordini quàm ipsi consuleretur, fuisse absolutum. Tantum abest ut reum esse sciamus, “ut contrà potius ab illo aliquoties conciones sacras rogaverimus.” Contenti nempe hoc forensi iudicio, ubi gratia plus iusto potuit; & suadente præsertim Hottono, quoties ipse respirare & suis parcere lateribus decrevisset. Verum hoc quid efficit? aut quis est nescius multos in concionibus satis esse placitos, satis suaves ac tinnulos, qui in omni vita reliqua offensionem maximam fuerint? Etenim qui suis libidini- bus explendis dat operam, quid obstat quo minus idem titillandis alienis auribus com-
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modè servire possit. Quod reliquum est, index potiùs operis, quàm testimonium dici meretur: quando enim aliud quod dicat non habet, "fatis supérque testantur," inquit, "de ipso aliarum Ecclesiarum in quibus vixit diutiùs quàm apud nos, publica documenta ad quæ nos iis consentiendo referimus." Quæ vox detrectantium penè, & libenter hoc negotio expedire se cupientium prorsus videtur; facitque ut non immeritò suspicemur, testimonium hoc, tametsi planè friget, non sine sudore tamen Mori, allaborante etiam Hottono, multis repugnantibus, impetratum ægrè fuisse. Epilogi loco est "Curatorum scholæ" testimonium. Verùm in schola quid tu declamites, quid recites, aut quemadmodum te geras, neque tanti esse reor ut cognoscere curemus, neque ad hanc causam pertinet. Vitam & mores tuos excutimus: quos cum isti vix attingere, & ad literas superiores malle nos remittere videantur, quod ad eorum testimonium infirmandum satis sit, superiùs quoque dictum putemus. Ad finem aliquando pervenimus tuæ Fidei publicæ; quæ ex Gallico ferè sermone in Gallico-latinum "tralatitia" inanissimi libri maximam partem occupat. Copias jam omnes tuas cum supplemento etiam lustravimus: peramplas quidem eas, sed ad pompam sanè potiùs, quàm ad verum robur comparatas. Hæ sunt plumæ tuæ, sub quibus corniculam latitare te dixi. Hæc vestis illa multicolor quâ Morum revera, id est morionem te induisti: his tu phaleris ne populum quidem fefelleris: túque si sapuisses, aut ullo rerum usu præditus fuisses, nullius fore usus tibi hæc omnia, quod ad tuam attinet causam, facilè intellexisses. Potest fortasse quispiam, cujus nomen alioqui nunquam audissemus, tam sui venditandi causâ quàm tui, phalerata verba tibi dedisse: potest aliorum pudor & bonitas flagitanti ac sudanti, & agi jam tuam existimationem miserè querenti, hoc tantulum non denegasse. Potes tu per interpretes Hottonos multa confecisse: & tamen post hæc omnia scito te nihil quod ad rem pertineat in medium protulisse. Quid juverit, quæso, vel in foro testimonia generatim dicta, quid elogia de tuis "dotibus," quid incertas blandientium amicorum laudes proferre, si ego te certorum criminum accuso? Accusarunt te adulterii Genevæ olim viri graves; tempus, locum, adulteram nominarunt: multorum præterea criminum te detulerunt. Quid si istam faraginem pro testimonio Judicibus tum tuis ostendisses? accepturóne putas fuisse eos, teque absolvendum istis criminibus fuisse continuò judicatuos? immò verò jussissent te, ablatis hisce nugis, appositè respondere; ullámne cum ista foemina rem, rationémve habueris; illo in horto eámne conveneris; illo in tugurio, clausis foribus, solúsne cum sola fueris. Hæc & hujusmodi multa ex te requisissent; ad quæ singula, neque in illo tum judicio, quod te jure absolvere vel suspicione posset (judicium enim illud petitâ abeundi licentiâ commodum prævertisti) neque in hoc libro, tot alioqui ineptiis refertissimo, quicquam respondes. Facis idem prorsus in causa quoque Pontiana: quid in foro transactum sit, quantopere tua gratia ad præjudicium miseræ mulierculæ post Salmasii obitum valuerit, suspiciósè admodum ipse narras. De illis nocturnis Hagâ Leidam itineribus, de illis cum Pontia clandestinis atque nocturnis congressibus, quanquam hæc & multò plura hujusmodi omnibus in ore sunt, nullum verbum facis. Quid hæc prorsus alienissima nobis obtrudis? immò quid omnino hanc tantam literarum ac testimoniorum congeriem tibi ullo tempore comparasti? an quod tuæmet ipse conscientiæ satis probatus apud te non eras? an quod de te nec tibi ipsi, nec spontaneis hominum sermonibus credere audebas, nisi tot coactis nominibus ac testimoniis tibimet confirmatum hoc esset atque testatum, id quod alioqui nunquam credidisses, te virum bonum aut tolerabilem posse cuiquam videri? An verò tot criminibus accusatus, cum de te homines ubique pessimè loquerentur, commendationibus totidem sanare illa vulnera posse te existimasti? atqui vides quo sæpius ex mala valetudine ad inanem medicinam, ex novis maleficiis & rumoribus inde natis ad novas perpetuò commendationes recurris, earum auctoritatem eò semper minorem abs te reddi atque indies leviolem: ægrotaře nimirum existimationem tuam & morbosissimam esse, quæ tot purgationibus, tot medicamentis indigeat commendationum quis est quin suspicetur? Sed fortasse longinquas in urbes quemadmodum prædicas, ad Professiones amplissimas persæpè invitatus, hoc te quasi

commeatu,

commeatu, iter facturus, instruxisti. Optimè: quæro itaque an proficisci in animo tibi fuerit ad eos homines qui te ignorassent, an qui satis nossent? si ad illos, venustus profectò homo necesse est tibi fueris, qui ab illis invitatum iri te unquam credideris, qui te ignorassent: Si ad hos qui te jam satis norant, quid hoc tanto commendationum instrumento ac sarcinâ ad eos opus erat, quibus jam antea commendatissimum te esse ex eo ipso, quòd invitassent, sciebas. Perspicuum igitur est, nullam ob rem aliam, tantam vim testimoniorum commendatitiam sic te studiosè congeffisse & in promptu semper habuisse, nisi vel ad ostentationem quandam circulatoriam, ad quam artem factum te præcipuè atque natum existimarim, vel impendentis ignominiae metu, quam ex flagitiis nondum patefactis certissimam tibi expectabas. Ut haberes nimirum speciosum aliquid & publicum & foris partum, quod privatae atque domesticæ et erumpenti interdum ex latebris opponeres infamiae; utque Procerum atque Doctorum splendidis testimoniis in quibus consequendis gratia atque ambitio nunc ferè plurimum possunt, contra populi veras voces te communires. Verùm ista te spes ut dixi, & frustrata jam est, & frustrabitur; cùm quia tuam obtegere improbitatem atque nequitiam, neque lux ulla neque tenebrae possunt, tum quia hoc ipsum quicquid est munimenti, quo te circumsepisti, perse satis infirmum atque rimosum est. Id planius adhuc fiet, si testimonia hæc tua, quemadmodum per se singula consideravimus, ita nunc postrema primis, prima mediis conferamus; & doctores proceresque tuos inter se paulisper committamus. Ut intelligi tandem possit, quæ fides illius fidei publicæ, illorum testium sit, ubi aut alii ab aliis tam longè dissentiunt, aut plerique tam multa vel dissimulant vel nesciunt, quæ suâ sponte alii fatentur. Illud imprimis exemplo sit, quod in iis literis occurrit quæ Genevensis esse Ecclesiæ dicuntur. “Nihil utique illi,” id est Moro, “vel ab infensissimis hostibus meritò objici queat, quod justæ sit reprehensioni obnoxium.” Ego contrà non quæ hostes objiciunt Moro, sed quæ amici ejus, quæ testes ejus & “justæ reprehensioni obnoxia” fatentur, & ipsi in eo reprehendunt, ex his iisdem testimoniis depromam. Quid enim Deodatus? “Non provocat quidem” Morus, “sed terribiles ungues habet ad sui tutelam.” Quos ungues? nam istiusmodi quicquam inter Evangelici ministri arma non reperio; & eloquentiam nolim à viro docto atque humano, tam truci metaphorâ significari: Reliquum est, ut ungues illos, feritatem atque ferociam hominis interpretemur, quos non ad tutelam sui, sed ad injuriam aliorum, in nos certè nimium expeditos atque acres feræ similior quàm pastori exercuit. Apertiora haud paulò sunt quæ Georgius Crantzius, Alberti æmulus, ne ab avunculo fortè suo historicâ fide superetur, & quantò ægrior tantò fortasse veracior ultrò nobis largitur. “Ego Mori notitiam habui & Genevæ & in Belgio; semper magnas inimicitias exercuit cum æmulis, quibus ipse locum sæpe præbuit nimia libertate loquendi.” Et hoc teste, contra quàm ab altero dictum modò est, & “ungues habet” & “provocat Morus. Ferox” atque “fidens, crabronum irritator” infestissimus: Beelsebubem prope alterum dicas, nisi quod ille muscas: Laboris alioqui “intolerantior,” teste etiam laudatore Salmasio; cujus & “uxorem varie læserat,” & alia quædam commiserat “inconsideratione tali homine indignâ.” Hæc ab amicis ac testibus tuis vis ipsa veritatis expressit; quæ quamvis favore & studio dicentium in molliorem partem flectantur, ejusmodi tamen sunt quæ ingenium tuum palam omnibus faciant, & hujus testimonii totius fidem infirmare haud mediocriter atque infringere videantur: cujus altera pars probum, inoffensum, sanctum, omni labe ac vitio carentem, altera contentiosum, turbulentum, arrogantem, garrulum, ignavum, injurium, inconsideratum denique & stultum nobis exhibet Morum. Sic fuit tua fides publica, id est, nulla: reverteris nunc iterum ad privatam, quæ nullâ minor est. “At vides interea,” inquis, “quàm non tralatitio me dignentur affectu, quos tu vis mihi furcas comparare.” Immo tu vide, si potes, irâ atque amentia impeditus, quàm vehementer hallucineris, quàm nihil attentè agas. Non ego hoc “de Batavis,” sed Genevensibus intelligi volebam; nec

nec quid hi statuissent, sed quid tu meruisses. “Verba,” inquis, “tua recognosce, Orestis æmule.” Recognosco, inquam, Orestis æmule! Cujus flagitia si pro meritis excepisset Magistratus, jamdudum adulteria patibulo pendens luisses: nimirum Genève, ubi adulterii delatus eras; ad alios magistratus cognitio illius facti pertinere non potuit. Quæ sequuntur porrò & luiturus propediem videris, & hæc non iratus tibi ominor, sed duntaxat jus dico, facile demonstrant, non tum prædixisse me quid sis passurus, sed pronuntiasse quid esses meritis; idque (cùm de nobis ipse prior judicasses) pari jure meo fecisse. I nunc non conscientia integritate, non iustâ defensione, sed scelerum impunitate quod facis effer te & gloriare. “Huic,” inquis, “fungo, nuper è terra nato quem aut quos opposui?” Erras More, & me non nosti: mihi lentè crescere, & velut occulto ævo satius semper fuit. Tu ille fungus qui ex ephebis modò Genève profectus, Græcarum literarum professor subitò emerdisti; & tot viris natu “grandioribus Ecclesiasticis, Jureconsultis, Medicis, illa ingenii tunc primùm efflorescentis gratia,” ut tu satis fungosè narras, “palmam” præripuisti: mox inter fungos, & olera, & armamenta olitoria, fungo recens tuberante, non tu quidem Claudium extinxisti, sed Claudiam supinasti. Nunc “conciliare” me jubes mea “dicta,” si possum, “& fabulas” cum Magistratum “dictis atque judiciis” abs te scilicet emendicatis: Ego verò mea dicta cum tuis factis facile conciliavero; de ipsorum dictis atque judiciis ipsi viderint: nos ut non porticibus, ita nec iisdem judiciis fruimur. Tu tecum si potes temetipsum concilia; qui totum illud Genevense negotium, & gravissimum in te crimen adulterii, quasi fabulam de infenso erga te Magistratum animo, summâ curâ, summoque studio refellere conaris. Cur illam quæ vehementissimè ad te pertinuit, tam facile prætermittis, hanc quæ te minimè attingit corrogatis tot testibus tantâ mole refutare contendis? Sanè si ipse tibimet constare vis videri, nòsque tuum institutum & respondendi rationem intuemur, qui fabulas confutatione indignas esse censes, aut illud in te verum crimen, aut hoc de te non verum Magistratus iudicium credamus oportebit. At non omni ex parte vituperandus est Morus; habet suas laudes; magna vitia magnis virtutibus compensat; facit quod in homine Ecclesiastico laudatissimum simul & rarissimum est, ut gratis concionetur. “Nullo,” inquit, “stipendio auctoratus gratuitam Ecclesiæ operam rogatus præsto:” immò verò fortuitam; ex quo videlicet ampliore mercede propositâ, relicto Pastoris munere, sacrarum Historiarum Professor factus es; id est reverà, ex sacrario in scholam ad stipendium uberius emigrasti: tum si cujus rogatu fortè concionaris, hoc tanquam beneficii loco imputas; cum assiduum Pastoris ministerium deserueris, ut hanc subcivivam operam desertæ abs te Ecclesiæ non sine maximo compendio tuo gratis impertire videaris. Tu verò More, si Ecclesiam Medioburgensem, quæ te, ut ais, tam honorificè invitasset, tanto cum fructu audisset, tam ægrè dimisisset, sine gravissima causa reliquisses, & ad alium gregem, idemque munus Pastoris te contulisses, reprehendendum meritò & levitatis arguendum existimarim. Nunc cùm “Attalicis,” ut ipse ais, “conditionibus” non Christianis, & “emolumenti fructu” longè uberiore adductus, non de grege in gregem desultorius tantummodo Pastor transferis, sed illo munere longè potiore posthabito, ex Evangelii ministro mutatus in Professore & Historicum, ex ipsis Ecclesiæ adytis ad pomœria regressus sis, non mercenarii solum, sed defectoris propè numero habendum te esse, si habenda veteris & sanctissimæ disciplinæ ulla ratio est, affirmare non vereor. At concionaris tamen: & strenuè quidem, nunquam “majore cum fructu” Attalico, ad Pergamēnos putà, non tuum ad gregem; quibus si fortè aures vix satis teretes pruriunt, tu, vitio cantorum planè converso, rogatus nunquam desistis: & velut sacerdos Phrygiæ matris nondum exfectus, aut Curetum aliquis, moves libenter tua crotala; non ut vagitum quempiam fabuloscum, sed ut rumores flagitiorum tuorum plus nimio veraces fanaticâ vociferatione obruas. Hoc tu septenario strepitu & doctrinâ fortuitâ, ut quivis olim cyclicus aut sophista, si rogatus recitas, desertum Pastoris munus assiduum explere te putas? At concionator est bellus & facundus. Ita, credo, ut est orator: cui proverbialia si demas, & infutos versiculorum centones, orationis ipso filo atque contextu nihil inornatius, nihil incompositius,

incompositius, nihil verbosius atque putidius; nihil ubi venustatem, numerum, atque nervos paulò disertiore homine dignos magis requiras. Unum est in quo graviter titubatum à me esse fateor: Græcarum literarum professorem dixi, quem sacrarum Historiarum dixisse debui: enimverò incredibile mihi prorsus, & portento simile videbatur, Historiarum sacrarum eum esse Professore, qui tot profanarum argumentum ipse atque materies esset. Tu verò mihi rectiùs, More, non Historiarum, sed Calumniarum Professor deinceps nominaberis. Quod ne quis à me secus atque res ipsa se habet dictum arbitretur, mea ipsa verba abs te prolata in medio ponam; tuam deinde horum interpretationem, quam dico esse Calumniam: ut quàm impudenter & malitiosè agas, quod & suprà idque sæpius demonstravi, & hinc qualem te sacræ etiam literæ tortorem proculdubio sentiant, præterire neminem possit. Restat jam tibi sola Græcarum literarum professio: ergo hoc ego "crimini" tibi do, quòd Græcas literas es professus: ergo ego "Græcas literas, earumque professores cogo in ordinem:" Ergo ego "Græcas literas ad ima subfellia relego." Quis horum quicquam sequi præter te dixerit? ipsa malitia si operam tibi suam locasset, tale quippiam ex meis verbis ullam in partem torquendo exprimere quàm tandem potuisset? tu hoc non solum pro verissimo tibi sumis, verum etiam ut non nasutum minus conjectorem te, quàm navum esse Calumniatorem intelligamus, "cui Græcas" inquis "literas, earumque professores cogas in ordinem, nisi me fallit animus, olfeci fucum:" Nempè Salmasius cum esset Græcæ linguæ callentissimus, & hujus ego auctoritatem elevare statuissem, id ut quoquo modo possem, Græcas literas, "ejus," si diis placet, "regna, ad ima subfellia relegavi." Quis calumniari solertiùs, quàm hariolari te nunc dicat? Atqui non meus ille fucus, vir sagacissimè, sed tuus mucus quem olfecisti, tantummodo erat. Mihi enim cum Salmasio de Græcis non magis literis quàm Calendis contestata lis erat; non illum literis vel Græcis vel Latinis sed auctoritatum & rationum ponderibus affligendum atque sternendum esse intelligebam. Hinc tu, propterea quòd omnes cupidè ambages quæris, nequid ad rem dicere cogaris, ut olim paupertatis, ita nunc Græcarum literarum in laudes ridiculè sanè transcurris. Quas ego cum neque nesciam, & si quis alius, plurimi faciam nihil profectò ineptius, nihil alienius fingere potuisti, quàm despectas à me esse Græcas literas: cum non tibi illas, sed te illis probro esse dixerim. Sed hæc tua perpetua ferè ratio est; ubi non fictis criminibus urgeris, ut ne obmutuisse planè videaris, data tibi esse à me crimini quælibet fingis, aut absurda quævis & falsissima de me inferis eaque in primis quæ dicta nunquam sunt, refutanda arripis: Hic strepis, hic tumultuaris, hic te jactas. Si adulterii te postulo, paupertatem scilicet contemno; paupertas tibi contra me toto penu oculorum tuorum defendenda est: Si stupri arguo, Græcas literas nimirum vellico; Græcarum literarum obrectator oppugnandus tibi sum: Sic tu vera fictis eludere conaris, ut hoc fumo excitato occultare turpem fugam & convictissimi fontis pudorem atque silentium possis. Vide autem, dum Græcas literas tam veteratoriè laudas, ut irascantur tibi Literæ Latinæ; tuumque "jecur latinum," ut satis sanum non sit. "Quota pars hæc est," inquis, "sputorum & alaporum?" Næ tu masculum tibi alapum hoc solœcismo meruisti; nam fœmineas esse alas quas tot sensisti, mirum non est si invitus agnoscas. Verùm hæc missa faciamus; levia sunt, vetera sunt; alius repente homo jam factus est Morus; ad sanitatem jamjamque est rediturus; gradum unum atque alterum fecit; paulò veracior, paulò candidior ab Rhetorica Diaboli (sic enim calumniam suprà nominat) ad Rhetoricam transit Juliani. "Vicisti," inquis, "Miltone." Hanc nempe vocem, ut ille olim (ne non Apostata satis germanus per omnia videaris) veritate victus emisisti. Sed vide, ne sincerum quod est, cauponum more, mendacio statim diluas. "Confitentem," inquis, "habes reum." Ego verò reum quidè habeo; confitentem non habeo: nisi si id pro confesso est habendum quicquid tu silentio præteriisti: sic enim & libellum in nos famosum edidisse, & hosti nostro dicasse, & Anglicanam Rempubl. indignissimis modis, meque nominatim illæsus læsisse, totam denique fabulam Genevensẽ confiteris. Ab hac prævaricatione ad precationem quandam artificiose compositam te confers; sive ea tuæ fidei publicæ extrema confessio dicenda est; ad quam

Deum testem invocas, tremendum fateor & testem & judicem. Multa confiteris, multa ploras, peccata quidem “longè gravissima,” sed quæ ad nos nihil attineant, quia penitus latent, & etiamnum inconfessa nobis sunt. Et ista quidem si in occulto, clausisque foribus, ut peccare antea, ita nunc precari in animum induxisses, laudassem equidem te, deque benignitate & clementia divina benè sperare jussissem : nunc cum in platea media orantem te hîc reperiam, ad homines potius quàm ad Deum concinnatas has esse preces, & quasi ultima jacentis tuæ fidei publicæ suspiria judicari. “Te Deus, te testem invoco, an non videant homines in corde isto quæ tu non vides.” O confessionem claram atque simplicem ! immò verò quid obscurius, quid cautius, quid jureconsultius composuisse poteras, ut decem causidicos vel adhibuisse viderere, vel pertinuisset ? Nam quid hoc est, obsecro ? “an non videant homines in corde isto.” Quid vident homines in corde ? Urinatore hîc opus est Delio. Verùm quid quis in corde videat, viderit. Ego facta palam, audita, visa, testata refero : quas nemo meas esse calumnias sine maxima calumnia dixerit. “Longè turpior sum,” inquis, “re quidem vera quàm illi fingunt ; ob illa tot abscondita, quorum apud te reus verè sum.” Sic tu nota ignotis, clara absconditis delere atque eluere conaris : occulta, incerta, latentia confiteris, ut explorata, certa, manifesta eò impudentius negare possis : ad extremum eò descendis, ut confessionem hanc, quasi libellum famosum de temetipso conscribas, quò facilius veram accusationem aliorum possis evadere. Tu hæc atque hujusmodi valere apud Deum cave existimes ; apud homines certè vel mediocriter sagaces, minimè valebunt. Quod si linguis, ut ipse ais, atque conviciis omnium jamdiu verberatus, resipuisti aliquando revera, & ad bonam frugem revertisti, gaudeo. Nos te sic veram egisse pœnitentiam arbitrabimur, si tuarum in nos injuriarum & maledicentiæ famosæ pœnituisse tandem intelligemus.

JOANNIS PHILIPPI ANGLI RESPONSIO

A D

Apologiam Anonymi cujusdam tenebrionis pro Rege
& Populo Anglicano infantissimam.

Contra famosum Anonymi cujusdam Libellum, in quo Senatus Populusque Anglicanus turpissimis convitiis lacerabatur, quem jam vulgo notum est, Salmasii Grammatici infame opus fuisse, prodiit nuper Joannis Miltoni Angli pro Patriâ suâ defensio. Liber sanè probus, omniumque doctorum virorum judicio domi forisque multum approbatus. Qui cum talis esset, expectabatur quidem vel Salmasii ipsius, vel alius alicujus viri literati responsio. Illarum certè partium magni intererat electum aliquem & disertum virum ad causam suam jam diu laborantem & ruentem abhibuisse. Cum ecce demum ex omnibus illis rumoribus, quos assidue fama nostras ad aures afferebat, tandem prorepat exiguus iste mus, qui miserè stridens rodit tantummodò, aliud quidem nihil agit; vel, ut verius dicam, inanes quasdam mortuunculas captat, dentemque in dente fatigat, authorem certè non lædit, ejus autem argumentorum vim & acumen nè assequitur quidem. Mirati primum sumus quis esset; nomen enim ignobile, futilitatis certè suæ conscius, celat. Cum verò libellus ejus, macri nescio cujus & jejuni ingenii indicium, perlectus esset, in eo statim, tanquam in speculo, virum conspeximus. Quis igitur sit, post videbimus. Hoc verò jam tacere non possum, hominem quendam valde obscurum, & vilem eum esse apparere; qui tamen arrogantiam suam mendaciisque fretus, ut morientem & penè defunctam regis sui causam aliquantulum resuscitare videretur, hominumque animos jam sedatos, & judiciis Dei statim acquieturos iterum commoveret atque irritaret, Dei Omnipotentis voluntati, summæque justitiæ se opponere (quam ille tam insignibus & mirandis iræ suæ exemplis in regem, regisque fautores editis, omnibus vult esse notam) & supremos reipublicæ nostræ Magistratus accusare, convitiisque indignissimis infamare ausus est. Veruntamen ita obtorpescit, tam insulsus est, tamque somnulosum se gloriæ præbet, ut certissimum causæ suæ jam languentis, & in totum penè perditæ omen præ se fert. Omnium enim debilissimam atque iniquissimam certe causam illam necesse est esse, quâ in defendendâ fautores ejus non solum armis, verum etiam ratione & argumentis inferiores sint. Merito igitur cum talis esset, ab ipso Miltoño neglectus & contemptus est. Multò enim indignior ab omnibus existimabatur, quàm ut spectata jam facundia limati illius atque culti authoris ad eruenda sterquilinia, rabi-

que loquacitatem tam effrænis atque ſtulti blateronis refutandam deſcenderet. Verùm nè inter ſuos perſugas inanis iſte rabula ſe venditaret & aliquid magnum, vel quod uno fanè prandiolo dignum ſit, ſe ſcripſiſſe crederet, equidem cùm in Patriam pietate, tum inſtauratæ nuper Libertatis apud nos amore ductus, necnon illi etiam viro mihi ſemper obſervando, quem iſte inſectatur, multis officiis devinctus, pati non poteram, quin hujus ineptiſſimi nebulonis petulantiam retundendam mihi, nè rogatus quidem, ſuſciperem. Quemadmodum igitur Romani olim Tirones in palum ſe primò gladiis & pilis excercebant, ita ego in hunc caudicem ſtylum acuere & ingenii vixdum pubeſcentis rudimenta deponere haud incommodè me poſſe confido. Cum adverſario enim tam inſipidio & vulgari, exiguo ſaltem quivis ingenio, & eruditione quantumvis leviter imbutus, etiam de improvifo congregi ſine periculo poterit. Priùs igitur quàm opus ipſum aggrediar, operæ pretium videtur, authorem hujus Apologiæ illuſtrem, ſi diis placet, & diſertum, in occulto tamen latentem inveſtigare. Sunt qui dicunt nomen illi Jano eſſe, obſcuro homini & bonarum literarum rudi, ex illo grege legulejorum quos pragmaticos vocant. Verùm cùm meminiſſem biſfrontem eſſe Janum, alterum ſincipitium in ejus occipitio quærendum mihi eſſe ſtatui. Itaque alteri ſincipitio nomen, uti ego indiciis quibuſdam comperi, Brammalo eſt. Is librum nuper ſtylo atque ſenſu huic penè geminum ſcripſit Anglicè in *Εἰκονοκλάσην*, cujus & hunc fœtum eſſe haud temerè plures autumant. Virum igitur, quanquam & hic vultum in occipitio gerit, ſi libet, cognoscite. Nam, ut ipſe proſitetur, Theologiæ doct̃or eſt, & Episcopopus Hibernienſis. Is cùm ab ineunte ætate homo diſcinctus & ebriofus, episcoporum, qui tunc in Angliâ dominabantur, luxum, opes, ambitionem ante oculos haberet, inedia preſſus & latrantis ſtomachi inſtinctu, nihil ſibi utilius eſſe duxit, quàm ut ſacerdotis munere indutus, Eccleſiam, tunc quidem lupis omnibus patentem, invaderet; & conciunculis aliquot ad illorum temporum pravitatem compositis inſtructus, quas de ſcripto recitandas circumferre ſolebat, nobilium hominum menſas, & ſacellani pinguem aliquam mercedem, ſiqua ejuſmodi offa ſe obtuliſſet, ambiebat; ubi cœnis quàm lautiffimis, precibus quàm breviffimis uterentur. Inter alios Derbiæ comiti ſe clanculùm offerebat. Tandem verò nequitiis coopertus, benevolentiam & favorem comitis Straffordiæ, proregis in Hibernia, quem multiplicis nomine perduellionis totus populus ad ſupplicium tandem poſcebat, aſſentationibus & impudentia turpiter aucupatus eſt. Ille hominem ſe naſtum eſſe ratus ad omnia facinora paratum, quique populum adulatoriis & aulicis concionibus ſuis ad ſuſcipiendum ſervitutis jugum paratiorem redderet, Episcopum eum Derriemſem in Hibernia creavit. Jam verò poſt expulſos Reges & Prælatos, ad priorem vitæ inopiam redactus, ruſus eſuriens, “Curium” nunc “ſimulat” qui “Bacchanalia” modò vixit; utque pietatis obtentu cunctam rabiem in eos effunderet, qui & ipſum & cæteros iſtiusmodi latrones ovilibus Eccleſiæ opimis expulerunt, ſpe etiam nonnulla ampliorem aliquem Episcopatum, mendaciorum ſuorum & audaciæ præmium ſub minore Carolo devorandi, pellem ovinam induit, nil præter pietatem & ſanctimoniam præ ſe fert; ita tamen, ut oblonga Lupi cauda infra inſtitam Sacerdotalem facilè appareat.

En virum egregium præ cæteris qui apologiam pro Rege & Populo Anglicano ſcribendam ſibi ſumit! Age verò, pro “rege” ut libet. Sed quid tu pro “Populo Anglicano,” qui Dominum tuum Straffordium, hoſtem Populi acerrimum meritis pœnis affecit, téque peſſimum ejus in Eccleſia Hibernienſi ad omnia ſcelera miniſtrum pari ſupplicio affeciſſet, niſi aut fuga aut obſcuritas tua eorum manibus, qui Dominum plectebant, te furem eripuiffet. Cur etiam apologiam “pro Populo?” An pro iis qui Regem puniverunt? haud credo; dices, pro iis qui regi favebant periodus? At illi id non requirunt, ut qui, factâ pace, modicè multati, ſua jam bona ſecurè poſſideant, ſuamque fidem Reipublicæ noſtræ obſtrinxerint. Unde tua iſta Apologia aut abſurda planè eſt, aut nimium intempeſtiva. Verùm tu is homo es, qui titulum iſtum libri tui, utpote ſpecioſum, vel cum maxima quavis abſurditate arripere voluiſti: Contra

“Joannis”

“Joannis” scilicet “Polypragmatici” defensionem. Sic ejus nimirum contra Claudium Anonymum, satis concinnè quidem dictum, si Claudium cum Anonymo conjunxeris, insulsè imitaris. Verùm non is Polypragmaticus est, qui libertatem laudat, tyrannos damnat, civium suorum rectè & decorè facta defendit; sed tu potius, tuique similes verè sic dici debent, qui cum Ecclesiasticos esse vos profiteamini, & Ecclesiam vestrâ Polypragmaticâ perdidistis, & rerum civilium administrationem nihil ad vos pertinentem perpetuò conturbatis. Sed causa suberat gravis cur scriberes, credo, contra “defensionem” Miltoni “destructivam.”

Brammale dic nobis cujum pecus? anne latinum?

Non, verùm monachorum, illi sic rure loquuntur.

Cognoscite jam hominem in illa nempe barbarie Scholasticorum quàm in clarorum authorum puritate & sapientia versatiorem, quorum lucem vespertilio iste ferre nunquam potuit. Unde demum prodeat Apologia ista videamus. “Antverpiâ;” hoc enim solum præclarus iste Protestantium Episcopus, asylum, ut videtur, invenire sibi potuit, inter Jesuitarum & Monachorum catervas, quibuscum tales pseudopiscopi libentissimè esse solent. Rectè igitur meo judicio & se dignè faciunt Protestantes exteri, qui turbatores istiusmodi errabundos suis cœtibus abigunt. Saltem non ausus est apud ullam Batavorum civitatem hoc suum opusculum typis mandare, veritus ne Illustrissimi Fœderatorum Ordines, ut Salmasii nuper sui libellum publicè damnarunt, ita se quoque extorrem & erraticum nebulonem multò severiùs punirent. Quod illis quidem in laudem atque honorem, huic meritò in opprobrium cedere debet.

Jam ad lectorem quædam præfatur, & pauca sanè, sed quæ stultitiam hominis & ignorantiam illiteratam plus nimio prodant. Queritur “unam tantum” Salmasii “impressionem,” idque “magna cum difficultate in lucem erupisse;” ejus autem libri quem Miltonus scripsit “tot esse exemplaria, ut” nesciat “cui lectorem remitteret.” Itaque nihil hîc reperio, cur non amico nostro gratulemur, Salmasium falsè rideamus. Annon hæc satis ad arguendam causæ tuæ fœditatem visa sunt? Miltonum omnes cum favore & plausu te-ipsò teste legunt; Salmasium abjiciunt, nihili faciunt. His tua pervicacia adeò non movetur, ut omnes idcirco “mortales veritatem odisse, mendaciorum & convitiatorum amore flagare,” impudentissimè accuses, ipse interim non Apostolus, non Propheta, neque Evangelista, sed scortator & heluo satis notus, & ganeonum duntaxat Episcopus. Vos verò lectores, quos non humaniter appellat, sed in ipso exordio tam petulanter perstringit, tam docti reprehensoris vestri imprimis sensum, deinde literas vereri jam discite; primùm enim ait Miltoni defensionem “invidiosè elaboratam,” deinde tot excusis exemplaribus approbatissimam esse fatetur; hæc sanè apud omnes qui Latine intelligunt pugnantia sunt. Tum “tot sunt,” inquit, “illius exemplaria, ut nescio cui lectorem remitterem.” Satiùs tu quidem, qui vel primâ paginâ solœcismos evitare non potes, ad Orbilii cujusvis flagra remittendus es, apud quem nulla poteris apologiâ uti, quin omnes te pueri virgis & ferulis pulchrè depexum atque ornatum dimittant. Verum te jam primò auguror hac in parte haud rarò peccaturum, qui tam rem manè incipis. Neque lectorem stultè alloqui satis habes, sed eò etiam ulterius audaciæ processisti (quo vitio ignorantia maximè laborare solet) ut Leidensi Academiæ celeberrimæ ineptias tuas foetidissimas Epistola etiam stultissimè scripta dedicare ausus sis. “Alumnum” te Academiæ “quondam” fuisse affirmas. Tune verò Academiæ ullius unquam alumnus, cujus infantiae propemodùm illiteratae quemlibet vel in agris ludum literarium puderet? Leidensem autem “alumnum” fuisse unquam te dicere audere, dubium tibi ne sit, quin illa Academia vehementissimè indignetur; majori enim contumeliâ urbem illam afficere non potes, cujus te “quondam alumnum” fuisse prædicas; quanquam illud “quondam,” si unquam fuit, multorum postea annorum crapulâ in lustris atque popinis jam diu proluxisti. Sed & tu “eorum tutelam expetis.”

Hominum ſtupidiffime, tutelam tu tuæ barbariæ in Muſarum domicilio quæris, quarum hoc ipſum munus eſt, vinctam barbariem catenis in terras ultimas exterminare: neſcis medios dilapſus in hoſtes. Saltem dum Academicos alloqueris, ſimula te literatum quempiam eſſe, vel ad punctum temporis, ſi potes. “Salmaſius,” ais, “mihi anſam præbuit qui tamen omnibus arripuit:” quænam iſta balbuties eſt? Fac modo Academia, quam interpellas, te intelligat alumnum ſuum, vix credo annotinum. “Nec calamum,” inquis, “in manum ſumere auderem” (ſapuiſſes tu quidem ſi auſus non fuiſſes) “niſi Miltoni amentia me invitum provocâſſet.” At ille te non magis provocavit, quàm qui prætereunt importunum & improbiſſimi oris canem, quem inani latratu inſequentem ita contemnit, ut vix fuſte te dignetur aut calce. “Quid vero,” inquis, “ab extero qui inter inhospitales Caucaſos vitam degit, expectari poterit?” Nihil fanè: Expectationem tu noſtram minimè ſeſelluſti: neque certè erat opus ut te inter Caucaſos vitam degere faterere, lingua te tua ipſique mores barbarum clamitant: Tu-âque illa Caucaſea “poma” ſi dare velles, ſcito omnes Alcinoos magnopere aſpernari. Ad Academiam quæreris inter alia, quòd “Banauſi & Mechanici in pulpitam aſcenderunt.” Perdoctus tu quidem & idoneus, qui Banauſos, & Mechanicos in pulpitem aſcendentes inſecteris, qui pariter atque illi Grammaticæ rudis, haud illis magis pulpitem declinare potes. Poſtremò “Alienigenam” te “Anglum” appellas. “Id” quidem rectiſſimè: Aliena enim ſentis, aliena loqueris, quidni alienigenam te Anglum eſſe dicas, id eſt ſpurium, quem Angli veluti purgamentum ſuæ Patriæ atque piaculum jure quidem ad Caucaſos ablegârunt.

In Præludium ad

PRÆFATIONEM.

IN præludiis eſſe ſe exiſtimat vir gravis; ludos ut videtur Epiſcopales mox editurus. Favete ſpectatores Ludioni Epiſcopo. Verum putaret quis hominem non prologum agere, ſed in ipſo Proœmio Oreſtem inſanum aut Athamanta ſaltare. “Ne inſaniens Cacodæmon Joannes Miltonus, &c.” O mitem & manſuetum! quàm non iracundè, quàm humaniter exorditur! quod aliis, quamlibet furentibus, extremum maledicentiæ eſt, id huic pro levi tantùm præludio habetur. Sed hoc novum non eſt: Sic enim Phariſæi olim, veri ejus progenitores, Chriſtum ipſum à Cacodæmone agitari dicebant; ut nemo vel hoc vel pejus in ſe dici, præſertim ab hoc Epiſcopo verè Diabolico, moleſtè ferat. Offenditur imprimis quòd Miltonus Reipubl. inſignia, quemadmodum Salmaſius regis in fronte Libri poſuit. Hæc ille poſita ibi ait tanquam fœnum in cornu, “ut cuncti ſibi caverent;” quid hoc ad alios neſcio. Te verò Brammale non miror fœnum in cornu uſque adeò horreſcere, quoties tot tua adulteria animo revolvis. Omitto deinde quæ de cruce furcifer atque etiam de lyra ſtultiſſimè deliras: & certè præludia profeſſus, nihil aliud niſi nugas agis. “Parlamentum & Concilium ſatis ætatis habent ſeiſpſos armis defendere.” Atqui tuum erat potiùs cogitare, ſatiſne ætatis haberes Latinè ut poſſis id ipſum ſcribere. “Sed ringit illum Salmaſius,” vel ut poſteà perdoctè fanè emendavit, “ringit ille pro Salmaſio” (menda an emendatio vitioſior ſit, lectorum eſto judicium) “peregrinos veretur: num tu credis quòd tot nefanda, &c.” Væ tibi Priſciane! nam ſolœciſmos hîc non ſingulos, ſed turmatim effundit. Quàm verò Peregrinos vereatur Miltonus, & imprimis illum Thraſybombomachidem Salmaſium, qui libros ejus perlegerit abundè nôrit. “Ego,” inquis, “libertatem peto à libero

libero suo populo Anglicano, ut quod in re tanti ponderis liberè proferre possim.” Tune ut quicquam quod liberum sit liberè proferre possis, mancipium aulæ fœdissimum, Straffordii famulus & minister, gulæ etiam atque inguini turpissimè serviens Episcopus? Quem populus opinor Univerſus de libertate concionantem veluti obſcœnum portentum abominaretur; vel etiam lapidibus obrueret, aut ſiquid mitius, ecquis huc vincula & compedes, exclamarent; ut Romani olim, Claudii quodam aulico ad concionandum miſſo, “Io Saturnalia” repentè clamabant: Nam ſervis Romæ, niſi feſtis Saturnalibus, liberè loqui non licebat. “Nos,” inquis, “ſuper dejectos cantandò epiniceia triumphamus.” Rectè quidem ſuper hoſtes qui propter commoda quædam ſua cum tyranno conjurati, patriam ad ſervitutem redigere conabantur: & epinicia nos quidem minimè omnium ſuperbè cantamus, Deo ſemper gloriam tribuimus. Verùm quid ſibi volunt “epiniceia” tua, Bardocuculle? An quia tam ſtrenuè pergræcari ſolitus es, Græcè idcirò intelligere te putas? “Angit” Miltonum, inquis, “quòd Salmaſius extraneus aliquam notitiam caperet illarum rerum, quæ nunc ſunt in Anglia:” non quòd “notitiam caperet,” ſed quòd rerum nihil ad ſe pertinentium arbitrum ſe faceret, veritatem turpiſſimis mendacijs perverteret, quos non nôrat, in eos convitijs & contumelijs inveheretur. “Fures,” inquis, “lucem timent.” Tu igitur fur omnium peſſimus qui lucem times & nomen celas. Sacra etiam impuris manibus attrectas. Prov. 29. Cùm boni regnant, populus gaudet; cùm mali dominantur, populus dolet: eâ de cauſâ cùm Carolus dominabatur, populus dolebat. Quod omnes ſatis meminerunt. Neque leve ſignum eſt, eos jam gaudere, bonis remp. gerentibus; Carolum enim Filium, etiam cum exercitu jam venientem, & libertatem, quâ incedit, omnibus pollicentem, tanquam hoſtem averſantur ubique, & fugiunt, vi etiam & armis cum ſumma alacritate propuſant.

Quàm autem ſis ineptus nunquam clariùs perſpicitur, quàm cùm de te loqueris, ut hîc. “Fateor,” inquis, “ut huic veteratori respondeam, me multò inferiorem bonis omnibus & adjumentis vitæ ſpoliatum.” Quibuſnam bonis? Si bonis animi, doctrinâ & ingeniò ſis inferior, cur non parem tibi congreſſum potiùs quæſiviſti? Sed iſto puto es, qui eſſe doctum, eſſe eloquentem nihil aliud niſi eſſe divitem exiſtites: ut bonis externis & vitæ adjumentis ſpoliatus ſi ſis, Doctrinâ quoque & ingenio ſpoliatus tibi videare. Ain’ vero tu “bonis omnibus ſpoliatum te eſſe?” Callidus nimis es & vaſer, cupis celare divitias tuas, verùm non potes. Indicabo ego te & facultates tuas. Præter illa bona, quæ erepta tibi eſſe dicis, reſtat adhuc tibi, non enim celabis, ingens, eoque ingentius, quòd nemo tibi eripiet, ſolœciſmorum peculium; in eo genere divitiarum, neminem te locupletioſiorem cognovi. Extorrem præterea te eſſe queritaris; Vah quàm indigne! Ut perſpicias igitur quàm ſum pro te ſollicitus, eſt in Cilicia oppidum, Soli, antiquum, ut perhibent, & ſatis amplum; illuc omnes qui ſolœciſmos tam ſtrenuè facere ſolent, coloniam ducunt; Sarcinas igitur quàm primùm collige, eò enim te, tuâſque omnes facultates ſuadeo transferas. Permagna ibi te latifundia, mihi crede, manent, immò niſi fallor, Solœcorum omnium principatum facilè unus obtinebis. Verùm quod nullum tibi unquam fuit (ſi ingenium dicis quo inferiorem te factum fateris) id tibi nos ſcilicet eripuiffe inſimulas. Cùm te contrà ab adverſario multas diſtiones, & aptè uſitata ab eo verba ineptè ſuffurari non pudeat. “Superbire” Miltonum ais, “nominibus ſuis & titulis in Frontiſpicio ſuſpenſis.” Quæ ille nomina præter ſuum, quos ille titulos in Fronte Libri ſuos poſuit? An ideo ſuperbus, quia ſe fui neque nominis neque cauſæ pudebat? Hæccine tibi “Phylacteria” ſunt? “Salmaſium,” inquis, Miltonus, “tanquam anonymum convitijs & ſcommatibus ſcurrilibus perſequitur.” Multò certè ſermonis lepore & facetijs in hominem jocatur, tu ſcurrile quicquam ab eo dictum nequis oſtendere. “Sed ſeculo venturo omnes Miltonis hoc nomine miſere vapulabunt, ne fortè” (id eſt ejus loquelâ, niſi fortè) “judicet mundus, &c.” Quicquid de Miltonis ſeculo venturo fiat, tu vates ventriloquus & infantiffimus fide nullâ es dignus. “Sed nil novi viros optimos nomina ſua reticuiſſe.”

Nempe

Nempe quia tu ita facis. “Sic ſanctus Paulus ad Hebræos;” ſcripſit enim ad Nationem ſuo nomini inſenſiſſimam, de rebus admodum novis & parum creditis; tu verò Populo Anglicano, tu exteris tibi & cauſæ tuæ, ut ipſe ais, minimè iniquis, de re no- tiſſimâ, & apud omnes gentes, ut idem ais, receptiſſima, & tamen malè tibi conſcius nomen occultas. “Sic Beza.” Rectè meministi, ſcripſit enim “Vindicias contra ty- rannos,” quas tu inter “veritates” illas, “quæ, ut nunc temporis, vix hiſcere aude- bant,” recenſes. “Virtus,” inquis, apud nos “vitio vertitur.” Quia Brammali ſci- licet virtutes, ebrietas, voracitas, alea, ſcortatio, vitia habentur. “Sed Cantabrigia & Oxonium ſuis invictis declarationibus ſe ab hoc crimine liberârunt.” At invictæ illæ Declarationes fatuitatis & vâcordiæ facilè evincuntur: Academiæ enim non erant, ſed Prælatorum factionis, quæ ibi reliqua erat. Rectiùs nunc ſapiunt Acade- miæ. “Genevam,” inquis, “Deodatus” hoc crimine “liberavit.” Solus fortæſſe ſenſum ille ſuum, non totius Academiæ iudicium explicavit. “Leydam quoque Sal- maſius.” Non Leydenſis tamen, ſed externus. Leydenſes libertate priùs recuperatâ, quàm literis clari erant.

“Tot ergò doctorum & bonorum agmine circumvallatus,” vix uno videlicet atque altero, “faciam rem non difficilem, cauſam Dei omnipotentis dicturus,” Dei nimi- rum tui, hoc eſt ventris, aut Bacchi, qui tibi omnipotens eſt; cujus auſpiciis Bram- malus

Grammaticus, Geometra, Miniſter, Aſcripta, Sacerdos,
Augur, Scœnobates, Medicus, Magus, omnia novit.
Brammalus eſuriens, in cœlum, juſſeris, ibit.

Sed eodem credo ſucceſſu, quo Grammaticatur. Nam “in tantam crevit audaciam, ut quicquid libet dicere, licet:” hæc ejus ſyntaxis eſt. “Sed” Miltonus “monarchiam è mundo tollere laborat.” Dic ubi? Omnibus enim populis ſemper hoc liberum re- liquit, ſive monarchiam vellent, ſive aliam regiminis formam; tantummodò nolentibus imponi noluit. Ad ſolœciſmos tuos redeo, qui jam vix intermittunt; “Quidni Sal- maſio non pepercit rabula? Videtur tamen ſua canina ferocia catenis vinctus vel po- tiùs vincendus, qui omnes undique mordit.” Unde tibi iſti nitores Orationis & lumi- na, Brammale? Fieri non poteſt, quin omnes obſcuroſum virorum epiſtolas & loculos expilaveris. Crimini das Miltono, “quod iſ in partem adjutorii” (ejus enim Barba- riſmis utor) “Deum vocet.” Facis ut te decet Epiſcopum atheum & prophanum. Sed miraris “quâ fronte” Miltonus “auſus eſt dicere,” ſe “hæc, jubente Parlamento, evulgâſſe.” Primum Miltonus hoc nuſquam dicet; ſed dixiſſe finge, ut certè fingis, quid tu contra? “Si vera,” inquis, “narrat, ubi Brown vel Elſing, vel Scobel, Cle- rici Parlamentariorum?” Næ tu homo verè minutulus es, & nullius pretii: Nihilne putas jubente atque etiam libente Parlamento prodire in lucem poſſe, niſi cui nomen Clerici Parlamentarii adſcribatur? Mirum eſt tot tibi nugas cogitanti non hoc etiam in mentem veniſſe, quod vulgò dicitur,——

Clericus in libro non valet ova duo.

Præſertim cujus tu farinæ clericus es, qui mediocriter ſaltem latinè non intelligis; ſi enim intellexiſſes, non hæc ejus verba, “quæ authoritate Parlamenti ſcripta & declarata ſunt,” de ejus libro dicta exiſtimares, verum de publicis Parlamenti ſcriptis, & decla- rationibus paſſim editis. Neque te quicquam ex verbis ejus lucratum eſſe cenſiſſes, quamvis quod dixiſſe eum falſò accuſas, “factionem” rempubl. dixiſſet; factionem enim tam in bonam quàm in malam partem olim dici vel pueris notum eſt. Progredereſ deinde. “Una factio erat & armis ſe tuetur (non jure) tui.” Quid tu hic tibi velis? Si capis ipſe, bene eſt, ego quidem non capio. Ut nec ſequentia tua de “Parla- mento

mento supremo, Concilio summo, de Grammaticâ denique "comparandi gradibus laborante." Id te angit potius quod Hierarchia tua gradibus laborat. "Hunc," inquis, "honorem Deo ceditis, ut dum vos vestris mundanis gaudeatis, nè minimam Religionis aut animarum curam suscipere velle, palàm profiteamini." En iterum fœde solœcum! Sed sane dignum est, ut tu, qui animarum cura quid sit, nunquam scivisti, eam civili gladio commissam crederes. Nos verò, ais, "magno impetu prosternimus veræ religionis cultores." Hostes quidem civiles & proditores, Religionis autem cultores, Religionis causâ non prosternimus. "Salmasium" deinde crepas: tace de Salmasio, ille suos patitur manes, & in Suecorum aulâ jam diu friget. Sed Miltonus, ut omnes respublicas & "Illustrissimos etiam Hoollandiæ Ordines" in partes suas pelleret, "Illorum principi" oblatrat. Advertite Hollandi, Principem nuper mortuum, vestrum principem appellat, nec vos quidem liberos esse patitur. Cavete, dum licet, ne pervagante hujusmodi aulicorum doctrina elatus, alter quispiam apud vos princeps ac Dominus succrescat. Tandem "Præludium" hoc grandi solæcismo pene claudit, "hæreditarium regis imperium, cui totus populus per multos annos juratus consentierunt." Vos lectores eruditi, quotquot literas humaniores amatis, præfantem hunc Bavium, immò barbarum, odio quo dignus est, & sibilo prosequimini.

C A P. I.

PRæludiis amotis fabulam expectabamus, promissas nimirum illas Miltoni confutationes. Et certè hoc sensu reverâ fabulam agit; eorum enim quæ promisit, nihil præstat; sed partim maledictis, partim insulis regiæ fortunæ miserationibus totum hoc caput exhaurit. "Non sum," inquit, "tam audax Phormio, ut Salmasio me compararem, quàm Miltonus, qui se Salmasio opponere auderet." Næ tu Phormio quis fuerit in Comoedia parùm videris intelligere. At quid ais? "Miltonum Salmasio opponere se audere," Grammaticorum Pyrgopolynici? Facinus ingens narras. "Nam si autoritate," inquis, "dirimenda lis sit, plus fidei uni Salmasio, quàm mille millenis Miltonis omnes ingenui & docti darent." At verò qui auctoritatem vel Salmasio vel Miltono dant, nisi quam eorum alteruter ratione & argumentis sibi acquirit, ipsi neque docti, neque ingenui sunt. Miltonum exteris antehac ignotum veritas & ratio commendavit: Salmasium inane nomen, & multæ lectionis opinio commendare sine ratione non valuit, quin ab amicis etiam ejus, & fautoribus longè inferior in hoc certamine sit judicatus. Tu totam de patribus disputationem satis callidè abs te amoves, ut quos nunquam consulueris. "Miltonum in plurimis Salmasio castigandum relinquis." Munus profectò satis arduum Salmasio reliquisti, qui Miltoni responsum cum legeret, ita, ut videtur, perculsus est & quatefactus, ut, solutâ alvo, in latrinam putem confugisse: Unde scripsit ad amicos, cacabundus in hæc verba: "Ego istum Miltonum permerdabo & permingam." Balistam satis validam in postico geras oportet, Salmasi, quæ merdas tam longè contorquere aut explodere te posse putas. Hiñc est quod tam fœtida meditantem jam diu in Aula Sueciæ fœtere te dicant: Neque mirum est, si Sueciæ regina, quamvis opinione vulgi primùm decepta, nunc suo acri judicio comperit te & cognitum tam olentem Mœvium à se abjecerit. Ferunt alii, cum paginam unam atque alteram responsi illius percurrisset, furore correptum sic subito rodomontari cœpisse. "Ego perdam istum nebulonem & totum Parlamentum." Hæc verba ipsius ad nos delata retuli; & sanè si istiusmodi homo est, non is idoneus qui castiget alios, sed qui ipse castigetur, in Phreneticorum potius gymnasium deportandus. Progredere, "Prætermisiss," ut ais, "Oratoriis & verisimilibus ex Cicerone, Aristotele, Euripide, Sophocle, & aliis Ethnorum scriptis. Non enim Christianis necessario recurrendum est ad Ethnicos." Nescis ergò Salmasium tuum hanc prius affectasse

tâſſe viam? Miltonus eò tantùm adverſarium ſecutus eſt provocantem. Tu verò interim hypocrita ignaviæ tuæ conſulis, qui cum nullum fanè bonum, aut facundum authorem unquam attigeris, id ſtudio pietatis non feciſſe te ſimulas. Miltonus aiebat, “pater nos genuit, non Rex.” Tu inde nomen patris à ſpecie ad numerum detorques; ut captiones hinc quaſdam & amphibolias frigidiffimas conſuere poſſis; quas ne recitatione quidem dignas exiſtimo, adeo ſunt ineptæ & mucoſæ. “Si verò,” inquis, “rex juvenis uxorem ambiens Papam Patrem ſanctiſſimum appellaverit, non tam acri cenſura perſtringendus.” Sic Zimri juvenis Moabiſſam uxorem ambiens à religione vera defecit; an excuſatior idcirco eſt? “Probabile,” verò, ais, “eſſe quòd literam ſecretariis ſuis ſcribendam commiſit.” Eò magis culpandus, qui rem tanti momenti, quæque religionem atque honorem ſuum in dubium vocare poterat, Secretariis tam minimè probis commiſerit. Verùm & nos “Regem Hiſpaniarum Regem Catholicum” appellamus. Iſtarum literarum exemplar æquum eſt te proferre, ſi potes, ſicuti nos Regis ad Papam protulimus. “Et quidni,” inquis, “Papam Patrem ſanctiſſimum appellaveritis, ſi in politicis vobiſcum ſentiret.” Sic ſcurræ ſolent deprehenſi; quod ſe feciſſe conſtat, id alios facere velle calumniantur. Hos mores ſcurrarum lepidiſſime depingit Plautus:

Nihil eſt proſecto ſtultius atque ſtolidius,
Neque mendaciloquius, neque perjurius,
Quàm urbani aſſidui cives, quos ſcurras vocant;
Qui omnia ſe ſimulant ſcire, nec quicquam ſciunt,
Quod quicquam in animo habet, aut habiturus eſt, ſciunt.
Quæ neque futura, neque facta ſunt, tamen illi ſciunt.

“Si hos vermes,” ais, “Regum auribus inſidiantes, & velut intus exiſtentes, prohibent alienum, ut neminem ſibi fidelem audire poterat, Rex radicitus extirpaſſet, &c.” Credo iſtos vermes & auribus & cerebro tuo inſidiantes, Grammaticæ rudimenta, ſiqua tibi inſculpta erant, penitè exediſſe. Rurſus “Deodatum” aſſers, “qui regem noſtrum unicum Reformatæ Religionis deſenſorem inſignivit.” At, inquam, longius abſuit Deodatus, quam ut Carolum in cute nôſſe poſſet; ne dicam clauſiſſe oculos, ſi poſt Rupellenſes Reformatos tam à Carolo præclare deſenſos hoc dixerit. Sed pergis, “vobis qui Carolum è mundo ſuſtulisti, tandem redeundi patet via in Ægyptum, ex quo ægrè detinemini.” Eja Solorum decus, quàm te jam in municipio tuo Solenſi oblectas; à quo nemo te poſſit detinere, ne ſi furcâ quidem expelleret. Miltonus, ais, “nec locum, nec librum, ubi à ſe prolata,” è ſummorum Theologorum libris “inveniemus, exhibet.” At iſta loca Miltonus facile protuliſſet, niſi ipſe Salmaſius adverſos ſibi ple-rôſque reformatos Theologos haud uno in loco ſaſſus eſſet; quæ tamen loca eorum ſcripta legentibus ita paſſim occurrunt, ut hinc tua potiùs ignorantia conſtet, qui neque illos, neque ipſum Salmaſium prælegiſſe videris. Jam “Davidis” exemplum omnibus notum narras. Rationes autem illas, quas attulit Miltonus; cur exemplum illud ad cauſam hanc non pertineret, non attingis; tantummodò Unctum Domini, Unctum Domini ingeminas. Dic ſodes ergò, Eſtne omnis Rex unctus Domini? Omnis, ais, præſertim Chriſtianus. Cur ergò dux Joſua quinque unctos Domini uno die ſuſpedit? Nam Chriſtianos ſi dices non fuiſſe, ridiculum eſt; quandoquidem Chriſtianum profiteri, cùm ſit maleſicus, neminem ſupplicio debito eximere poteſt. “David,” inquis, “viam nobis monſtravit tolerantiae, ut Deo judici relinquetur, qui impœnitentem percutiet, ut morietur.” Quid me cogis? deſeſſus jam penè ſum, Solenſes tuas delitias perambulando. Ad Davidem recurris; Salmaſio reſponſum erat eadem inculcanti, Davidem privatum privatas injurias ulciſci noluiſſe. Tu Parlamentum omne privatum eſſe dicis, Regem Carolum, unctum Domini fuiſſe; nihil tamen horum probas, nihil ab adverſario dictum cum ratione oppugnas. “Si ex aura populari,” inquis, “diademata re-

gibus auferenda, quis non vellet se ex infima plebe terræ filium potius esse quam regem?" Id noli timere; utcunque non deessent reges. Neque te, credo, hoc deterrebat, quod minus Episcopatum turpiter ambires, quamvis populo invisum. "At" Miltonus, ais, "dum potestatem populi in reges suos imprudenter prædicat, reges omnes esse tyrannos instruit." Sic sanè ut lex instruit homicidas, quia vetat.

— Jam Troja maneret, ais,
Confilio Priami si foret usa senis.

At verò noster Priamus, vel Paris potius, non Trojæ usus consilio, sed Helenæ suæ, & se perdidit & regnum suum. Jam ordine perrupto ad nonum puto vel decimum caput excurris. Miltonum, ais, asseruisse, "nullum membrum Parlamenti absque proprio consensu in judicium vocari posse, Regem" autem tu saltem "membrum" Parlamenti esse dicis. Præpropere tu quidem id ibas petutum, quod nusquam erat, neque à quoquam, quod memini, unquam dictum. Hoc etiam responsum tulisse Regem, cum quinque Membra posceret, falsissimum est, quod ex illa re gesta satis liquet. "Nosti," inquis, "quod nisi à sicariis vestris impeditus populus esset, regem è vestris manibus eripuissent." Verum quos tu populum esse existimas, nos non putamus. An verò Regiorum gregem illum perditum, totiesque domitum, populum appellas? Nos ita non existimamus: victi bello, quod ipsi intulerant, jus populi amiserunt. Miltonum graviter accusas, quod dixerit, Salmasium Regis mortem ineptè plorantem, legentium neminem pilo tristiores reddidisse. Non ergo in Miltonum, sed in stolidissimas Conducti ploratoris nœnias culpam conferre debes.

Men' moveat quippe, & cantet si naufragus, assen-
Protulerim.—Verum: nec nocte paratum
Plorabit, qui me volet incurvasse querelâ.

"Majori patientia," inquis, "ferunt Episcopi convitia tua." Episcoporum sanè patientia omnibus nota est. Hic verò quasi interno dolore perculsus, magno fervore & conatu, Episcoporum cæremonias & ambitiones asserere contendis. Unde apertius licet conjicere, te Brammalum lurconem illum, quem antea diximus esse, qui Episcopos combibones, & commessatores tuos, belli civilis faces, tam gnaviter defendis. "Quot duxerit Hippiæ mœchos," inquis, "innumerabiles sunt." At multò magis innumerabiles, quot Brammalus fecerit mœchas. "Sed Rex noster," ais, "Templa nostra decenter ornavit, & honoravit in honorem Dei, nunquam in equorum stabulos convertibat." Nunquam, mihi crede, Tempa vestra tam "decenter ornavit," quam tu Solorum Tempa egregiis tuis ornasti solœcismis, quorum monumenta sane sempiterna nunquam interibunt. Te Deum omnis solœci, te patronum tam præclare de illo municipio meritum colent posthac in secula, & invocabunt; in memoriam etiam eloquentiæ tuæ tam asininæ, non Scholas discipulis tuis, sed "stabulos" dicabunt. Regem autem vestrum aio minimè omnium "Templa" ornasse, sed ipsum potius in equorum stabula, atque in haras etiam convertisse, dum tot immundos prælatos, tot porcos Episcopos, te denique spurcissimum in Ecclesiam introduxit. "Regias" jam "partes agi" dicis, si Presbyterianos gravius incusemus. Nec tamen Christus ipse & Apostoli, tales Evangelii Doctores, fratres subditios, Religionis prætextu Ecclesiæ insidiantes, mitius olim increpabant. An ergò dicta eorum aut scripta "digladiari in se invicem" dices, quod suos vel libentes, vel deficientes à fide atque integritate liberrimè reprehenderent? "Ubi mutatur forma reipublicæ ex Monarchia in aliam, non datur successio, &c." Non hunc Miltonus solum, sed Salmasius "obicem Carolo secundo" posuit; ejus enim verba sunt, si advertisses. Verum tu, aut cæcus aut demens, in socios pariter ac hostes incurris. "Tantâ," inquis, "illorum astutiâ omnia oblitterata sunt,

ut conclamatum est de viribus humanis; sed nos qui per fidem in Deum expectamus resurrectionem futuram, &c.” Apage sis temulente. Quid tibi aut vinolentiis tuis cum fide, quem si pocula tua majora ita consopirent, ut resurgere nunquam posses, felicius profecto consultum tibi foret. “Scires libenter quid per populum” velimus. Scirem ego vicissim, quid Romani per Senatum Populumque Romanum voluerint. Quæris “quod remedium restat populo contra tyrannidem Parlamenti.” Tum id quoque dicam, cum causæ quid erit; nunc supervacua ne quære.

C A P. II.

Definierat Salmasius regem “Deo solo minorem, legibus solutum; si nostram rempub. sic definiret aliquis,” consensuros nos esse ais, qui tamen regis illam definitionem oppugnavimus. Institutum hoc tuum esse video, cum refutare nihil possis, posse saltem calumniari. “Et qui penetrabit” Miltoni “scripta,” inquis, “nil præter barbariem & insaniam inveniet.” Dirumpi ergo necesse est te, qui tot viros doctos & probos de Miltoni scriptis longè aliter sentire, invitus quotidie cernis. Barbariem verò tu cuiquam impudentissime? quem præter linguæ fatuitatem, cum sensus belluini & stupor, tum etiam mores in ipsa vastitate barbariæ nati atque nutriti clamant. Utcunque tamen siquid affers audiamus. “Petrus supremum vocat Regem.” Supereminentem quidem vocat; idque vulgari potius loquendi more, quàm verè politico, pro eorum captu ad quos scripsit. Sic Consul Romanus ὑπάτης est vocatus, id est supremus, quò modò & Poloniæ Rex, & Dux Venetiarum supremus vocari potest; qui tamen, si politicas rationes accuratius inire volumus, & multorum instituta regnorum, supremi non sunt. Ita igitur supremum vocasse regem Apostolus censendus est, ut tamen leges cuiusque gentis, & jura, & reipub. formam inviolatam esse vellet. Et certè non tam supremus quis sit, docet aut disputat, quàm quas ob causas & quatenus obedientiam sive supremis, sive præsidibus præstare debeamus: id Miltonus copiosè explicuit; tu nescio an tuæ conscientiam vecordiam, consultò prætermittis. “Quasi,” inquis, “triginta Athenis tyranni non plus poterant in damnum populi, quàm unus si maximè tyrannus esse voluerit.” At inquam ego contrà, nullus unquam fuit unus, “si maximè tyrannus esse voluerit,” quin tyrannos non triginta solùm, sed trecentos, atque etiam multò plures in damnum populi constituere soleret: frustra igitur sub uno, sive Monarchiâ, tyranno melius populo fore speras: nullus enim in republica tyrannus unquam unus fuit, quin plurimos sibi adsciscere tyrannos necesse habuerit. “Rex si abutetur,” inquis, “potestate sua in regni detrimentum, à suis subditis impediri potest & debet.” Rectè concedis: sed quousque impediri possit ac debeat non dicis. Potest enim tyrannus eousque procedere in detrimentum regni, ut nisi vim vi repellamus, eumque pro hoste habeamus, impedire nullo modo possimus. Concedis igitur ipse, & frustra contendis veritate victus, sed videri concedere non vis, pertinaciæ studiosior, quam veritatis; nam quod impediri ais tyrannum debere, “non in iudicium trahi & capite plecti” vel “ab uno” vel “ab omnibus,” sed “Dei iudicio relinquendum esse,” nugæ sunt, & gratis dictæ; quæ singula, non affirmanda, sed probanda tibi restant. Vis Monarchiam reipublicæ formâ esse perfectiorem. Id nos in præsentia non agimus. Tua tamen argumenta, quoniam vacat, videamus. “Introductam à Deo” dicis “in ultimum & præstantissimum remedium populo toties ab inimicis subactò sub iudicibus.” Primum cur illud præstantissimum remedium non primò potius, quàm ad ultimum adhibitum fuerit, cum Deus Rempub. suam quam præstantissimis legibus formaret; deinde cum Israëlitarum Regem peterent, post annos circiter quadringentos sub iudicibus exactos, si Monarchia præstantissimum illud remedium Deo visum est, cur ab ea dissuaserit. populum suum ac deterruerit,

deterruerit, solum. Cur denique petentes eos peccati gravissimi reos fecerit, fac quæso intelligamus: “quòd Theocratiam,” inquis, “rejicerent,” nempe sub judicibus. At verò illi non minùs in Monarchiâ Theocratiam retinere poterant, ac debebant: sin minùs, tu Monarchiam dum præstantissimam esse dicis, non Theocratiam, sed Atheocratiam cave dixeris; in qua Deus tam præsens regere suum populum quàm sub judicibus non potuit. Certè si gubernantibus illis Theocratiam in Republica fuisse dicis, ut certè fuit, haud aliam gerendæ Reipublicæ formam præstantiorem, ut sunt res mortaliū, invenire quisquam poterit. “Respondeat mihi,” inquis, “tuus Populus Anglicanus, utrūm ligneo Caroli jugo excussō, aliquam miseriarum relaxationem inveniant.” Respondet itaque jugum se Caroli ferreum à conscientiiis suis depulsiſſe, jugum idem Ispiscoporum; sua vectigalia, suosque census non nunc aulicæ luxuriæ, & libidinibus, sed vincendis hostibus & propagandis imperii finibus ultrò se impendere. “Leges,” ais, “Mosi & regibus à Deo datas quibus regant populum; num populo lex data, ut Reges regeret?” Immò apertè leges tam Mosi & regibus, quàm cætero populo sunt datæ, ut tam se, quàm populum regerent; sin minùs, ita ut regerentur ab aliis, ut ne lex Dei cuivis mortalium frustra daretur. “Quis gerit,” inquis, “gladium? populus?” Immò populus per Magistratum, quem sive unum sive plures ex omni suo numero elegerit. Neque ullas propterea confusiones, quas metuis, excitari necesse erit, “Si vel pedem,” inquis, “figeres,” de regibus actum erit *δὸς πᾶς σῆσω καὶ τὴν γῆν κινήσω*. Utinam pedem ipse tandem figeres, Silene, si Brammalus es. Nam nos locum, ubi stes ebrius, dare non possumus, quin ea quæ fixissima sunt & firmissima, tibi in gyrum moveri, & cum cerebro tuo semper madente circumnatare videantur. “Quis te,” inquis, “juramento Regi præstito liberare potuit?” Juramentum ipsum, quo Regi non propter Regem, sed reipubl. causâ, obstricti fuimus; quam cū perditum iret, & suum ipse prius jusjurandum violavit, & nostrum solvit. Nihil enim naturæ, nihil rationi aut gentium juri contrarium magis esset, quàm si Regi jusjurandum suum violare ad libidinem liceret, populus servare fidem ad perniciem suam teneretur. “Ut dicto audientes Mosi fuimus, ita erimus tibi, modo Deus tecum sit, quemadmodum fuit cum Mose.” Sic Reubenitæ ad Jehosua. “Conditionem hîc nullam” vides “expressam.” Ad Anticyras ergò naviga, aut domi crapulam edormisce; cras, mihi crede, nihil expressius videbis, neque tam stultè interrogabis, “quid si Deus Josua defereret,” sed quid si Josua Deum defereret: Tum enim quid facturi essent Reubenitæ, tibi respondimus. “Nutare mihi crede jus Regium videtur.” Hoc de jure regio, prout Salmasius describit, dictum est. Neque est hoc “Monarchiam legitimam in Carolo trucidare,” quod tu toties invidiosè & parasiticè vociferaris. Nunc quod minimè es, vatem scilicet & concionatorem piissimum multis deinceps verbis agere cupis; dūmque adulterum videri te metuis, profers adulterinum. “Digitum Dei agnoscimus & veneramur punientem ingratum populum.” At populo benè est & prosperè, quem tu nequicquam ingratitude accusas; tu potiùs Dei digitum agnosce, te tuosque unè cum omnibus tyranni fautoribus insigniter punientem. “Nondum,” ais, “Hispania & Pontificii velum abduxerunt.” Quid nobis Hispaniam & Pontificios toties immeritò objicis; qui non ignoremus Carolum tuum minorem in Belgio commorantem legatos ad Papam misisse, ut vel ab ipso Antichristo Rex reformatus contra patriam & reformatos auxilium imploraret. “Persecutio,” inquis, “jam in Anglia maxima est, quæ fuerat à tempore quo populus aliquis inhabitabat.” An major eâ quam Brammalus in Hiberniâ nuper excitavit, qui curiam Inquisitionis conscientiiis hominum tam infestam & tyrannicam, primus omnium in Hiberniam introduxit. Te verò illum ipsum fuisse frequentia clariùs ostendunt. In hoc enim jam totus es, ut Ecclesiasticam tyrannidem defendas. “Nam quod tanta,” inquis, “jam patimur, hæc est ratio præcipua, quod in aliquibus Anabaptistarum & cæterorum omnium schismaticorum clamoribus viam concedentes, uno dato absurdo sequuntur infinita.” Ipsissimus hic Brammalus ille antiquum obtines, qui reformatis omnibus schismaticorum nomine infamatis omnem con-

ſcientiæ libertatem adimere perpetuò ſtudebas. Nunc illorum importunitati, id eſt, conſcientiæ, etiam nonnulla unquam conceſſa fuiſſe graviter doles. “Reges Anglorum judicari poſſe à ſuis ſubditis” Miltonum ais docere, “exemplo pravorum temporum, & jure à ſapientibus damaatis chartis obſoletis, & ob multas corruptiones meritò exploſis.” Quid iſto hominum genere abſurdius aut impudentius? quærunť modò quo jure, quâ lege factum quidque à nobis ſit, ſi leges non recitamus, contra eas feciſſe nos judicant; ſi leges noſtras proferimus antiquas, ratas, atque notiſſimas, hi ſtatim “obſoletas & meritò exploſas” eſſe aiunt: nec tamen quo tempore exploſæ aut abrogatæ fuerint, uſquam oſtendunt. Ita, dum tyrannidem ſine autoritate aſſerere cupiunt, & vetera & nova pariter rejiciunt. “Quidni,” inquis, Uzias Rex leproſus “à Sacerdotibus templo deturbaretur, cum Deus lepræ probandæ, & leproſi omnis excludendi poteſtatem & mandatum ſacerdotibus dederat.” At verò idem Deus, lex eadem omnis malefici puniendi poteſtatem & mandatum magiſtratibus dederat, neque magis tamen leproſi regis exturbandi, quàm malefici regis puniendi vel hîc vel illic mentio facta eſt. Si lepræ judicio regem eximi non vis, quia nominatim non excipitur, eâdem certè ratione neque ullis aliis legibus aut judiciis regem eximeris. Sed video quid agitis, ut regem quamvis veſtrâ ſententiâ ſupremum, vobis tamen ſacerdotibus ſubjiciatis, utque rex in populum abſoluto atque ſupremo dominaretur imperio, vos ſacrificuli ſupremo ſuperiores eodem imperio dominaremini in regem. “Conſenſus,” inquis, “populi & inauguratio tantum adjuncta neceſſaria fuère.” Hoc in Saule, Davide, ejuſque poſteris concedo, de quibus nominatim creandis Dei mandatum præceſſerat: Tu idem de Carolo aut ullis ejus majoribus oſtende. “Rex,” ais, “nunquam pepigit cum populo ut illi eum caſtigarent ſi aliter quàm bene regeret.” Neque populus cum rege pepigit, ſe illi quicquid collibitum eſt facienti, in perniciem ſuam obtemperaturos. Neque verò in privato quovis ſyngrapho, ullus unquam pepigit ut creditoribusliceret, ſi is debitum non ſolveret, lege in eum agere, & in carcerem conjicere, ejusque bona poſſidere, quoad plenè ſibi ſatiſfactum eſſet. Hæc & iſtiusmodi quæ accidere nollemus, in pactiõibus & fœderibus vel honoris cauſâ vel boni ominis conſulto non exprimimus; quia cum paciſcimur, talia nunquam eventura optamus; quæ etiam ſine monitis intelligere per ſe quiſque & cavere debet. Tu hic tritum illud ingeris; “per me reges regnant;” fatemur, ſicut & per eum ſunt, agunt, & moventur omnia: Tu “modo peculiari,” inquis. Tu, inquam, de tuo hoc dicis, autoritatem verbi divini nullam aſſers. Subjicis, “alioqui cui fini illa præcepta obedientiæ in novo Teſtamento.” Quoties tibi reſpondebitur, obedientiam abſurdam & irrationabilem in novo Teſtamento non præcipi; ſed qualis ea, & quibus, & quam ob cauſam præſtanda ſit, luculentiffimè doceri. Qui habet aures, audiat. “Qui repugnant,” inquis, “damnabuntur, quod proculdubio nunquam minaretur Apoſtolus, ſi privatorum tantum rationem vel paucorum habuerat.” Quafi verò multi privati ſine Magiſtratum autoritate ſeditioſi eſſe non poſſint; quid hoc ad populum cum Magiſtratibus & Parlamento contra tyrannos arma ſumentem? “Hoc honore Deus dilectos ſuos decoravit, ut Gentium Reges vinculis coercerent, &c.” Id fieri dicis “Evangelicis non legalibus catenis.” Inſipidè prorſus. An vindicta ergò ſic exercetur in gentes? An terrea compedes Evangelii vincula ſunt, quas Pfalmus ille regibus & proceribus minatur? Tu hoc, ut ſoles, de Sacerdotibus, non de bonis Magiſtratibus & populo intelligi vis, qui pontificale quoddam regnum tuorum in omnes Laicos futurum ſomnias, “Iſraelitæ,” inquis, “quia regem rejecère, à Salmanfore in Captivitatem ſunt abducti. Judæi, qui regi Rehoboamo fideles manſerant, ſub illius tutela ſecuri vivebant.” Hiſtoriam ſacræ Scripturæ ſi conſuluiffes, non neſcires Hieroſolymas ſub ipſo ſtatim Rehoboamo à Sefako Ægyptiorum rege captas, & Theſauris ſuis ſpoliatas, longè priùs quàm Iſraëlitæ in captivitatem abducerentur. “Jeroboamo Deus decem tribus assignavit, quod de veſtra repub. nobis non conſtat.” Tam nobis, inquam, de noſtra repub. quàm vobis de veſtro Carolo: Immò longè plùs. “Veſtros,” “Capnomantes & Entheos

theos pro Dei vatibus non recipimus.” Neque nos te præsertim aleatorem, ebriosum, & scortatorem Episcopum : cujus vaticinia hoc capite solæcorum floribus ornatissima in gratiam tui studioforum, nequid tam emuncti authoris desideraretur, huc in fine congestimus. “ Aristocratia nonnunquam cachistocratia dicenda.” Tàm orthographicè hoc abs te quàm etymologicè est dictum, siquidem duo contraria simul vera esse possunt. “ Spes nulla restat ut in pristinam felicitatem restituamur. Nec dubitamus quin plus apud Deum valebunt miseriæ nostræ. Regibus potius mandâssæt Apostolus populo obedire ne folio suo dejiciantur. Non dicimus quin Reges tenentur. Velut defessæ reformatæ Religionis ; In aliquibus illis viam concedentes, uno dato absurdo sequuntur infinita, &c.”

C A P. III.

“ **D**Uobus capitibus à tergo relictis.” Etiamne à fuga incipis, tergiversator ? At nos non tergum, sed frontem, sed nomen etiam tuum fronti inscriptum maluimus. Manedum igitur, obverte faciem illam insignem Brammaleam, non ferri, sed vini vulneribus fauciam, gemmulis cæruleis, rubeolis, purpureis & purulentissimis bullatam atque distinctam ; nam quibus te quisquam telis, nisi si raphanis fugientem insequatur mœchum, nescio. Sed fortasse more Parthico fugiens soles tela conjicere : Conjice ergo. “ Qui populo,” inquis, “ potestatem gladii ascribit, populum impunem relinquere necesse habet ; quis enim populum puniret leges transgredientem ? ” Fateor, siquidem universus peccat, nam universum punire populum, ne Rex quidem aut solet aut potest. Non magis ergò necesse est populum impunem relinquere, si populus, quàm si Rex potestatem gladii solus habeat ; cùm in statu populari pœnis æquè obnoxius quisque sit atque in Monarchiâ. “ Liturgiam profligavimus.” Missale scilicet Papisticum, paucis admodum mutatis, ex Latino duntaxat Anglicè editum, unà cum Episcopis qui tam fraudulenter eam & Papisticè concinnârunt, quid ni profligaremus ? nam & aliam, ut fateris ipse, substituimus, magis videlicet Orthodoxam, & verbo Dei consentaneam, ut, qui requirit, habeat, si necesse est, quâ salubriter possit uti. “ Subjecti estote propter dominum, quamobrem ? quia constituitur potestas à Deo ad ultionem facinorosorum, &c.” At “ Rex, cui subjecti esse jubentur, erat Nero vel Claudius.” Generalem doctrinam de Magistratu, quis sit aut esse debeat, tradit Apostolus, de quæ obedientia, quare Magistratui præstanda sit, quod tibi satis sit. Nero an Claudius regnaverit, nihil refert ; desine tandem nugis istis nos obtundere. “ Judæorum,” inquis, “ cæremoniis & lege judiciaria liberamur.” Incassum igitur tu tantoperè laboras, ut nos regii apud illos imperii exemplo in servitutem regibus addicas. “ Utcunque,” inquis, “ de Dei instinctu gloriamini, ad tribunal divinum sistendi, respondebitis, &c.” Quid alii tunc responsuri sint, ne sit tibi curæ. Tu, quid de alea, de scortis, de ebrietate Episcopali respondebit Brammalus, ipse cogita. Potestates non legitimas, sed quascunque intelligi, ais, ab Apostolo, quia Deus præfecit Saulen & cæteros malos Reges Judæis. At verò Paulus de potestate loquitur, quam & summè legitimam describit ; non loquitur de viro, qui, à Deo licet electus, si postea nequissimus evadit, & potestatem exercet longè aliam, atque à Deo accepit, & cui duntaxat nos illic obedire jubemur, id sibi, non Deo imputandum erit. “ Verisimilius,” inquis, “ quòd Anglia Carolo filio debellandi, tandem in crepitum putidissimum & ridiculum erupturi sint.” Videsne jam ut Deus, omnium rerum arbiter, omen hoc tuum, ventriloque, in te tuosque avertit ? Videsne ut ipse tuus Carolus in crepitum evanuit, immò ipse crepitus fieri putidissimus optaret, dummodò ex hostium manibus hoc pacto elabi queat. “ Supponemus,” inquis, “ tuam rempubl. in tyrannidem degenerare, non teneris obedire illorum

illorum poteſtati?" Concede tu priùs, ſi Rex in tyrannum degeneraret, non teneri te Regi obedire; tum nos ſatis maturè tibi de republica reſpondebimus. "Potuit," inquis, "Apoſtolus dixiſſe bonos Magiſtratus." At verò ita dixiſſe, ex deſcriptione Magiſtratùs quam ibi poſuit, apertè liquet. "Sed nullo," inquis, "argumento fortius evincitur regis poteſtas, quàm quod Apoſtoli mandant nullis conditionibus limitatam." At rurfus inquam, ipſa poteſtatis deſcriptio, quæ copioſiſſima ibi eſt, conditiones ſapienti abundè ſuppeditat. "Rex," inquis, "à Deo miſſus quantumvis malus ferendus, cætera mala in pœnam veniunt." Quasi verò Rex etiam malus in pœnam non veniret, quod tibi toties in ore eſt, "remediis" idcirco vel tuo iudicio "auferendus. Multum," inquis, "Miltono debent Orthodoxi, quòd tam ridiculam opinionem iis aſſignaret, populum ſcilicet univerſum Regi ignaviſſimo eſſe parem." Magno ſanè acumine mendacium hoc vibras; ſed parum inde lucraris. Miltonus enim populum non ſolùm parem Regi, ſed ſuperiorem ſemper affirmavit. Hoc loco ſententiam ſuam non profert, Salmaſium tantummodo perſtringit, quod ex Sorboniſtarum ſcriptis populum Regi vel parem eſſe negaverit, quem ſuperiorem dixiſſe oportuerit. Verùm ità miſerè cæcutire ſoles, ut in Salmaſium pro Miltono impetum ſæpiuſculè facias. Hæc præter ineptias denſiſſimas, quas infra omne reſponſum eſſe iudico, confutationum tuarum in hoc capite ſumma eſt; unde otium nobis hîc etiam tam pingue accidit, ut rurfus vacet elegantias hominis nitidiſſimas gleba Solorum ubere natas ad ornandas Solœcorum porticus & ſpatia decerpere. "Tuba ſonitum incertum edit, ut nemo ſe ad colendum Deum præparare poteſt. Non dubitamus quin multi Religionem Chriſtianam amplexi ſint. Tanquam nulla erat malorum principum poteſtas. Non quin Deus omnia ita diſpoſuit. Si enim ad populum provocandum (ut vos primò feciſtis ut omnia confundaretis) nemo per diem integrum imperare poterat. Omnes patres nullius æſtimat. Sed utinam tam humaniter cùm Carolo agere voluiſtis. Populum contra Regem defendere ſuſcipis." Et alia huiuſmodi.

C A P. IV.

"**I**N præcedentibus Miltonus Leo rugiens, qui Reges omnes devoraret, hic Draco occultè inſidians, & vulpeculam agit, nam quo lapidem non poteſt, vota jactat." Aut infanit hic homo, aut verſus facit, novas chimæras, novas metamorphóſeis fingit ſibi lymphatus. Certè Miltonus ſi Leo rugiens vobis eſt viſus; facitis haud abſurdè, ut id ſponte fateamini. Te contra Aſinum rudentem primâ voce agnovimus, tæque riſu perinde & ſuſtibus excipimus. "Semper," inquis, "populum in adiutorium vocat Priapus in horto." Quod Priapus in horto, id Brammalus in Sacello. Veriſſimum hoc eſſe tota ferè Hibernia non ignorat. "Quos Populus," inquis, "creat ſi nullâ Dei ratio habeatur, potiùs obedientiam ab iis poſtularet, quàm illis præberet." Præter illa quæ priùs reſpondi, qualem requirat obedientiam Apoſtolus, ſcias inſuper, Apoſtolos non toti Romano Senatui & Conſulibus, neque magno ullius gentis Concilio, aut ullius Regni Ordinibus conventus legitimos peragentibus obedientiam præcepiſſe, ſed privatis & ſingulis. Rex verò, ut noſti, ſingulis quidem major, univerſis verò minor eſt. Beneficia deinde Caroli in Populum enumeras, quæ nulla unquam extitere, ſed damna potiùs & detrimenta, & ſumma planè dedecora. "Unctum Domini," inquis, "vel Chriſtum Domini ſi dicas Chriſtianum non tam intereſt." Atqui Salmaſius Saulem Chriſtum Domini nuncupaverat. Tibi ut videtur, Saul non ſolùm inter prophetas ſed inter Chriſtianos eſt. Dicitur autem, 1 Reg. 11. Salomon obdormivit, & Rehoboamus regnavit loco ejus. Et hoc, inquis, dicitur, "antequam
Populus

Populus Sechem venit ut illum Regem facerent." Hoc verò non aliter dictum fuisse, quàm ut Historiæ series manifestior esset, ex primo sequentis capitis versu apparet. Populus enim Sechemum venit, ut Rehoboamum Regem constituerent, vel regnare facerent, ut est Hebraïcè; ergo antea certè aut non regnavit, aut in Judæa tantùm. "Populum," inquis, "per incendiarios fuisse incitatum, videlicet Jeroboamum & Comites suos." At verò Jeroboamus non populum, sed populus illum incitavit. Jeroboamus enim, audita Salomonis morte, adhuc in Ægypto morabatur. Sed Israëlitæ mittentes accersiverunt eum, 1 Reg. 12. Miraris "impudentiam" ejus qui affirmaret, "non vocari rebelles qui in Roboamum arma sumpserunt." Tuam potius non impudentiam solùm, sed impietatem demiror, qui eos rebelles appellare ausus sis, quos Deus eo ipso loco fratres sui populi nominavit. At instas, ibidem etiam dictum esse, "sic rebellavit domus Israel à domo David." At verò verbum hîc "rebellavit" mitiùs intelligi pro quacunque defectione, neque in malum sensum rapi debet. Propterea vertunt alii "defecit," non "rebellavit;" cujus enim defectionis authorem se Deus ipse profitetur, scriptura malam & illicitam proculdubiò non dicit. Sic Ezechia verbo non minùs duro rebellasse in Regem Assyriæ dicitur; quod tamen ejus factum Deus etiam auxilio coelitus missò approbavit. Deus Israëlitis Regem petentibus graviter iratus est, quamvis regis petendi, si vellent, ex lege Moysis jus habuerit? Tu, "num irascitur Deus," inquis, "Populo petenti quod ad illos jure pertinet." Id, inquam, facilè potest fieri; nihil enim obstat quo minus id ad populum jure pertineret, & tamen irasci Deus illis meritò potuit, quod cùm in eo quod optimum erat acquievissè penes ipsos esset, deterius quod erat anteponebant. Affirmas "Deum graviore pœna puniissè rebelles Israëlitas," quippe "veram sui cognitionem ab iis abstulissè." At ubi id unquam legisti, nugator, Israëlitas illam defectionem Idololatria luisse, cùm Deus ipse Jeroboamo mox rebellaturo bona omnia pollicitus sit, seque illi Israëlitas traditurum esse, si ejus præceptis auscultasset, 1 Reg. 11. Sed Orthodoxi, inquis, "semper cùm Carolo fuisse, nam quicquid moribus peccant nonnulli, inopia coacti, Religionem tamen reformatam non deseruerunt." Num verò vestros Orthodoxos, cum Rege suo, inopia coëgit gentes vicinas ebrio agmine, blasphemo, libidinossissimo ac ferocissimo oberrare, omni-que impietatis genere omnes Anglos, tanquam sui similes, infames reddere? "Nobiscum" tua sententia "vitulæ aureæ; vobiscum mensa dominica, oratio dominica, symbolum Apostolorum, decem mandata." Atqui ea ipsa sacra quæ apud vos solos esse inaniter jactas, vobis, pro more vestro superstitiosè & hypocriticè abutentibus, nihil aliud profecto quàm vitulæ aureæ sunt. "Deum" inquis, "sibi contrarium statuimus." Quidni? An quod Argumentum Salmasii nihil valere ostendit Miltonus, idcircone Deum sibi contrarium statuit. Dixerat Salmasius, omnes Reges esse à Deo; Miltonus non omnes Reges, sed omnes regendi formas, salutis causâ adhibitas, cujus etiam causâ populi conventus, comitia, & consilia habentur. Ergo vel ipsius argumento non magis Regi licet resistere populo propter Rempubl. convocato, quàm populo licet resistere Regi à Deo ordinato, quandoquidem & populi conventus legitimè à Deo quoque sunt ut Sechemi olim contra Roboamum fuisse testificatur ipse Deus. "Utrum," inquis, "ille tyrannus, qui viginti tribus annis regnans, neminem pro sua voluntate mori coëgit; An vos qui inter decem annos Regem ipsum & plus quàm quingentos mille hominum trucidastis?" Quid ais, mille quingentos? numerum sane perexiguum narras; neque ullus unquam, credo minori jacturâ bellum tam sævum confecit. Profecto si tam scires latinè quàm scis malitiosè loqui, non quingentos mille, sed quingenta millia, opinor te dicere voluissè. Quis verò Carolo pejor tyrannus, quis pœna dignior, qui per tria regna plus decies centena hominum millia partim Lanienâ illa Hibernica, partim bello iniquissimo occidit. Negas quod superiore argumento dictum est, regem non debere populo resistere: negas populum quicquam posse in Regem, quia populus "inferior est," Rex "superior." At memineris Regem naturâ superiorem non esse, sed consensu tantùm & suffragiis populi ad eam esse dignitatem evectum, publicæ salutis

causâ; quo ab officio si planè desciverit, superior esse desinit; quia cur esset superior causa nulla ampliùs est. Cùm munus Regium perperam administraverat, ob quod munus duntaxat, cùm unus è multis primò fuerit, factus omnium supremus est. Ad id quod dixerat Miltonus, non quod Deus jussit tyrannum interimiri, ideo bonum erat, sed quod bonum erat, idcirco Deus jussit, tu respondes, “Cujus contrarium verum est. Nam quicquid Deus jubet, bonum est, & ideo bonum, quòd Deus jubet.” Doctum verò neminem hoc latet, bonum in positivum & morale divisum esse. Positivum est, quod antè indifferens, bonum tunc incipit esse, cum à Deo jubetur. Morale verò bonum, æternum & immutabile manet, sive Deus jusserit, sive non jusserit; bonum hujusmodi est tyrannum perimi: ad quod facinus præclarum ducem illum Jehu, tum fortè nihil tale cogitantem, præ cæteris incitavit. Quod autem ais, “bonitatem à divina voluntate pendere,” erras, ut cætera; bonitas enim non minùs de essentia Dei est, quàm ipsa Dei voluntas. Verùm de his nimis multa cùm stolido & idiota. Percurramus in hoc capite quicquid argumenti vim ullam in se habere videatur, ut bonis viris & intelligentibus quàm maximè satisfiat: cæteris ejus ineptiis & nugamentis qui movetur, eum neque moramur, neque retinemus quo minùs in castra adversarii nostri tam disertis atque eruditi transire possit; his etiam floribus, sapientiæ & judicii ejus causâ, coronatus, quos Hortorum Solensium custos iste ficulneus suorum fautorum capiti nec tendos largiter paravit. Olfaciant modo priùs quàm suave olent. “Nil tam horrendum excogitari possit quin laudabile fiet. Populi conventus, comitia, plebiscitus pariter à Deo. Non dicimus quin tyrannus impedire debet. Tu ad Antipodas ablegandus, Londini Constantinopolim. Coronam ad se jure pertinentem poposcivisse. Passa marem, miramur hyænam. Quos tamen rectius sentiisse judicas,” cum multis aliis.

C A P. V.

Omissis quæ initio hujus capitis trita jam & toties refutata stupidissimè regeris, venio nunc ad id, in quo levitatis arguis qui dixerit, jus successionis naturâ nullum esse, eo quod “lex Dei primogenituræ legem tulit;” cùm divina autem lege consentire legem naturæ dictum est. Tuum verò erat, non nescivisse quantum inter se differant successio in regnum, & successio in patrimonium: principio enim regnorum, regnandi successio non filio sed dignissimo cuique semper delata est; mox regum usurpatio, non populi consensus filios regum dignioribus prætulit. Hoc etiam turpe & servile est, libera hominum capita inter possessiones numerare, qui profectò dum liberi sunt hæreditate nemini obvenire possunt. Tùque jus hæreditarium, quicquid garris, ex lege Dei nunquam ostenderis. Nam quod soli testatur Deus Davidi ejusque posteris dedisse se, id universis accommodari regnis aut regibus nullo jure potest. “Jus,” inquis, successionis pacem & concordiam inter homines nutrit; est maxime naturale, ne continuis litibus mundus flagraret.” Historias ergo omnium gentium percurrere; invenies in Monarchiâ discordias tetriores, bella sæviora, idque sæpius accidisse, quam in Rebusp. Haud rarò ipsi regum filii de summa rerum inter se bello acerrimo, mutuâque cæde contendunt. Unde apud Turcas, ubi jus successionis absolutissimum est, nihil ad pacem publicam magis conducere putatur, quàm filio natu maximo regnum inuente, cæteros fratres interfici. Nonnunquam de successionis jure manifestò non constat, hinc etiam bella sævissima & maximè diuturna, quarum sub Regno calamitatum nostra imprimis Anglia testis esse potest. Ità neque Monarchia per se neque Respub. concordie parens est; sed moderatus ubique civium animus & ambitione vacuus. Sed summa autoritas “uni contigit ordinis servandi gratiâ.” At si tyranno, pessimus ille ordo qui omnem ordinem, jura omnia divina & humana pervertit. “Christus,” inquis, “suos deputatos & vicegerentes in terris Reges posuit.” Fatemur, si bonos, Tyranni autem

autem quo possunt modo Christi vicem gerere? Interea non nos "contumaciâ," quod ais, sed tu impietatis tuæ Christum vindicem expecta; qui regnum Christi in terris violentum & tyrannicum blasphemus audes existimare: Vicarius enim, non Christi, qui ejus exemplum non imitatur, sed diaboli est. Quod regem deinde confers cum patrefamilias, satis clarè ostensum est à Milto, jus patris diversissimum esse, & longè antiquius. Cùm autem non solum Reges mali, sed mala omnia "in scelerum pœnam, vel ad probandam patientiam nostram à Deo data sint:" eaque omnia justis remediis ab hominibus summa cùm prudentiæ laude amoveri & possint & debeant, solos Reges vel pœnæ causâ, vel patientiæ ferre, & turpe & ridiculum & extremæ esset infantiæ. "Sed variis morbis laborantibus Rex manus imposuit & sanavit; Angelum aureum cuilibet ægroto dedit." Sive sanavit, sive excantavit nihil nunc refert; medendi enim dono nunc infideles, ut Vespasianus olim, sæpius hypocritæ præditi fuere. Illum angelum aureum, quem singulis ægrotis dedit, non illum fuisse, qui Bethesdae aquas commovit; nec sanandi vim ullam habuisse, sat scio; quo te aureo scilicet angelo sic opinor stupere, ut ante te Salmasius cœlum illud Caroli aureum & fericum obstupuit, neque hoc cœlo quicquam altius cernere uterque videmini, aut de eo quicquam sublimius cogitare, quàm aureum esse. "Florentissima," inquis, "Romanorum republ. exactis regibus, nunquam subsistere potuit donec in Monarchiam redintegrata fuerit." Quod contra omnium Historiarum fidem planè est; quæ testantur omnes, Romanam Rempub. sub Consulibus & Senatûs authoritate ad illam magnitudinem crevisse: sub imperatorum verò luxuria, tyrannide, atque inertia statim consenuisse, Imperiûmque simul & gloriam belli atque justitiæ in illa libera civitate olim partam sub imperatoribus citò amisisse. "Sed quod Anglia," inquis, "nimio luxu & libertate perditâ fuit, non Caroli tyrannidi, sed vestræ nequitiae attribuendum est." Immo aulae foedissimæ, regisque voluptarii atque ignavissimi exemplo rectè attribuimus, ad cujus vitæ rationem quamplurimi sese composuere. Jam regem defendis, qui Ducem Buckinghamiæ beneficii suspectum "legibus eripuit; quasi," inquis, "hoc regibus crimini daretur, quod omnibus natura concedit, ut suos familiares amarent." Itane Carnifex? satisne regem excusari putas, quod familiarem illum & amicissimum habuerit, qui patris ejus veneno sublato à supremo Regni Concilio postulatus esset? At quid poteras in Regem atrocius dixisse? "Sed credibile non fuit Ducem Buckinghamiæ Jacobo insidias struere velle, qui illum in tantam potestatem evexit." Quin immo satis notum est, mores Buckinghamii Jacobo tandem graviter displicuisse, unde is magnum malum sibi metuens, duas maximè res deinceps agere instituit, ut & patri necem strueret, & filio os subliniret, ejusque gratiam omni studio captaret; quod sanè, objectis juveni mollissimo voluptatum omnium illecebris, statim perfecit. Reprehendis, quod Carolus Neroni collatus sit. "Nam," inquis, "Metropolim vestram non diripuit," scilicet quia non potuit; At qui nunc Scotis, nunc sicariis suis, morem sibi modò gerent, haud semel diripiendam obtulit. Restat ut rosarum hujus Solensium fasciculum in fine exhiberem; & possem quidem ubertim, sed cum viam jam toties digito monstraverim, ubi germinant, ubi crescunt, jucundius fortasse cuique erit proprio ungue decerpere.

C A P. VI.

"**R**egum & bonorum omnium hoste prostrato (suis telis in faciem suam resilientibus) recurrere coactus est ad elumbes aliquot argutias, & tria argumenta." Prostrato hoste, quis fodes est coactus, egregie solœcista? nomen enim licet attuleris nullum, cognomen certe hoc apud omnes in posterum reportabis. Ain' verò "suis telis in faciem resilientibus? Si sua sponte, Dedalæa pro facto narras, aut Vulcania quædam

quædam nova automata? An vero, te retorquente, reſiliunt tela illa? Têne ergo illum proſtraviſſe hoſtem, aſine, cujus argumentum vel leviffimum omni mole concutere, aut movere loco non vales? Exultantem Aſinum in Apologo herus verberibus malè multavit, quid triumphante hoc Aſino faciamus? præſertim qui neque purpuram indu-tus, neque pellem leoninam, ſed propria palam ſcabritiè nôtus, rictu iſto Aſinino, iſtòque miſerrimo clangore, atque ridiculo triumphum canere audeat. “Omnes,” in-quis, “in ſuis regnis Monarchæ abſoluti *παρβαſίλειας* exercent, quòd & Galli de ſuo Rege multum gloriantur.” Ad ſcriptores Gallos ſi recurriſſes, Girardum, Hot-tomannum, Sefellium, plurimòſque alios, nunquam id affirmares. Galli liberos ſe, & verè Francos paſſim gloriantur: ab omni memoria penès ſe fuiſſe, Regum ſalutis om-nium cauſa, vel eligere vel abjicere. Hac ratione Pipino, necnon poſt eum aliis im-perium Galliæ delatum: quod vulgo notum eſt. Hac etiam ætate cum multæ civi-tates, tum etiam Burdegalenſes idem ſentire ſeſe factis oſtenderunt, dum vi & armis vel ſui Regis vel ejus præſidum *παρβαſίλειαν* & tyrannidem ſtrenuè propulſant. “Si cui Deus vult,” inquis, “populus Regnum tradit, jam dic aliquid de tribus capellis, unde tot quæſtiones & lites?” Unde niſi à te, tuique ſimilibus, qui id perpétuo con-tenditis, ut Regnum iis tradatur, quibus populus non vult, ac proinde nec Deus. Deus enim, ſi cui Regnum vèllet, facilè perficeret, ut Regnum illi traderet populus. Jam tu dic aliquid de tribus capellis. “Quantumvis,” inquis, “nummi nobis de-ſint, nunquam tamen deerunt parati ad tuendam veritatem.” Nummi quidem vobis & merito deſunt, & tamen longe major apud vos virtutis, honeſtatis, ſapientiæ, pu-doris penuria eſt, quàm nummorum. Id quod mores veſtri perditiffimi exteris jam paſſim graves & odioſi teſtantur. Deèſſe autem non magis nummos quàm ad cauſam veſtram tuendam paratos, argumento ipſe maximo eſ, qui homo indoctiffimus cum ſis & inertiffimus, primus omnium & adhuc ferè ſolus, ad hoc te munus accinxeris. Dixerat Salmaſius, quamvis id falſo, “Regiminis Anglorum formam non popularem ſed militarem eſſe.” Tu hoc Miltonum “concedere coactum eſſe” dicis: “nec tamen ab Ariſtòtele talem regiminis formam recensitam uſquam meminifti.” Vel hinc con-ſtat te neque Miltonum attentè fatiſ, neque Ariſtotelem omnino forſan legiſſe. Apud Miltonum enim conſeſſionem illam nuſquam invenies. Apud Ariſtotelem *ἐραſτην αἰδὴν*, id eſt “ducis perpetui,” qui in quibuſdam civitatibus ſummæ rerum præſce-retur, mentionem ſæpè factam eſſe meminiffes. Jam de “diabolo porcos tondente” ſtolidè nugaris, “ubi ingens clamor, ſed nulla lana;” parciùs itaque diabolus porcos ſuos tondèbat, quàm Bràmmalus oves Hibernicas deglubere conſuevit; à quibus & lanam & pellem multo cum clamore populi detrahare ſolebāt. “Scoti,” inquis, “inau-dito oſtraciſmo Montifroſſanum interfecère.” Inauditus ille quidem oſtraciſmus qui pa-tibulo homines affigit. Nam vel ſciolos non fugit oſtraciſmum non mortis, ſed rele-gationis genus fuiſſe. “Reges,” inquis, “ſub poteſtate populi collocatos pejori con-ditione nobis repræſentas, quàm ex populo univerſo perditiffimus.” At vel iſta con-ditione noli metuere ne qui Reges in poſterum eſſe velint; utcunq; enim non deerunt Reges. Cætera hujus capitis, quæ ſeria, quæ ludrica, inſulſa adeo & inſiceta ſunt, ut quamvis nihil mihi tribuam, quod non admodum exiguum ſit, poeniteat tamen non-nunquam & penè ſuppudeat, cum adverſario tam nihili manus conſeruiſſe. Poſtremò caſus ſui Regis graves ſanè & Tragicos ad Comœdiam redigit. “Jovem” adulterum, “Amphytrionem” maritum, “Mercurium & Soſiam” ſervos, “ſuper mundi Thea-trum” agit. Nil poſſum rectiùs facere quam ut iſtiusmodi phraſes præteream: nam in hominem tam ſtultum & nullius pretii quicquid aut ſeriò dixeris aut joco, & opè-ram perdideris & ſalem. Præſtat tamen hunc vel incaſſum defricare, quam reſponſione licet indignum, noſtro tamen ſilentio tumentem & jactabundum dimittere.

C A P. VII.

HAtenus opusculi tui futilissimi dimidium percurrimus, & quamquam te plus factis indoctum, insipidum, solœcum, arrogantem, & languidum jamdudum invenimus, tamen quò longius procedimus, eo inanior, eoque jejunior semper occurris, & præter adagia quædam & disticha vulgata, quæ memoriter, credo, elementarius puer didiceras, quæque ne negent forte Lectores vel semidoctulum te esse, per fas & nefas inferere laboras, cæteram omnem Argumentorum, sensus, latinitatis perpussillam annonam exhaustisse videris. Nihil est igitur in hoc capite quod agam, quam ut captiunculas quasdam tuas, & gryphos dissolvam, quibus dum adversarium capere te existimas, teipsum capi ostendam. Dixerat Miltonus jure naturali Regem quemque bonum Senatum vel Populum habere sibi semper & parem & superiorem. Ad hæc tu, “quis unquam,” inquis, “taliam *ἀνύστα* audivit?” Si par est, non est superior: si superior, non par.” Quis plumbeo potuit gladio quicquam acutius? At nescin’ quid Lælius ille sapiens apud Ciceronem? Maximum est in amicitia superiorem parem esse inferiori. Quin hic quoque vociferare, “quis unquam taliam *ἀνύστα* audivit?” Disputatum est à multis, sitne par Regi Populus vel Senatus. Infit Miltonus, utrumlibet Regi & parem esse & superiorem. Cur ista negas posse consistere? Certè si juxta regulam, omne majus in se continet minus, superior qui est, nihil obstiterit, quò minus idem par sit. Jam eccum tibi “nodum hunc sine Œdipo solutum,” Dave. Nunc ad secundam hominis tendiculam venio. “Si Davidi privato non licuit Saulem tyrannum interficere, quomodo jam unicuique concedis, si viribus plus valet.” Sumis quæ nemo est largitus, tyrannum fuisse Saulem. Non enim qui facta quædam tyrannica in unum atque alterum per iram aut libidinem perpetrat, is statim est tyrannus; ut nec injustus, qui injusta quædam. Sed qui consilio, instituto, viribus, dolis hoc solum studet atque molitur, ut potentiam legibus majorem sibi arripiat, jus omne populi & libertatem subvertat, vindicare se conantibus vim atque bellum inferat, is verè atque propriè tyrannus est; quo in genere nullus unquam Carolo pejor fuit. Qui igitur Davidem privatas adversum se Regis injurias ulcisci noluisse dixit, potuit idem nihil sibi repugnans dicere, tyrannum interficere cuiusvis licere qui viribus plus valeat. Dixerat Miltonus ad servitutem natas istas nationes quæ talem dominum agnoscant, cui se sine assensu suo hæreditate obvenisse credant. “Ergo,” inquis, “tu ad servitutem natus qui Carolum hæreditarium multos annos agnoscebas, aut cum multis aliis dissimulabas.” Hanc tu sententiam detruncas, ejus loco subdititia ponis, “quæ Regem hæreditarium agnoscunt.” Parlamenta autem Angliæ, præterito sæpè hæreditatis obtentu, Diadema, cui visum est, suis liberis suffragiis, imponere consueverunt; quod multis exemplis demonstrari potest. Non ergo Angli ad servitutem nati, quod tu nequiter probare niteris, Verna Canopi. Quartum hoc est, in quo adversarium cepisse te somnias. Ob eam causam affirmaverat ille, homines in unum primò convenisse, non ut unus omnes insultaret, sed ut quocunque alterum lædente, ne lex deesset neve judex inter homines, quo læsus defendatur, aut vindicetur. Ad hæc tu. “Nemo,” inquis, “à te plus petiit quàm tu per lucida intervalla tua sponte concedis.” Lucidum certe intervallum vel ad punctum temporis contigisse unquam tibi vix reor, ita semper falleris. Quæ enim petis, non regibus solum sed Magistratibus omnibus concessimus; quorum nihil est quod in tyrannum convenire possit. Legem enim primo constitui-mus, deinde judicem ex lege rectum & incorruptum. Horum quodcunque petis & impetraveris, tuam causam minimè juvabit.

C A P. VIII.

QUOD superius prædixi fore, ut post tritas argutias quasdam potius quàm argumenta & aulicorum velitationes toties profligatas, ad summam inopiam homuncio iste redigeretur, neque reliquum ei quicquam fore præter maledicta & rabiem, id hoc capite manifestius liquet. Et sanè ad priora illa quæ attulit, quamquam primò statim conspectu sensus & ingenii inanissima ubique apparuere vestigia, tamen quia quandam rationis & argumenti speciem præ se ferebant, utcunque paucis respondimus. In hoc autem capite cum Miltonus antiquas Anglorum leges ac monumenta regiæ causæ passim tam adversa diligentissimè protulisset; iste è contrà, cum neque doctrinam, neque antiquitatem, neque acumen, neque auctoritatem ullam, quâ suam tueatur causam, afferre possit, hoc tantum habet quod respondeat, miserè balbutiens jura illa nostra notissima, vetustissima, & maximè rata, “obsoleta jam & tineis comesta esse.” Verum non tam dubito quin omnes docti & intelligentes viri huic fatuanti non responderi oportere judicent, quàm vereor ne reprehendant, si insanienti & rabioso operam dederò. Qui verò hujus mendaciis & maledicentiâ à veritate abduci se patiuntur, eos profectò tam parvi pendimus, ut quamcunque ad partem accesserint, fûsque deque nobis sit; immò contra nos isto animo quàm nobiscum stare malumus.

C A P. IX.

HUIC etiam Capiti prioris haud absimili responsum prorsus idem conveniet. Nam qui contra legem Dei & naturæ dilucidè explicatam, contra rationes evidentissimas, jurâque gentium plurimarum, tum nostræ etiam firmissima, contra testimonia denique optimorum virorum uberrima nihil præter commenta tantum sua, atque deliria opponere, aut in medium proferre potest, ejus profectò ita disputantis rationem ullam si quis habuerit, certè non doctos, non disertus, non diligens, non acutus, sed malè feriat, duntaxat meritò videatur. Quod autem nos impudentissimè accusare non dubitat, quasi Papæ auctoritatem in Angliam reducere meditemur, à quo & dictis & factis abhorruisse semper nos tam palàm omnibus existit, id sanè & ridendum maximè est, tum etiam ostendit quantâ cæteroqui cum malitia, quàm nulla cum fide in accusandis nobis versetur, qui crimen omnium judicio à nobis alienissimum, cunctis absolventibus, imputare atque affigere non vereatur.

Ad C A P P. X. XI.

DE duobus quæ sequuntur capitibus, idem quod de præcedentibus duobus dicendum est. Tenuissimus modò & inanissimus qui fuit, nunc est planè nullus, aut siquid nihilo minus est: hujus igitur inanitati respondere si vellem, responderem certè nemini: quidni igitur conticescam?

C A P. XII.

JAM ad metam enervis & languidus properans solœccista, tamen ut ultimo conatu erigere se paululum videatur, ad priorem verborum sine rebus prolixitatem & tedium redit. Quare ne quis nos propter virium aut rationis defectum priora capita tantâ brevitate percurrisse existimet, aut per ignaviam quicquam remisisse, quæ alicujus modò momenti videantur, non sum arbitratus prætereunda esse, “Parlamentum,” inquis, “perpetuum est instar nullius Parlamenti; hoc enim est funditus Parlamentum tollere.” Ecquem tu jam nisi Carolum ipsum criminaris? Qui ipse Parlamentum hoc perpetuum esse jussit, & facto gloriatus, inter ea quæ vocare acta gratiæ solebat, sæpissimè recensuit, non ut populum beneficio aliquo afficeret, sed arte quadam tyrannica dum perpetuum esse juberet, ut quod ex temetipso jam accipimus, funditus tolleretur. Cùm autem “catharticum remedium sit,” quemadmodum ais, tolli certè aut dissolvi non debet; donec morbi, quorum remedium est, tollantur, & libertati sua firmitas bonæque valetudo redeat. Siquid nos Carolum peccasse dicimus; tu verbis totidem, velut amœbæa canens lyurgica, paria commississe Parlamentum accusas, deque Carolo nihil non verum esse concedis, dummodò idem de Parlamento occinere tibi liceat: verùm hoc non est Carolum purgare, aut noxâ eximere, quò minùs meritas pœnas dederit. “Sed antequam Parlamentum hoc incœpit, nè verbum,” inquis, “vel minima scintilla de Caroli scilicet malefactis eluxit.” At verò populi clamores, gemitus & suspiria, partim propter gravissimas tributorum exactiones, partim propter Episcoporum persecutiones, tam acerbæ, ut multi patriam deferere cogentur, Regia item consilia, edicta, facta, ab ipsis Regni ejus initiis, & Parlamentorum omnium quæ convocavit intempestiva semper & intensa dissolutio rem longè aliter se habere declarant; adeo ut hac de causa populus, sive prudentiæ Regis, sive voluntati diffusus, unicam sibi in Parlamento spem, præsidium, refugium, salutem reliquam esse palam testaretur; unde Rex irâ & livore prorsus tyrannico exardescens, ut populi gemitus per vim etiam comprimeret, crudelissimo edicto sanxit, nequis Parlamenti convocandi mentionem faceret, donec tandem metu populi ob hæc minimè quiescentis Parlamentum invitissimus convocaret. Multa, inquis, “à vobis fingi quis non crederet ut crimen vestrum in Regem exonerare possitis, numquid tale apparet in ejus libro divinitus scripto?” Malo te libri illius admiratorem esse, quàm me; quid enim habet præter fucos & jactationes inanissimas? Diceres & tu idem, si Epistolas ejus prælio Nasibienfi captas, manū propria scriptas & obsignatas, incorrupto & integro judicio perlegisses, ubi se suāsque artes tyrannicas non celat. “Independentes” Jesuitis similes esse ais, “Qui Regem abrogârunt, statum Reipub. mutârunt, & tamen professi sunt nunquam sibi in animo fuisse hæc facere.” Quid ad nos Jesuitæ? Quasi verò prudentiæ non esset, non Jesuitismi, posteriora sæpè Consilia prioribus anteferre, siquidem meliora esse postmodum didiceris. Primò nobis prodire tenus aliquid visum est, immo magnum tam ad Ecclesiæ quàm Reipub. restitutionem; cum à Deo ultra dari sentiremus, an ejus nos præsentiam, & providentiam ad facta tam egregia præeuntem aspernaremur, aut sequi nollemus, ne progressus nostros felices & planè inopinatos, hostis & invidus levitatis & inconstantiae nomine perstringeret? Sæpè arguis quod Parlamentum pro “corpore solo” sine capite sumamus. Verùm si metaphoras amovere mallet, rectiùs continuò scires, sciresque Parlamentum ejusmodi corpus esse, cui caput adjungi non sit necesse; neque enim vel caput vel cauda, sed commune ac liberum gentis Concilium facit, ut Parlamentum sit atque dicatur. “Vi,” inquis, “hanc infamiam & calumniam apud exterarum Nationes nobis exulantibus amoveam,”
scilicet

ſcilicet eorum ex numero non eſſe qui cauſam Regiam latinè ſciret defendere, “ huic rabulæ reſpondeo.” Egregium ſanè reſponſorem ! Tune vero lucifuga verberabiliſſime præ cæteris electus, qui nos ex latebris aggredere, & pro tuis omnibus unus reſponderes ? Doctum proculdubio gregem, præclara ingenia neceſſe eſt eſſe, quorum tu ductor es, tam grandis non Arcadicus aut Reatinus, ſed ſolæcus Aſinus. Latinè tu ut reſponderes, cujus barbariſmis & ſolæciſmis omnes paginæ, ut priorum capitum, ſic hujus ultimi refertæ ſunt ? “ Tam caſtus ut exemplum præbuit. Tu hæc refricas ut Regi convitiare. A famulis rimari. Niſi fulcientur. Tanta caligine, ut juſtitiam cauſæ metiuntur. Ne milleſima pars petitionum ad eum deferrentur. Toties purgatum ut nil præter nomen manere poteſt. Tanto acumine ut maxima pars mundi mirantur ac ſtupent. Tanto ſtrepitu ut cætera Theatra pro tempore ſilent. Non quin indies precamur. Nec mitius eorum Conſilium interpretarer. Carolum Filium reum cauſatis.” Digni proſecto Regii tam ſtupido propugnatore, qui, cùm cauſam nequiſſimam ſuſceperis tuendam & literas profeſſus, tam illiteratus ſis, ab ipſis clientibus tuis quos tui pudeat, ad illa gurguſtia & tenebras, unde tam ſtolidè emerſiſti cum ſibilo & flagris reducendus es ; aut certè Carnifici potiùs in diſciplinam crucis tradendus, ut cum nihil aliud percipere poſſis, elementa diſcas patibularia. “ Quicquid,” inquis, “ erra-vero in hac Apologia meæ tenuitati imputandum eſt.” Ita proſus exiſtimo : at peſſimè interim meo quidem judicio conſuluit tibi tenuitas tua, quæ te impulit, ut, cui par non eras, oneri ſuccedere auderes, ſub quo prætumidum & inflatum eo faciliùs com-minui te & frangi neceſſe erat. Ego certè tenuem te magis an craſſum dixerim vixdum ſcio, ita omni planè dimenſione & formâ rudis indigeſtâque moles, vacare mihi videris. Jam te aulici, qui “ Regis auro veſcuntur,” ſi priùs neglexerint, quod miſerè quereris, & fame perire ſinant, poſt cauſam eorum tam malè & ridiculè abs te deſenſam multo juſtius oderint, atque contempſerint ; niſi fortè perifcelide illa regia, quam tanti facis, fauces tuas de rege tam nequiter meritas elidendas potiùs quàm offis aulicis, quas eſuris, farciendas putant. Jam præſertim cum à regis laude ad regis & regionum gravem vituperationem tranſeas, & nobis ex adverſario percommodus repente homo factus ſis ; teſtis enim ipſe novus accedis, regem ſuo officio vel imparem fuiſſe, vel minimè inten-tum, quod “ petitiones” nimirum ſubditorum raro legeret. “ Quod nemo auſus eſſet de proditoribus queri, proditorum metu,” quibus maximè auſcultabat : quod “ Came-raris & famulis” omnia crederet, otio ipſe deditus. Unde libet proſecto exclamare cum illo ſene in fabula :

“ Ita me dii amabunt ut hunc ego auſculto lubens ;
 Nimis lepidè facit verba” de regiis ſuis.
 “ Neque compellare volo illum, ne deſinat
 Memorare mores” regis & regionum.

Eorum enim plurimos qui quidem regis gratia maximè pollebant, eos fatetur fuiſſe qui commodorum potiſſimum ſuorum & libidinum cauſâ regem ſequerentur, vel mente cap-tum potiùs, quo vellent, ducerent. Sinam itaque & præteribo, ut & regis perjuriam haud minori impietate atque inſcitâ excuſantem, & ſtatim tam acriter damnantem. Ne-que occurrit præterea quod refutatione illa indigeat. Ad ultimum enim, conſumptis in nos maledictis, diris, execrationibus, charitatem neſcio quam ſuam oſtentare cupit. Verum nos cujus convitia & imprecationes non veremur, etiam vota pro nobis & preces haud pluris æſtimamus. Finiam itaque certamen hoc, haud libenter quidem à me cum iſto nugigerulo ſuſceptum ; ſolum hoc eſt in quo ſi non aliis, at mihimet ſaltem aliqua ex parte placeo, eam mihi ſcribendi occaſionem primam oblatam eſſe, ex qua & patria in ſe rectum atque pium, & amici gratum ſenſerint.

L I T E R Æ

SENATUS ANGLICANI;

Nec non

C R O M W E L L I I, &c.

Nomine ac jussu conscriptæ.

Senatus Populusque ANGLICANUS Amplissimo Civitatis HAMBURGENSIS Senatui, Salutem.

QUàm diù, quàmque multis de causis instituta à majoribus nostris cum amplissimâ vestrà civitate amicitia in hunc usque diem permanserit, & vobiscum una libenter agnoscimus, & sæpius etiam recolere non est molestum. De eo autem quod ex literis vestris 25 Junii datis intelligimus, homines quosdam nostros non eâ quâ soliti sunt fide ac probitate in suis apud vos negotiis versari, nos quidem ad certos ejusmodi rerum peritos statim retulimus, ut in lanarios, cæterosque panni opifices acrius inquirerent; eamque porrò operam daturus nos esse pollicemur, ut & æqui bonique studium apud nos, & nostra omnia erga vos officia constare sentiat. Verùm & quiddam est quod etiam à vobis vicissim non nos duntaxat, sed ipsum jus & fas omne postulat; ut nostræ gentis mercatoribus, vestris hospitibus & sua privilegia conservare, & eorum vitam, atque fortunas, prout eâ civitate dignum est, vestris opibus defendere velitis. Quod, ut prioribus literis enixè petivimus, ita nunc etiam ut vehementius efflagitemus, faciunt quotidianæ mercatorum querelæ, quas ad nos deferunt; suam nimirum salutem atque rem omnem rursus apud vos in dubio esse. Quamvis enim literarumstrarum quas pridem ad vos dedimus fructum aliquem ad tempus percepisse se fateantur, & ab injuriis nefariorum hominum aliquantùm respirasse, nunc tamen post adventum Cochranii illius in urbem vestram (de quo etiam prius questus sumus) qui mandatam jam sibi à Carolo defuncti nuper Regis filio Legationem nescio quam prædicat, se omnibus contumeliis, minis, armis etiam Sicariorum petitos solitâ vestrà defensione atque tutelâ caruisse. Adeò ut cum unus atque alter è mercatoribus cum ipso etiam Societatis Præfecto, in navem quandam prædatoriam per insidias abducti essent, cæterique vestram fidem implorarent, à vobis tamen nullum auxilium impetrare potuerint, donec ipsi suo Marte mercatores, non sine magno suorū discrimine captos in eo flumine, cujus vestra urbs domina est, ex latronum manibus eripere cogentur. Quos cum illi bonis auspiciis domum
redu-

reduxissent, & ab indignâ servitute veluti manu asseruissent, captos etiam piratas ipsos in custodiam dededissent, Cochranum illum perfugam & perduellem eò audaciæ processisse accipimus, ut & prædatores dimitti liberos, & mercatores tradi sibi vinctos postulet. Vos autem etiam atque etiam hortamur & obtestamur, si pactiones, & fœdera, & pervetustum utriusque gentis commercium, id quod petitis, inviolatè servari studetis, ut nostri certum aliquod atque firmum sibi præsidium in vestrà fide, prudentiâ, autoritate collocare demum possint; Vos autem uti eos his de rebus benignè audiatis; tam de Cochrano, cæterisque sceleris, illius fociis, quàm de iis qui nuper in Concionatorem, impunè adhuc, impetum fecerunt supplicium fumere velitis, aut è finibus exire jubeatis. Neque pulsos atque exules Tarquinius amicitiae atque opibus Populi Anglicani anteferendos existimetis. Si enim per vos non steterit quo minùs Reipub. nostræ hostes quidvis licere sibi contra nos in urbe vestrà confidant, quàm non tuta aut honesta amplius nostrorum ibi commoratio sit, vos cum animis vestris cogitate. Hæc vestræ prudentiæ & æquitati; Vos ipsos Divini Numini commendatos volumus. Valete.

Westmonasterio, Dat. Aug. 10. 1649.

Senatui HAMBURGENSEI.

Perspecta nobis æquanimitas vestra dubiis in rebus nostris, facit nunc ut sanè prosperis, ac benè gestis, de vestrà voluntate, & amico in nos animo nequaquam dubitemus. Nos quidem, confecto jam pænè bello, & profligatis ubique patriæ hostibus, nihil æquius, aut ad pacem, remque publicam stabiliendam firmitus esse duximus, quam ut illi qui vel libertatem, ductore semper Deo, per nos adepti sunt, vel vitam atque fortunas post belli civilis facinora, nostro dono atque gratiâ receperunt, nobis vicissim suis Magistratibus fidem & officium, solenni, si opus esset, more testarentur, atque præstarent. Præsertim cum tot homines inquieti & inimici, semel atque iterum in fidem accepti, nullum neque domi neque foris perfidiosè agendi, novasque turbas excitandi finem faciant. Itaque formulam quandam sponsonis perscribendam curavimus, quâ omnes qui aut munus aliquod in Repub. sustinerent, aut legum præsidio muniti incolumitate, otio, cæterisque vitæ commodis fruerentur, conceptis verbis se obstringerent. Hanc etiam per omnes Colonias & quacunque gentium nostri cives negotiandi causâ agerent, mittendam censuimus; ut eorum quibus præficimur, fidem, prout decet atque necesse est, exploratam & cognitam habeamus. Quo magis mirari subit quod ex urbe vestrà mercatores nostri scribunt, sibi mandata nostra per unum atque alterum vestri ordinis exequi non licere. Sanè quod “potentissimæ Fœderatorum in Belgio Provinciæ,” suarum rerum & rationum consultissimæ, nihil ad se pertinere existimaverunt, si peregrini scilicet Angli debitam suis domi magistratibus in hæc vel illa verba fidem astringant, id quo pacto vestræ Civitati suspectum aut molestum esse possit, fatemur planè nos nescire. Verum hoc à privato quorundam five studio five formidine profectum, quos errabundi quidam & pulsi patriâ Scoti, minis dicuntur impulisse, ut mercatores nostros a fide suâ nobis obligandâ deterrent, Civitati non imputamus. Interea tamen summo vos opere hortamur atque etiam rogamus (non enim mercatura jam, sed Respub. ipsa agitur) ut ne quenquam apud vos patiamini, cujus hoc nihil potest interesse, authoritati quam nos in nostros populares, non Exterorum arbitrio aut judicio, sed jure patrio obtinemus, suam quamcunque authoritatem interponere. Quis enim non ægrè ferat, si nos vestris hîc Hamburgensibus sua erga vos fide interdicemus. Valete.

Dat. Jan. 4. 1649.

Sere-

Serenissimo ac potentissimo Principi PHILIPPO Quarto HISPANIARUM Regi,
Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ, salutem.

ANtonium Aschamum Virum probum, eruditum, & luculentâ familiâ ortum, de rebus in commune, tam Hispanorum, quàm Anglorum genti, ut spes est, valde utilibus, ad Majestatem Vestram legamus. Quamobrem ut ei honestum iter, atque tutum in Urbem Regiam, sicut moris est, necnon & reditum concedere, & præstare velis, parem referre gratiam parati, officiosè petimus. Sin id minùs placuerit, ut quæ vestra hac in parte sit voluntas, ei quam primùm significetur, utque tutò quo volet abeundi potestas fiat.

Dat. Feb. 4. 1649.

Serenissimo ac potentissimo Principi PHILIPPO Quarto HISPANIARUM Regi,
Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ, salutem.

QUis rerum nostrarum status sit, quamque atrocibus injuriis subacti, sumptis tandem armis, capeffendæ libertatis consilium ceperimus, constitutâ quâ nunc utimur Reipublicæ formâ, neque Majestatem Vestram potest latere, neque alium quemvis, qui evulgata super hac re scripta nostra æquo animo perlegerit. Nobis profecto fidem nostram, æquitatem, patientiam, testatam cunctis & probatam reddere, auctoritatem etiam, honorem & decus nostrum adversus infames exulum & perfugarum linguas tueri, apud idoneos rerum æstimatores difficile non debet esse. Nunc quod exterarum nationum magis interest, deletis, aut depressis Patriæ hostibus, Deo nempe mirificè adjuti, ad pacem & amicitiam omni imperio potiore cum vicinis gentibus habendam, paratos nos esse palam atque ex animo profiteamur. Has ob causas spectatæ solertiæ & probitatis Virum Antonium Aschamum in Hispaniam ad Majestatem Vestram misimus; qui de amicitia deque solito inter utramque gentem commercio cum Majestate Vestra agat; vel etiam ad novas pactiones, si ita visum fuerit, de integro fanciendas viam muniat. Huic igitur Vestræ Majestatis adeundi copiam ut faciatis, ejusque incolumitati, necnon etiam honori, quoad isto apud vos munere perfuncturus est, velitis prospicere rogamus: ut & ea quæ à nobis mandata habet, utrique genti, ut speramus, profutura, liberè exponat; & mentis Vestræ qui sensus his de rebus sit, nos quam primùm certiores faciat.

Westmonasterio, dat. Feb. 4. 1649.

Serenissimo Principi JOANNI Quarto LUSITANIÆ Regi, Parlamentum Reipub.
ANGLIÆ, salutem.

Multa nos & infidæ pacis, & intestini belli mala ultima perpeffos, eò demùm loci redactos fuisse, ut si salvam Rempubl. vellemus, ejus administrandi ratio magna ex parte immutanda esset, ex iis quæ à nobis hac de re scripta publicè & declarata sunt, Majestati Vestræ jam pridem notum esse arbitramur. Quibus, ut par est, si fides potius haberetur, quàm improbissimis perditorum hominum calumniis, sanè qui foris de rebus nostris pessimè jam sentiunt, iis fortasse multò æquioribus uteremur. Nam quod nos jure nostro, proque gentilitiâ Anglorum libertate, rectè &

majorum more fortiter fecisse contendimus, de eo pravæ & obstinatas nequissimorum hominum opiniones ex animis evellere, humanæ opis aut ingenii certè non est. Nunc autem quod nobis cum nationibus externis commune, & in rem utrinque magis existit, amicitiam & commercium quod nostris hominibus, cum vicinâ quacumque gente consuevit esse, non imminutum, sed auctum atque ratum magnoperè cupimus. Cumque vestro in regno populares nostri permagna & per utrique genti quæstuosa habeant negotia, iis ne impedimentum aliquod aut incommodum afferatur, quantum in nobis est, curabimus. Id verò prædicimus frustrà fore, dum piratis & defectoribus nostris perfugium sibi vestris in portibus reperire, & onerariis Anglorum navibus, vi captis atque direptis, bona civium nostrorum sub hasta vendere Olissipone, ut nuntiatur, permissum est. Huic malo quo maturiùs occurratur, & de eâ, quam petimus, amicitia clariùs ut constet, Nobilissimum Virum Carolum Vane, Oratoris munere præditum, cum mandatis atque diplomate, commissi sibi muneris teste, ad Majestatem Vestram legavimus. Eum itaque benignè audire, fidem ei adhibere, ejus denique incolumitati atque honori, per omnes regni vestri fines, ut velis consulere obtestamur. Hæc omnia & nobis pergrata, & Majestati Vestræ, si fortè usus venerit, nostra omnium officia mutua fore pollicemur.

Westmonasterio, dat. Feb. 4. 1649.

Serenissimo Principi JOANNI Quarto LUSITANIÆ Regi, Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ, Salutem.

Q Uotidiani ferè, & perquam graves afferuntur ad nos nuntii, Classarios quosdam nostros, & gubernatores, qui abductis per scelus atque prodicionem, quibus præerant, navibus, superiore anno à nobis defecerant, elapsos demùm ex eo portu Hiberniæ, in quo æstate fermè totâ obsessi, vix pœnam suis flagitiis dignam effugerant, ad Lusitaniæ nunc oram, Tagique fluminis ostium se recepisse: Ibi captis atque direptis quæ ad mercaturam ultrò citròque commeant, Anglorum navigiis, piraticam strenuè facere, & vicina quæque maria, fretumque omne Gaditanum latrocinis infestum atque infame reddidisse. Cui malo nisi primo quoque tempore obviàm eatur, actum esse de commercio, quod nostris hominibus cum Lusitanis per amplum & per utrique genti quæstuosum est, quis non videt? Quamobrem à Vestra Majestate etiam atque etiam petimus, ut piratas nostros & defectores, Portugalliæ finibus exire jubeas; & si qui à Carolo Stuardo pseudolegati adsunt, eorum uti rationem ne habere digneris; nosque potius agnoscas, ad quos Anglicarum jam summa rerum, Deo planè aspirante, rediit; utque nostræ amicorum Classi, non minus vestris quam Anglorum commodis inservienti, Lusitaniæ portus, atque flumina præcludi ne sinas. * * *

PHILIPPO Quarto HISPANIARUM Regi.

Q Uam gravitèr quàmque acerbè tulerit Majestas Vestra nefariam illam Antonii Aschami oratoris nostri cædem, & quid puniendis ejus intersectoribus hætenus effectum sit cum ex literis vestris, tum ex Domino Alphonso de Cardenas legato vestro percepimus. Veruntamen facinoris illius atrocitatem quoties nobiscum reputamus quæ & ipsam vel habendi vel conservandi commercii rationem funditùs tollit, si Legatorum jus apud omnes nationes sanctissimum impunè tanto scelère violabitur, non possumus quin Majestatem vestram summâ instantiâ iterùm efflagitemus ut supplicium de illis parricidis primo quoque tempore debitum sumatur, utque justitiàm ullâ

morâ aut obtentu religionis frustrari diutiùs ne sinat. Et quanquam potentissimi regis amicitiam plurimi certè facimus, tamen ut tam infandi parricidii authores dignas suo scelere pœnas persolvant omnem dare operam debemus. Humanitatem quidem illam quam jussu vestro in Hispaniæ portubus nostri hōines persensere, præclaram etiam vestræ Majestatis in nos voluntatem quam nuper amplissimis verbis vestro nomine Legatus nobis exposuit grato animo agnoscimus, neque non voluptati nobis erit eadem pariter officia, si quis usus venerit, Vestræ Majestati & Hispanorum genti reddere. At nisi justitiæ sine mora satisfiat quod jamdiu petimus, quo niti fundamento amicitia sincera ac diuturna possit non videmus, cujus tamen conservandæ à nobis quidem nulla honesta occasio facilè omittetur, cui etiam fini præsentiam Legati apud nos vestri conducere existimamus.

Legato HISPANICO.

Excellentissime Domine,

Concilium Status, quam primùm per gravissima Reipub. negotia licuit, in Parlamentum attulit quatuor illa scripta quæ visum est Excellentiæ Vestræ unde vigesimo proximi Decembris cum Concilio communicare, Concilium à Parlamento in Mandatis habet, quod ad primum scriptorum illorum caput, de nuperi scilicet Residentis sui Dom. Aschami nefariis interfectores, Responsum hoc reddere:

Parlamentum tamdiu, totiès, tamque meritò, debitum eorum supplicium postulasse ut ampliùs dicere opus non sit in re tanta, ubi (ut Excellentia Vestra pulchrè meminit) Regiæ Majestatis ipsa agitur Authoritas: Et sine qua re omnis ratio Societatis humanæ & conservandæ inter gentes amicitiae tolli necesse erit. Neque sane ullo ab Religione petito argumento intelligere possumus, innocentium sanguinem scelestissimâ cæde effusum non esse vindicandum, Etiamnum itaque instat Parlamentum & ab Regia Majestate expectat, ut, juxta priora sua postulata, satisfactio sibi re ipsâ atque effectu detur.

Serenissimo Principi LEOPOLDO AUSTRIÆ Archiduci, Provinciarum in Belgio
sub PHILIPPO Rege Præsidi.

UT primùm ad nos non sine gravissimâ querelâ perlatum est, “Janam Puccheriam” illustri & opulentâ Familiâ puellam hæredem, cum adhuc propter ætatem sub Tutoribus esset, haud procul eâ domo, in quâ tum fortè “Grenovici” agebat, de manibus & complexu famularum raptam fuisse, & parato ad id navigio in “Flandriam” subitò deportatam, “Walcii” cujusdam insidiis, qui per fas & nefas omnia molitus est, ut pupillam locupletem, vel ostenso mortis metu, ad nubendum sibi adigeret, huic tam atroci tamque inaudito sceleri primo quoque tempore occurrendum esse rati, dedimus quibusdam negotium, ut cum præfectis Neoporti & Ostendæ (nam in ea fortè loca infelix illa dicebatur appulsa) agerent de ingenuâ raptoris manibus eripiendâ. Qui utrique pro suâ singulari humanitate & honesti studio, captivæ, perque latrocinium domo abductæ opem libenter tulerunt; illa verò ut prædatorum vim quoquo modo effugeret, in Cœnobium votarum virginum veluti sequestrò deposita est. Quam ut ille “Walcius” inde abduceret, actionem in foro ecclesiastico “Iprensis Episcopi” de contracto secum matrimonio instituit. Veruntamen, cum & raptor & rapta nostrates-omninò sint, ipsum etiam facinus in nostra ditione perpetratum, quod jura-

tis testibus abundè liquet, hæreditas denique tam lauta, quam illum imprimis inhiâsse constat, in nostrâ potestate sit, hujus propterea causæ cognitionem totam, atque judicium ad nos duntaxat pertinere arbitramur. Veniat huc igitur qui se sponsum nominat, suam hîc litem instruat, quamque jure suam contendit esse uxorem, tradi sibi postulet. Hoc interim à Vestra Celsitudine vehementèr petimus, quod & per nostrum internuntium Bruxellis commorantem jam aliquoties petivimus, ut afflictam & indignis modis habitam puellam, honestis parentibus ortam, suâ ex Patriâ prædatorium in modum abductam, quod potes, liberam & incolumem redire domum sinas. Hoc abs te non nos tantùm, siquam Vestræ Celsitudini parem à nobis gratiam, parque beneficium reddi posse acciderit, sed ipsa etiam humanitas, ipse pudor qui ad tuendum sexus illius honorem & pudicitiam viris bonis atque fortibus inesse debet, junctis unâ precibus efflagitare videntur. Vale.

Westmonasterio Martii 28, 1650.

Serenissimo Principi JOANNI Quarto LUSITANIÆ Regi.

QUOD Oratorem nostrum & honorificè acceperit “Majestas Vestra,” & benignè statim audierit, nullam interponendam esse moram statuimus, quin alteris quam primùm literis nostris intelligeres, gratissimum id nobis accidisse; nosque nihil sanctius decrevisse, quàm pacem, amicitiam, commercium, quod nobis cum Nationibus plerisque exteris, & inter eas cum “Lusitanis” jam diù est, nullo nostro dicto aut facto, non prius lacesciti, violare; nec aliâ mente aut consilio classẽ “Anglicanam Tagi” fluminis ad ostium misisse, quàm hostes jam toties fugatos persequendi, resque nostras repetendi, quas per vim & prodicionem suis dominis ablatas, colluvies ista perfugarum vestras in oras, ipsamque etiam “Olissiponem,” tanquam ad certissimas latrocinii sui nundinas, asportavit. Verùm isti homines cujus audaciæ, furoris, & insanix sint, ex ipsorum moribus flagitiosissimis omnes jam penè “Lusitanos” abundè perspexisse arbitramur. Quo faciliùs à “Majestate Vestrà” impetraturos nos esse confidimus, primùm ut “Illustrissimo” Viro “Odoardo Poppamo,” quem huic novæ classi præfecimus, quibus potes rebus ad prædatores hosce debellandos adjumento esse velis, utque eos cum duce suo, non hospites, sed piratas, non mercatores, sed commercii pestes, jurisque gentium violatores, intra regni vestri portus, & munimenta diutiùs consistere ne sinas; sed quâ patent “Lusitaniæ” fines, terrâ marique pelli jubeas: sin hoc minùs, ut nobis saltem pace vestrà liceat defectores nostros, & prædones propriis duntaxat viribus aggredi, & si Deus dederit, in nostram potestatem redigere. Hoc ut prioribus literis vehementer petivimus, sic jam idem studio maximo atque opere ab “Majestate Vestra” contendimus. Hac sive æquitate, sive beneficio, non justitiæ solum tuæ famam per omnes gentes benè moratas adauxeris, sed & nos imprimis, populumque “Anglicanum Lusitanis” jam antea minime adversum, Tibi tuoque populo majorem in modum devinxeris. Vale.

Westmonasterio, Dat. 27. Aprilis, 1650.

HAMBURGENSIBUS.

DE controversiis mercatorum, nonnullis etiam aliis de rebus quæ Reipubl. nostræ dignitatem aliquanto propiùs attingere videntur, scriptum inter nos haud semel, atque responsum est. Cum verò istiusmodi negotia solis literis confici vix posse intelligamus,

gamus, esse autem à “Carolo Stuarto” immixtos in urbem vestram seditiosos quosdam, nullâ re magis quàm scelere atque audaciâ instructos, qui id agunt, ut nostrorum hominum, quorum præsertim fides in patriam perspectior sit, commercium tam vetustum in civitate vestrà funditus tollant, idcirco virum nobilem & spectatissimum “Richardum Bradshaw” nostrum apud vos Internuntium esse iussimus: qui secundum ea quæ à nobis mandata habet, de rebus iis atque negotiis quæ cum utriusque Reipub. utilitatibus conjuncta sunt, vobiscum uberius communicare, & transigere possit. Hunc igitur ut benevolè quam primùm audiatís rogamus; utque ei per omnia fides ea, isque honos habeatur, qui hujusmodi munus rectè obeuntibus ubique gentium haberi solet. Valete.

Westmonasterio, Dat. 2. Aprilis, 1650.

HAMBURGENSIBUS.

Amplissimi, Magnifici, & spectabiles Viri, Amici charissimi;

STudia vestra quibus venientem ad vos Residentem nostrum accepistis, tam propensa, tamque egregia extitisse, & libenter intelligimus, & in eadem erga nos voluntate atque animo perseverare velitis magnoperè hortamur. Idque eò vehementiùs, quòd perlatum ad nos est, exules illos nostros, de quibus jam sæpe scripsimus, efferre se solito insolentiùs in urbe vestrà, nec contumelias solùm, sed & minas quasdam atrocissimas in Oratorem nostrum palàm projicere. Hujus itaque salutem atque etiam debitum honorem hisce rursus literis commendatissimum vobis esse volumus. In illos autem perfugas & sicarios, tam veteres quàm recentes, si maturiùs animadvertetis, & nobis gratissimum, & auctoritate vestrà atque prudentiâ dignum feceritis. Valete.

Westmonasterio, Dat. 31. Maii, 1650.

PHILIPPO Quarto HISPANIARUM Regi.

ANtonium Ascamum” à nobis ad Majestatem Vestram nuper missum Oratorem, eoque nomine à Præfectis vestris perhumaniter & publicè acceptum, post itineris pericula tam longinqui, primo statim adventu in urbem Regiam, omni præsidio nudatum, tam fædo parricidio confossum in diversorio quodam, & cum “Joanne Baptista de Ripa” ejus interprete mactatum esse, magno sanè cum dolore accepimus. De illis autem parricidis jam comprehensis, ut fertur, & in custodiam datis, qui non nos duntaxat per illius latera, sed vestram quoque fidem atque honorem consauciare ac pænè transfigere sunt ausi, deque eorum quibuscunque hortatoribus ac fociis ut supplicium tanto scelere dignum primo quoque tempore sumatur, opere quam maximo à “Majestate Vestra” petimus. Quanquam id nihilo minus factum iri, quod petimus, utpote à Rege sua sponte pio atque justo, etiam si nemo peteret, non dubitamus. Quod reliquum est, ut corpus exanime amicis suis atque famulis in patriam deportandū tradatur, utque eorum salutem qui supersunt eâ, quâ par est, ratione consultum atque provisum tantisper sit rogamus, donec responso ad hæc literas, si fieri potest, secum abkato, vestræ pietatis atque justitiæ testes ad nos quam primùm redierint.

Westmonasterio, Dat. 28. Junii, 1650.

Excellentissimo Domino ANTONIO LUDOVICO DE LA CÉRDA, MEDINÆ CELI
Duci, ANDALITIÆ Præfidi;
Consilium Status Parlamenti ANGLIÆ autoritate constitutum, Salutem.

Accipimus ab Ornatissimis Viris quos nuper in “Portugalliam” ad persequendos proditores, resque nostras repetendas cum classe misimus, se ab “Amplitudine Vestra,” quoties contigit ut “Gallicia” oram legerent, quæ præfectura vestra est, & perhumaniter illis portubus exceptos fuisse, & iis rebus omnibus adjutos, quæ navigantibus usui solent esse. Ei vestra humanitas, cum pergrata nobis omni tempore fuisset, tum est nunc præcipuè, cum aliorum iniquum in nos animum nullo merito nostro aliquibus in locis experimur. Petimus itaque abs te, “Illustrissime Domine,” ut in eadem erga nos voluntate ac benevolentia permanere velis: utque nostris hominibus, quoties ad ea littora naves appulerint pro solita humanitate tua favere & adjumento esse pergas; tibi que persuadeas nihil nos beneficii loco abs te petere quod non eodem studio vel Tibi vel tuis reddere, si quando similis occasio nobis dabitur, parati erimus.

Westmonasterio, Dat. 7. Novemb. 1650.

Signat. Consilii sigillo,

Jo. BRADSHAW Præses.

Illustri & Magnifico Civitatis GEDANENSIS Senatui.

Magnifici atque Amplissimi Domini, Amici Charissimi;

FRequentes ad nos literæ mercatorum nostrorum, qui Borussiae per oram negotiantur, allatae sunt, quibus tributum grave quoddam & insolitum nuper in magno “Polonorum” Concilio imponi sibi queruntur: ut decimam scilicet facultatum suarum omnium partem sublevando “Scotorum” regi, nostro hosti, suppeditarent. Quod cum juri Gentium contrarium planè sit, tractari hunc in modum hospites & mercatores, iniquissimum etiam, ut cujus tyrannide sint domi, divinâ ope, liberati, iidem in aliena Republica stipendia persolvere cogerentur, non dubitamus quin pro illa libertate, quâ frui vos intelligimus, tam grave onus mercatoribus imperari in urbe vestra pati nolitis; in qua amicitiam & commercium, nec sine magno vestrae civitatis emolumento, per tot annos habuere. Si est igitur ut nostrorum hominum apud vos mercaturam facientium tutelam suscipere velitis, quod quidem cum ab æquitate & prudentia vestra, tum etiam à dignitate splendidissimæ urbis haud dubitanter expectamus, eam operam dabimus, ut gratissimum id esse nobis omni tempore sentiat; quoties in ditione nostra “Gedanenses” vel negotia habuerint, vel naves, quod sæpè fit, ad portus nostros appulerint.

Westmonasterio, Dat. 6. Feb. 1650.

Inter-

Internuntio PORTUGALLICO.

Illustris Domine,

Literas tuas hujus mensis quinto decimo “Hamptonâ” ad nos datas accepimus. In quibus significas te à “rege Portugalliæ” ad “Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ” missum esse: quo autem muneris titulo, sive Legati sive Agentis, sive Internuntii non dicis; id quod ex literis quas à rege habes commendatitias sive credentiales intelligere velimus; quarum exemplar ad nos poteris quam primum mittere; simul & illud scire, satisne plenâ potestate instructus venias ad eas injurias expiandas, damnaque ea refarcienda quæ à Rege vestro illata huic “Reipub.” sunt: dum hostem nostrum totâ æstate proximâ suis portubus tutatus Classem “Anglicanam” in rebelles & perfugas quos eò usque insecuta erat, impetum facere parantem cohibuit, hostem ab invadendis nostris non cohibuit. De his omnibus ut satisfacias, si ampla & libera mandata accepisse te scripseris, & illarum quas diximus literarum exemplar unâ miseris, deinceps curabimus, ut ad nos fide publicâ primo quoque tempore tutò commeari possis: ubi cum regis literæ perlectæ fuerint, tibi, quæ mandata porrò attulisti ea liberè exponendi facultas dabitur.

Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ Serenissimo Principi D. FERDINANDO Secundo,
Magno Duci ETRURIÆ, &c. Salutem.

Literas “Celsitudinis Vestræ” 22 Aprilis 1651, “Florentiæ” datas, & à Residente Vestro “Domino Almerico Salvetti” nobis redditas accepimus, in quibus “Anglico” nomini quantoperè faveat “Celsitudo Vestra,” Gentemque eam quanti faciat facilè perspicimus, id quod non solum Mercatores nostri, qui in portubus vestris multos jam annos negotiantur, verum etiam Adolescentes quique nostræ nationis nobilissimi, atque honestissimi, qui vestras per urbes aut iter fecere, aut excolendi ingenii causâ commorati sunt, testantur atque confirmant, quæ cum nobis pergrata sanè sint, & acceptissima, tum hoc etiam atque etiam petimus, ut quò animo, quoque studio in nostros mercatores, aliosque nostræ “Reipub.” Cives “Hetruscam” ditionem peragrantes, “Serenitas Vestra” consuevit esse, in eo velit perseverare: nosque vicissim pollicemur atque recipimus, quod ad “Parlamentum” attinet, nihil defuturum, quod & commercio & amicitiae mutuae, quæ inter utramque Gentem jam diù inveteravit, firmandæ ac stabiliendæ possit conducere; quam quidem omnibus utrinque humanitatis officiis, mutuâque observantiâ, in perpetuum conservari cupimus, atque optamus.

Westmonasterio, 20. Januarii 1651.

Subscripsit & Parlamenti sigillum apponi fecit

GULIELMUS LENTHALL,
Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.

Parla-

Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ Illustri & magnifico Civitatis HAMBURGENSIS
Senatui, Salutem.

Amplissimi, magnifici & spectabiles viri, Amici charissimi;

“**P**arlamentum Reipub. Angliæ,” cum antiquam amicitiam, mutuumque commercium, quæ inter gentem “Anglicam” Vestramque civitatem est, continuatum magnoperè vellet & conservatum, haud ita pridem “Richardum Bradshaw” armigerum Residentis Munere præditum illuc misit, eique inter alia mandata eò spectantia disertis verbis mandavit, ut contra quosdam vestræ ditionis justitiam efflagitaret, qui Societatis “Anglicæ” Concionatorem interficere sunt conati, quique Deputato illius Societatis impias manus injecere, & mercatoribus quibusdam ejus Societatis præcipuis impias manus injecere, eosque in navem prædatoriam abduxerant, & quamvis prædictus “Residens” cum exciperetur primum & audiretur, accepta ab hac “Republica” mandata illa figillatim vobis nota fecerit, quibus justitiæ vestræ exemplum in maleficos illos edendum expectabatur, tamen cum expectationi nostræ responsum non esse intelleremus, illud nobiscum cogitantes quanto in periculo & nostri homines & illorum facultates versarentur, si de incolumitate illorum & tutela adversus hostium malitiam & iniquos oppugnatōres non satis provisum esset, rursus prædicto “Residenti” in mandatis dedimus, ut nostrum ejus rei sensum representaret: Utque hujus “Reipub.” nomine Vos ut amicitiam & necessitudinem inter hanc Rempub. vestramque civitatem initam magnumque usum qui huic Reipub. cum vestra civitate intercedit conservare, adeoque mercatores nostros cum eorum privilegiis sine ulla violatione protegere velitis hortaretur; utque nominatim in quemdam, cui nomen “Garmes” est, qui se in hanc “Rempub.” contumeliosè gessit, certosque ex societate mercatorum “Anglica, Vestra in urbe commorantes,” ad contumeliam hujus “Reipub.” magnamque nostrorum mercatorum molestiam, in “Spirensē” Cameram publicè citavit: quare reparationem ejusmodi expectamus quæ æquitati & justitiæ consentanea est.

De hisce capitibus, & si quid amplius ad hujus Reipub. cum vestra civitate amicitiam pertinuerit, prædictum “Residentem” hujus “Reipub.” nomine ad vos jussimus accedere: cui, ut fidem amplam in iis quæ huc spectantia proposuerit habeatis, rogamus.

Westmonasterio, Dat. 12 Martii. 1651.

Subscripsit & Parlamenti sigillum imprimendum curavit,
Prolocutor, &c.

Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ serenissimæ CHRISTIANÆ, SUECORUM, GOTHORUM, VANDALORUMQUE Reginae, &c. salutem.

Serenissima Regina;

MAjestatis vestræ Literas ad Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ 26 proximè elapsi Septembris Stockholma datas per Petrum Spiering Silvercroon accepimus, & perlegimus: & veterem quidem amicitiam nec non commercium magnumque usum qui Anglis cum Suecorum gente antiquitus intercedit permanere atque indies augere vehementer atque ex animo cupimus: Neque dubitamus quin Legatus à Majestate vestra

vestra ampliter instructus venerit ad ea maximè proponenda quæ in rem atque decus Genti utrique futura imprimis fuissent, quæque nos audire ex eo paratissimi fuissetus & quod utrinque potissimum salubre atque utile videretur, id primo quoque tempore effectum reddidisse. Verùm summo rerum Moderatori Deo ita visum est, ut is antequam audiri se petiisset de iis quæ Parlamento exponenda ab Majestate vestra in mandatis habebat, evenit ut ex hac vita excederet (cujus quidem desiderium ita ægrè atque acerbè tulimus, ut qui simul in divina voluntate acquiescere debeamus) unde & Majestatis vestræ quæ mens esset adhuc scire nequeamus, ejusque rei progressibus in præsens injecta mora sit: Quocircà optimum nobis visum est hisce literis quas, missò hac ipsa de re nuntio nostro, dedimus, significare vestræ Majestati quam grata Literæ vestræ, quamque acceptus vester publicus Minister Parlamento Reipub. Angliæ fuerit; simulque vestræ Majestatis amicitiam quantoperè expectamus; quàmque etiam, ut par est, tantæ principis amicitiam plurimi faciemus: deque illo quod inter hanc Rempub. & Majestatis vestræ Regnum est commercio exaugendo, ita existimabimus quemadmodum de re maximi utrobique momenti existimare debemus: quod & ea de causâ Parlamento Reipub. Angliæ acceptissimum erit. Adeoque vestram Majestatem divinæ tutelæ recommendare volumus: Quorum nomine & autoritate,

Datis Westmonasterio die Martis ann. Dom. 1651.

Subscripsit & Parlamenti Sigillum imprimendum curavit

Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.

Parlamentum Reipublicæ ANGLIÆ Serenissimo Principi FERDINANDO Secundo
HETRURIÆ Magno Duci, Salutem.

Literas Celsitudinis Vestræ 22 Aprilis 1651, Florentiâ datas, & à Residente Vestro Domino Almerico Salvetti nobis redditas accepimus; in quibus Anglico nomini quantopere faveat Celsitudo Vestra, gentemque eam quanti faciat, facile perspicimus: Id quod non solum Mercatores nostri qui in portibus vestris multos jam annos negotiantur, verum etiam Adolescentes quique nostræ nationis nobilissimi atque honestissimi qui vestras per urbes aut iter fecere aut excolendi ingenii causâ commorati sunt, testantur atque confirmant. Quæ cum nobis pergrata sane sunt & acceptissima, tum hoc etiam atque etiam petimus, ut quo animo quoque studio in nostros mercatores, aliosque nostræ reipublicæ cives Hetruscam ditionem peragrantes Serenitas Vestra consuevit esse, in eo velit perseverare: nosque vicissim pollicemur atque recipimus, quod ad Parlamentum attinet, nihil defuturum, quod & commercio & amicitiae mutuae, quæ inter utramque rempub. tam diu inveteravit, firmandæ ac stabiliendæ possit conducere: quam quidem omnibus utrinque humanitatis officiis mutuâque observantiâ in perpetuum conservari cupimus atque optamus.

Westmonasterio, Maii 22. 1651.

Parlamentum Reipublicæ ANGLIÆ serenissimo ac potentissimo Principi PHILIPPO Quarto HISPANIARUM Regi, salutem.

Permagnas nobis querelas deferunt hujus Reipub. mercatores qui in ditionibus vestræ Majestatis mercaturam faciunt, de vi multa atque injuriis sibi allatis, deque novis etiam tributis sibi impositis à præfectis aliisque officialibus vestrorum portuum & locorum ubi negotia habent, & nominatim in insulis Canariis, idque contra

foederis articulos quos commercii causa utraque natio inter se sanxit. Quas eorum querelas veras esse jurejurando confirmavere. Nobisque demonstrant, nisi jus suum obtinere possint, suaque damna refarciantur, nisi denique contra vim istiusmodi atque injurias præsidium aliquod certum, atque tutelam & sibi & fortunis suis habituri sint, non posse se amplius iis in locis negotiari. Quibus eorum querelis graviter à nobis perpenſis, cumque facta illorum ministrorum iniqua, aut non omnino, aut secus quàm res se habet ad notitiam vestræ Majestatis pervenisse existimemus, visum est nobis ipsas eorum querelas cum hisce litteris ad Majestatem vestram unà mittere; nec dubitamus quin Majestas vestra cum ipsius justitiæ amore tum etiam commercii causâ quod vestris haud minus quam nostris hominibus fructuosum est, suis præcipere velit ut ab iniquis illis nostrorum vexationibus abstineant, utque hujus Gentis mercatores expeditam justitiam obtinere queant, necnon debitam earum injuriarum reparationem, quæ à Domino Petro de Carillo de Guzman, atque aliis illatæ sibi sunt, contra prædictos foederis articulos, utque perficere velit Majestas vestra ut prædicti Mercatores fructum illorum articulorum percipere queant, in eaque vestra tutela sint, ut tam ipsi quam fortunæ suæ ab omni injuria liberæ & incolumes esse possint. Hoc autem magna ex parte consecuturos se esse putant, si ademptam sibi illam de judice conservatore schedulam qui eos à novo quodam Consulatu in se quidem iniquiore defendat, Majestas vestra rursus conceſſerit; ne si nullum ab injuria refugium sibi detur, abrumpi illud commercium quod utrique genti commoda haud parva attulit, violatis hunc in modum foederis articulis, necesse sit.

Westmonasterio, Augusti, 1651.

Serenissimo Principi VENETIARUM Duci, Senatuque Celsissimo, Concilium Status Parlamenti Reipub. ANGLIÆ Authoritate constitutum, salutem.

Serenissime Princeps, celsissime Senatus, Amici charissimi;

Mercatores quidam nostri, quorum alteri Joannes Dickons, alteri Job Throckmorton nomen est, simulque alii apud nos questi sunt, quòd cum Novembris octavo & vigesimo 1651, ex jure & autoritate Curiae nostræ Ammiralatus occupassent in navi Hirundine vulgo nuncupatâ, cui in Dunis consistenti Isaacus Taylor Magister erat, centum dolia Caveari vulgò dicti, quæ sua propria bona essent, inque sinu Moscovitico Archangeli dicto eandem in navem imposita; atque in eâ Curia, prout lege agitur, decretum obtinuissent quo dicta Caveari dolia sibi traderentur, fide suâ prius interpositâ, se in illius Curiae sententiâ acquieturos; quodque eadem Curia, quo lis illa ad exitum perduceretur, cum pro more scripsisset ad Magistratus Judicesque Venetos, literas, quibus petebant uti Joannem Piattum (Venetâ sub ditione dependentem, qui Cavearum illum sibi vendicat) citarent quo re per procuratorem in Ammiralatus curia Anglica se sisteret, ubi lis ista pendet, jusque suum probaret, tamen idem Piattus, & quidam David Rutts Hollandus, dum causa hæc in nostro hic foro pendet, multum supradicto Joanni Dickons, aliisque illis mercatoribus de Cavearo isthoc negotium faceſſit; eorumque bona & facultates nexu occupandas Venetiis curat: quæ omnia singulatim, & quid hætenus in prædictâ nostrâ curiâ sit actum in literis illis requisitoriis fusiùs exponitur; quas postquam à nobis inspectæ essent, ad serenissimam Venetiarum Rempub. ut Mercatoribus in hac causâ adjumento esse possint, transmittendas censuimus; atque ab eâ vehementer petimus, ut non solum illæ literæ vim suam atque pondus illic habere queant, sed etiam ut bona illa & facultates Mercatorum, quas prædictus Piattus & David Rutts nexu illigandas curarunt, liberentur; dictique rei ad nostram hic curiam remittantur, quid sui sit juris in hoc Cavearo sibi

ven-

vendicando lege experturi. Qua in re Celsitudo vestra & serenissima Respub. fecerit & quod æquissimum in se est, & quod illibatâ utriusque Reipub. amicitia est dignum, quod denique, oblata quavis occasione, pari hujus Reipub. benevolentia atque officiis compensabitur.

Datis ab Albâ Aulâ die Feb. 1652.

Subscripsit & Concilii Sigillum imprimendum curavit,

Consilii Præses.

Ad Legatum HISPANICUM.

Excellentissime Domine,

Concilium Status cum ex mandato Parlamenti secundo die mensis Martii accepto de charta Excellentia vestra 17 Feb. Commissariis hujus Concilii exhibita deliberationem seriam habuerit, in qua Excellentia vestra visum est proponere uti duobus capitibus illis nominatis quasi præviis responderetur, responsum hoc Excellentia vestra reddendum censet.

Parlamentum, ubi ad ea respondit quæ ab Excellentia vestra cum primum audiretur proposita sunt, tum etiam in iis literis quas ad Serenissimum Hispaniarum Regem scripsit, quàm sibi grata quamque accepta illa fuerit amicitia, ususque mutuus qui & ab illius Regia Majestate & à vobis ejus nomine oblatus est, quam denique deliberatum sibi fuerit parem amicitiam quod ad se attinet, pariaque officia reddere uberius declaravit.

Exinde visum vestra Excellentia cum primum audita in Concilio est Decembris 19 styli veteris, huic Concilio proponere, veluti rationem quandam auspicandæ arcioris hujus Amicitia, cujus facta tum a vobis mentio erat, uti certi ex suo corpore nominarentur qui ea quæ attulisset Excellentia vestra audirent, iis perpensis de eorum utilitate ad Concilium referre quam primum possint, cui vestro postulato ut satisfaceret certos ex suo numero Concilium nominavit, qui Excellentiam vestram convenirent, quod & proinde factum est eorumque loco quæ proponenda expectabantur, Chartam illam supradictam congressio ea protulit, ad quam responsum hoc Concilii est.

Cum Parlamentum ea declaraverit, vestraque Excellentia progressum eum fecerit qui supradictus est; paratos nos esse, cum Excellentia vestra in colloquium venire iis de rebus quas Domini regis vestri nomine proposueritis, tam de amicitia jam pridem inita, quam de arctiore ineunda, aut si quid à nobis hujus Reipub. nomine in medium proferetur; cumque ad singula ventum erit, ita respondebimus, ut par est, naturaque rei postulabit.

Alba Aula, Martii, 21. 1652.

Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ, serenissimo Principi FREDERICO Tertio DANIÆ Regi &c. salutem.

Serenissime & potentissime Rex;

Literas vestra Majestatis undevigesimo proximi Decembris ad Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ ab arce regia Haphniæ datas per virum nobilem Henricum Willemfen Rosenwing de Lyfäcker accepimus, eoque animi affectu quem res illic propositæ merentur libentissimè perlegimus, Vestraque Majestati persuasum hoc esse cupimus,

mus, eundem animum, eadem veteris amicitiae, commercii, ac necessitudinis quæ Angliæ cum Dania per tot annos intercessit continuandæ & conservandæ studia quæ in Majestæte Vestra sunt in nobis quoque esse; haud nescientes, quamvis divinæ Providentiæ visum sit gentem hanc tam benignè & placidè respicienti receptam apud nos prioris regiminis formam in melius mutare, easdem tamen utrinque rationes, eadem in commune commoda, eundem mutuò usum atque liberum commercium, quæ pactio- nes priores & fœdera inter utramque nationem pepererunt, etiamnum durare vim- que priorem obtinere, utrasque etiam obligare ut communem dent operam Fœdera illa quàm utilissima sibi mutuo reddendo ut amicitiam quoque propriorem ac stabili- orem indies reddant; Cumque Vestræ Majestati placuerit ea persequi consilia quæ in literis vestris regiis scripta sunt, Parlamentum eadem amplecti cum alacritate omni ac fide paratum erit, eaque omnia pro virili suâ parte conferre quæ illum ad finem conducere arbitrabuntur; sibi-que persuadent, Majestatem Vestram hac de causa, ea iti- dem consilia capturum esse ad hanc rempub. spectantia (cui etiam provisum pactis prioribus est) quæ ad hasce res facere possint ab Majestæte Vestra nobis tam cupienti- bus propositas. Parlamentum interea Majestati Vestræ ac populo fœlicitatem prof- pera-que omnia precatur.

Datis Westmonasterio, die
April, An. Dom. 1652.

Sub Sigillo Parlamenti subscripsit ejus nomine
atque autoritate Prolocutor Parlamenti Re-
ipub. Angliæ.

Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ illustribus & magnificis HANSEATICARUM Ci-
vitatum Proconsulibus ac Senatoribus, Salutem.

Amplissimi, magnifici & spectabiles Viri, amici charissimi;

Parlamentum Reipubl. Angliæ literas vestras sexto decimo Januarii proximè elapsi-
datas, perque vestrum publicum Ministrum Leonem ab Aisema allatas accepit at-
que perlegit, eumque ex earum autoritate audivit, qui & vestrarum Civitatum erga
hanc Rempub. propensum & amicum animum exposuit, & antiqua illa inter easdem
amicitia ut porro maneat petivit. Parlamentum itaque pro se testatur atque confir-
mat pergratum sibi esse, pristinam illam amicitiam ac necessitudinem quæ huic Genti
cum illis Civitatibus intercessit & renovari ratamque permanere, seque fore paratum
quâvis occasione commodum oblatâ quod verbis in se recipit id reipsâ solidè præstare,
eâdemque fide & integritate antiqui illi amici & fœderati sui ut secum agant expec-
tat: quæ autem prætereâ Residens vester speciatim in mandatis habuit, cum ea ad
Concilium Status integra à nobis remissa fuerint, quæque proposuisset ibidem consul-
tata, responsum illic atque transactum cum eo ita fuit, prout quidque maximè cum
æqualitate & ratione consentire visum est, quod & Residens Vester renunciare ad vos
poterit: cujus prudentia & spectata probitas collata in eum à vobis publici muneris
notâ dignum prædicat.

Datis Westmonast. die
April, An. Dom. 1652.

Sub Sigillo Parlamenti subscripsit, ejusque no-
mine & autoritate, Prolocutor Parlamenti
Reipub. Angliæ.

Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ illustri & magnifico Civitatis HAMBURGENSIS
Senatui, Salutem.

Amplissimi, magnifici & spectabiles Viri, amici charissimi;

Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ literas vestras quinto decimo Januarii proxime elapsi Hamburgo datas, perque nobilem Virum Dominum Leonem ab Aisema vestrum & cæterarum Civitatum Hanseaticarum Residentem allatas accepit atque perlegit, eumque ex earum autoritate audivit, & quæ amplius ab vestra Civitate mandata speciatim habuit, de iis ad Concilium Status remisit, quibus ut exciperent quæ ab eo proponerentur, deque iis quæ iusta & æqua viderentur, cum eo quàm primum transigerent, authores fuimus; quod etiam exinde factum est. Utque Parlamentum earum rerum quæ à vobis afferentur debitam rationem semper se esse habiturum ostendit, suumque erga vestram civitatem singulare studium, missò illuc Residente suo, ibique manere iussò, testatum reddidit; ita vicissim expectat & meritò quidem postulat à vobis æqua reddi iis in rebus quæ hujus reipub. ex usu, ab suo dicto Residente suoque nomine vestræ civitati, antiquitus amicæ nobis & fœderatæ, vel jam exposita vel in posterum exponenda erunt.

Westmonasterio, dat. die
April, An. Dom. 1652.

Sub Sigillo Parlamenti subscripsit ejus nomine atque autoritate Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.

Concilium Status Reipublicæ ANGLIÆ Serenissimo Principi D. FERDINANDO
Secundo Magno Duci HETRURIÆ, salutem.

Concilium Status cum à Carolo Longlando qui in Portu Celsitudinis Vestræ Liburnensi, mercatorum Anglicorum negotia procurat, certius per literas fieret quatuordecim Naves præfidiarias Fœderatorum Belgarum in eum Portum nuper venisse, qui naves Anglorum in ipso Portu vestro aut incensuros se esse aut depressuros minati palàm sunt, Vestramque Serenitatem cujus fidem atque opem Angliæ Mercatores ibi commorantes imploraverant, Liburniensis Præsidii præfecto mandasse, uti illis Anglorum navibus auxilio esset, sui muneris atque officii judicavit esse, uti Celsitudinem Vestram certiore faceret, quàm huic Reipublicæ gratissima sit benevolentia illa atque tutela quam mercatoribus Anglis tam benignè præbuisistis, Vestræque Celsitudini promittit atque in se recipit mansuram apud se in omne tempus hujus benè meriti gratiam, paratumque se omni occasione fore parem amicitiam pariaque officia vestro Populo reipsa præstare, omniaque facere quæ conservandæ inter hanc Gentem atque Vestram solitæ benevolentia, atque commercio possint conducere. Cumque naves Fœderatarum Belgii Provinciarum inter ipsa de Fœdere Colloquia à semetipsis oblata in Classem nostram summa cum perfidia non solum in ipsis Stationibus hostilia inceptaverint (quo in facinore DEUS, tanquam arbiter justissimus, adversum se illis atque infensum ostendit) verùm etiam in exterorum portibus naves mercatorum nostrorum capere aut demergere conatæ sint, necessarium etiam censuimus Scriptum hoc Parlamenti Reipublicæ Angliæ ad Celsitudinem Vestram unà mittere; cujus emittendi occasionem dedere Controversiæ inter hanc Rempub. & Belgii Provincias in præsentia coortæ. Ex quo Celsitudo Vestra facilè perspiciat, quàm iniqua, quam contra fas omne atque jus Gentium facta illius Populi in hanc Rempub. extiterint, & quàm

ex animo Parlamentum studuerit publicæ Pacis causâ amicitiam eorum & societatem pristinam retinuisse.

Datis ab Alba Aula
Julii 29. 1652.

Subscripsit Concilii Nomine atque
Autoritate Concilii Præses.

Ad Legatum HISPANICUM.

Excellentissime Domine,

Concilium Status, deliberatione habitâ de illa chartula quam ^{27 Maii,}_{6 Junii} 1652, ab Excellentia Vestra accepit, tum etiam de illa quam in Concilio Status cum audiretur ^{7^o}₁₀ hujus mensis Vestra exhibuit Excellentia, ad binas illas chartulas Responsum hoc reddit: Parlamentum Reipubl. Angliæ firmam amicitiam bonamque pacem, quæ huic Repub. est cum Hispaniarum Regia Majestate conservandi percupidum, ex quo idem primùm Regis prædicti animum eodem inclinare Excellentia Vestra significavit, paratum semper fuisse eam utriusque gentis bono quam maximè firmare ac stabilire. Idque Concilium Status Parlamenti nomine atque mandato suis chartulis aliquoties Excellentiae Vestrae demonstravit; & speciatim, prout Excellentia Vestra petiverat, Commissarios delegit, quæ & Excellentiam Vestram convenirent, ab eaque acciperent, quæ ad prædictum finem conducentia proponerentur; quo in conventu eorum loco proponendorum visum est nobis generatim quædam, quasi futuro prævia colloquio, exhibere, de quibus Concilio videbatur, Parlamentum qui suus esset sensus chartis prioribus planum fecisse: tamen quo cumulatiùs satisfaceret, utque Excellentiae Vestrae nequa dubitatio restaret iis de rebus quæ tum proposuerat, Concilium in ea chartula quæ ^{31 Martii}_{10 Aprilis} data est paratum se esse ostendit cum Excellentia Vestra in Colloquium venire iis de rebus quæ à parte Regiæ Majestatis prædictæ in mandatis haberet, tam de pristina amicitia quàm de actione futura, de iis etiam quæ à nobis hujus Reipub. nomine exhiberentur; cumque ad singula veniretur ea, quæ par esset, resque postularer, responsa dare: ad quæ visum est Excellentiae Vestrae nihilum respondere neque per duos pene menses in ea re ulterius progredi. Vestramque chartulam ^{27 Maii}_{6 Junii} 1652, datam Concilium ex eo tempore primam ab Excellentia Vestra accepit, in eaque hoc solum proponitis, uti pacis atque foederis articuli inter Carolum Regem nuperum vestrumque Dominum ^{7^o}₁₀ Novembris 1630, pacti denuò percurrantur, utque ejus capita quæque vel amplificentur vel immutentur pro temporum & rerum alio nunc Statu, necnon regendæ Reipublicæ formâ immutata, quod cum nihil amplius esset, quàm quod & nos in prædicta nostrâ chartula ^{31 Martii}_{10 Aprilis} summatim atque dilucidè significaveramus, expectabat Concilium quosdam speciatim articulos ex eo foedere ab Excellentia Vestra propositum iri cum ea amplificatione, iisque mutationibus quarum facitis mentionem, cum alioqui nobis impossibile sit ullum aliud responsum hac de re dare quàm quod jam dedimus. Verùm cum Excellentia Vestra ex charta sua novissima dilationem in nos conferre videatur, Concilium idcirco chartulam Vestram prædictam ^{27 Maii}_{6 Junii} datam, quodque in ea propositum erat denuò inspexit, seque de eo quod illic est propositum, priore illâ chartulâ Excellentiae Vestrae plenè satisfacisse arbitratur, cui & hoc solum potest adjicere, se, cum Excellentiae Vestrae videbitur, vel ex foederibus jam factis vel alio quovis modo ejusmodi ferre condiciones quæ ad præsentem rerum ac temporum statum erunt accommodatae, quibus à parte Vestra fundari amicitiam vultis, ea vobis responsa exinde redditurum quæ ab se ad ea reddi æquum erit, quæque Parlamentum in eodem perseverare studio testentur, illibatam atque

atque firmam cum rege vestro Domino amicitiam conservandis. Eaque ut augeat etiam, Parlamentum omnem honestam seque dignam operam pro se quidem dabit.

Concilium præterea sui officii ducit esse, Excellentiam Vestram illius nostræ charulæ Januarii 30. 1651. ad vos datæ admoneri, cui cum Excellentia Vestra responsum nondum dederit, instamus proinde atque expectamus ut Parlamento, de qua illic re facta mentio est, satisfactio detur.

Responsum Concilii Status ad Replicationem Dominorum Legatorum Extraordinariorum serenissimi Regis DANIÆ & NORWEGIÆ, Commissariis Concilii traditam, ad Responsum illud quod reddidit Concilium ad quatuordecim eorum postulationes.

PRædictis Dominis Legatis ut satisfiat de responso Concilii ad quintum, sextum, septimum, octavum, & nonum articulum, assentitur Concilium huic sequenti clausulæ suo responsum sine adjiciendæ. Videlicet, Præter illas colonias, insulas, portus & loca in partis alterutrius ditione, ad quæ loca ne quis negotiandi aut commercii habendi causâ accedat, lege cautum est, nisi impetratâ prius ejus partis Licentia speciali ad quam illa colonia, insula, portus, aut loca pertinuerint.

Receptio cujusquam in navem quæ in flumina, portus, aut sinus alterutrius partis compulsa erit navem illam ulli exhibendæ molestiæ aut perscrutationi ex responso Concilii ad articulum undecimum obnoxiam non faciet, quemadmodum prædicti Domini Legati in replicatione sua videntur intellexisse, præterquam ubi illa receptio contra Leges, Statuta, aut Morem illius loci est, in quo illa navis portum capefferit, qua in re videtur Concilio nihil statui quod durius sit, sed quod utriusque Reipub. Saluti sit æquè conducibile.

Quod ad probandum cujusnam propriè naves & bona illa erunt quæ in naufragio ejici acciderint, Concilium existimat necesse esse jusjurandum dari in illis curiis quæ ad hujusmodi causas aut jam sunt constitutæ aut erunt constituendæ, ubi qua illa sibi vendicant audiri singuli possint & cujusque jus cognosci ac dijudicari, quod scriptis testimoniis, quæ vulgo "Certificata" nuncupantur, tam clarè atque distinctè fieri non potest, unde multi scrupuli ac dubitationes existere poterunt, multæ etiam fraudes ac doli in illud genus probationis irrepere, quod ne eveniat utriusque partis interest providere. Concilium etiam æquum esse arbitratur, definiri certum tempus ante quod tempus qui justum earum rerum dominum se esse non probaverit, excludetur ad evitandas sine fine lites. Quod autem ad modum venundandi ea bona quæ ejecta in naufragio facile corrumpuntur, visum est Concilio eum modum proponere qui ad lucernam dicitur, ut qui sit modus maximè probabilis verum bonorum pretium eliciendi ad dominorum emolumentum; tamen si prædicti Domini Legati inventam aliam rationem attulerint quæ huic fini magis conducere videbitur, per Concilium non stabit quo minus id fiat quod æquum erit: neque intelligitur ob hanc rem huic Tractationi moram afferendi occasio ullâ præbeatur.

Quod autem ad eorum supplicium qui propositum fœdus ruperint, Concilium id adjecit, cujus in responso suo ad articulum quartum decimum fit mentio ad majorem ejus articuli efficaciam, ipsumque fœdus eò firmitus atque diuturnius reddendum.

Ad clausulam Articuli quarti decimi extremam quod attinet respondere, non expedire censemus illis fœderibus ac Societatibus, quarum in prædictis responsis facta est mentio, quæque generatim duntaxat proponuntur assensum nostrum exhibere antequam, quales illæ sint, exploratius nobis fuerit, de quibus cum Excellentissimis Vestris visum erit Concilium certius facere, responsum expressius ad id reddere poterimus.

Repli.

Replicatio Concilii Status ad responsum prædictorum Dominorum Legatorum quod ad senos articulos à prædicto Concilio nomine Reipub. ANGLIÆ exhibitos est redditum.

Concilium, inspectis prædictorum dominorum Legatorum diplomatis quibus collata in eos potestas est transigendi cum “Parlamento” aut ejus Commissariis de iis omnibus quæ transigi expediverit, fœdera que vetusta renovandi nova que jungendi, existimabat quidem prædictos dominos Legatos ea authoritate esse præditos ut & responsa dare possent, & omnia transigere tam quæ à parte hujus Reipub. quam quæ à parte “Regis Daniæ” & “Norwegiæ” ferrentur, adeoque responsa quæ prædictis Dominis Legatis ad primam, secundam, tertiam & quintam Concilii postulationem dare libuit haud expectabat, quo factum erit ut huic præsentì tractationi necessario more afferatur cum & in se æquissimum sit & in Concilio deliberatum fœdus integrum tractando simul complecti tam de iis quæ ad hanc “Rempub.” quam quæ ad Regna “Daniæ” & “Norwegiæ” spectant. Quapropter Concilium enixè flagitat ut Excellentiæ Vestræ respondere ad prædictum nostrum primum, secundum, tertium, & quintum postulatum velint.

Ad quartum articulum de portoriis “Gluckstadii” cum ea jam antiquata sint, quemadmodum Excellentiæ Vestræ in responso meminerunt, instat Concilium uti eorum illa antiquatio etiam per hoc fœdus rata habeatur, ne forte in posterum revocentur.

Quod ad sextum articulum, qui de pyratica est, eum quidem inseruit Concilium ut qui ad utriusque commoda æquè pertineret, & ad commercium in commune stabilendum quod à pyratis atque prædonibus perquam turbatur atque interrumpitur; cumque responsum Dominorum Legatorum de hoc articulo ad hostes tantum referatur, mentionem Piratarum nullam faciat, Concilium idcirco expressius responsum ad id petit.

Cumque prædicti Domini Legati in sua replicatione ad responsum Concilii & decimum suum articulum, & ad eum Concilii responsum prætermiserint, Concilio necessarium visum est prioribus suis postulatis sequentem hunc articulum adjungere.

Populum & incolas Reipub. Angliæ qui negotia aut commercium per ulla regna, regiones, aut ditionem “Regis Daniæ” & “Norwegiæ” habuerint portorii, tributis, census, vectigalis aut stipendii cujusvis plus in posterum non solvere aut alio quovis modo atque populus fœderatarum “Belgii” Provinciarum, aliave quævis natio externa minimum illic solvens mercaturamque faciens, si solvit aut solutura est, parique frui & æquè amplâ libertate privilegiis & immunitatibus, cum in adventu, tum in reditu & quamdiu illic commorabuntur, in piscatu etiam, mercatura, atque alio quocunque modo, quo ullius exteræ gentis populus in prædictis regnis totaque ditione dicti “Regis Daniæ” & “Norwegiæ” fruitur aut frui queat; quibus itidem privilegiis populares “Regis Daniæ” & “Norwegiæ” per omnes Provincias ac ditionem “Reipublicæ Angliæ” pariter fruentur.

Concilium

Concilium Status Reipub. ANGLIÆ serenissimo Principi Domino FERDINANDO
Secundo, Magno Duci HETRURIÆ, Salutem.

Serenissime Princeps, Amice Charissime,

Concilium Status," cognito tam per Oratorem Celsitudinis Vestræ hic commo-
rantem, quam per "Carolus Longlandum" Mercatorum Anglicorum nego-
tia "Liburni" procurantem, quanta cum benevolentia ac fide Celsitudo Vestra na-
vium Anglicarum in "Liburniensem" portum se recipientium tutelam suscepit, con-
tra "Belgarum" naves prædatorias exitium illis atque direptionem minitantes, literis
undetrigesimo Julii datas (quas ad Celsitudinem Vestram, jamdudum pervenisse sperat)
significavit quam id sibi gratum acceptumque accidisset, eodemque tempore scriptum
Parlamenti Reipublicæ "Angliæ" de controversiis inter hanc "Rempub." & "Fœ-
deratas Belgii Provincias" in præsentia exortis ad Serenitatem vestram unà misit. Cum-
que rursus per eundem "Carolus Longlandum" Concilium intellexerit, quæ ulterius
mandata dederit Celsitudo Vestra de incolumitate atque tutela navibus "Anglicis" præ-
standa, etiam "Belgis," ne id fieret, importunè contra nitentibus, ne hanc quidem
occasionem prætereundam esse censuit, significandi rursus Celsitudini Vestræ se vestram
justitiam & singularem in tutandis navibus suis constantiam cum plurimi facere tum
sibi etiam gratissimam habere. Quod cum solidæ amicitiae studique vestri in hanc
rempub. haud leve indicium sit, persuadere sibi poterit Celsitudo Vestra paria officia
atque studia in nobis erga Vestram Celsitudinem nunquam se esse desideraturam.
Quæque declarare possint quàm nobis deliberatum sit eam amicitiam quæ huic Rei-
pub. cum Vestra Serenitate est, quàm constantissimè atque diutissimè pro virili no-
strâ parte conservare. Nos interim navibus nostris omnibus, quæ vestros portus in-
traverint disertis verbis mandavimus, ut salutationes explosione tormentorum consuetas,
omnemque honorem debitum vestræ Celsitudini exhibere meminerint.

Datis Alba Aula Septemb. 1652.

Et Concilii Sigillo deinde consignandis subscripsit

Concilii Præses.

Ad Legatum HISPANICUM ALPHONSUM DE CARDENAS.

Excellentissime Domine,

Literæ "Excellentiæ Vestræ 17^{to} Novemb." 1652. datæ, & à Secretario vestro
"Novemb. 8. redditæ, unà cum duobus libellis supplicibus simul involutis, in
Concilio recitatæ sunt de navibus nimirum "Samfone" & "San Salvatore" vulgò
nominatis; ad quas Concilium responsum hoc reddit: Navem Anglicam præfidiariam,
cum in prædictas naves non in Dunis, ut scribit Excellentia Vestra, sed in alto in-
cidisset, tanquam hostium navem prædæ habitam in portum adduxisse; curiamque
Ammiralatus ad quam propriè de causis hujusmodi attinet cognoscere illius causæ cog-
nitionem pro jure sibi sumpsisse; ubi singuli partis utriusque quorum id interest ampli-
ter & liberè audientur, jusque suum quisque obtinebit: vestræ porrò Excellentiae roga-
tum ad illius Curiae judices misimus quo certiùs intelligamus quousque iis de navibus in
judicio processerint. Quod simul ac nobis compertum erit ea dari mandata hæc de re

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R r r

curabimus

curabimus quæ & æquum erit, & eâ dignum amicitia quæ huic Reipublicæ cum Rege vestro intercedit, nec minùs confidimus Regiam ejus Majestatem minimè passurum esse hujus Reipublicæ hostium bona sub nomine ejus subjectorum elabi aut delitescere.

Subscripsit & Concilii Sigillum apponendum curavit

GUILIELMUS MASHAM, Concilii Præses.

Datis ab Albâ Aulâ 11 Novemb.

An. Dom. 1652.

Legato HISPANIENSI.

Excellentissime Domine,

Allatum nuper ad Concilium est ab Navarcho nostro "Bodileo" navium hujus Reipub. ad "Gaditanum" mare Præfecto, se cum tribus aliis navibus præsidariis postquam undecim Belgicarum impetum continuato bidui certamine sustinuisset, ad portum "Longonem" vulgò dictum ad sarcienda quædam in eo prælio accepta incommoda, easque res comparandas quæ sibi ad pugnam opus essent, in portum "Longonem" vulgò dictum se recepisse, ubi ejus loci Præfectus in eum cæterasque sub ejus ductu naves omnia & justissimi & humanissimi simul Viri officia implevit; cumque is locus in ditione Serenissimi Regis Hispaniarum sit, Concilium certè singularem præsidii illius humanitatem reipsâ cognitam arctioris amicitiae mutuae tam auspiciatò cœptæ fructum uberem esse existimat; sui que adeò officii ducit esse, ob acceptum tam opportunè beneficium ejus "Majestati" gratias agere, vestramque rogat Excellentiam ut hoc "Regi suo" serenissimo velit primo quoque tempore significare, eique persuasum reddere "Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ" paratum semper fore paria amicitiae atque humanitatis officia oblatâ quavis occasione referre.

Dat. Westmonasterio 11 Novemb. An. Dom. 1652.

Subscripsit & Concilii Sigillum apponendum curavit

GUILIELMUS MASHAM, Concilii Præses.

Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ, Serenissimo Principi D. FERDINANDO Secundo,
Magno Duci HETRURIÆ, Salutem.

Serenissime Princeps, Amice Charissime,

Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ literas vestræ Celsitudinis "Augusti" septimo decimo, Florentiâ datas, accepit: in quibus de restitutione navis cujusdam agitur oryzâ onustæ, quæ navis à capitaneo "Cardio Liburniensi" vendicatur. Et quamvis in nostrâ Ammiralatus curiâ contra prædictum "Cardium" in eâ causâ sententia Judicum lata jam sit, & apud Delegatos provocatio tum penderet, tamen cum hoc Celsitudo vestra petat, Parlamentum, quo tam amici Principis benevolentiam ac necessitudinem quanti faciat testificari possit, mandavit quibus curæ ea res est, ut navis illa cum oryzâ, vel saltem ejus justum pretium prædicto Capitano "Cardio" reddatur; cujus mandati fructum procurator ejus apud nos re ipsâ jam percepit. Et quemadmodum Celsitudo vestra suum navibus Anglorum in portu "Liburniensi" patrocinium atque tutelam benignè præbendo Parlamentum sibi magnoperè devinxit (cujus rei gestæ narratio

ratio tam ab Oratore hîc vestro, quàm à “Carolo Longland” mercatorum nostrorum, illic procuratore, delata nuper ad nos est) ita Parlamentum summo vicissim studio dabit operam, quotiescunque occasio dabitur, ut sua omnia sinceræ amicitiae atque benevolentiae officia in Celsitudinem vestram solidè constare possint; quam adeò divinæ benignitati atque tutelæ commendatissimam vult esse.

Datis Westmonasterio, Die Novemb. 1652.

Subscripsit & Sigillum Reipub. apponendum curavit

Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.

Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ Serenissimo & Potentissimo Principi DANIÆ Regi, &c.

Serenissime & Potentissime Rex,

“**P**arlamentum Reipub. Angliæ” postquam accepit ab illius Classis Præfecto quæ nuper ad “Hafniam” Majestatis Vestræ portum missa est, ut navibus Mercatorum nostrorum inde redeuntibus domum præsidio esset; prædictis navibus permissum non esse secum discedere; verùm illic Majestatis Vestræ jussu retineri; productis etiam ab eo literis Regis vestram ea in re sententiam declarantibus, negat explicatas in iis literis rationes cur naves illæ retineantur ulla in parte sibi satisfacere: ut igitur in re tanti planè momenti quæque ad prosperum utriusque Gentis statum tantoperè conducit sequuturo fortasse majori cuiuspiam incommodo maturius occurratur, misit “Parlamentum” Virum illustrissimum & spectatæ fidei “Richardum Bradshaw Armigerum, Hamburgi” Oratorem, qui itidem ad Majestatem Vestram Oratoris munus impleat, cum iis disertè mandatis, ut de prædicto negotio agat: Vestramque adeò rogamus Majestatem eidem velit Viro & aurem benignam & fidem amplam perhibere, quicquid super hoc negotio Vestræ Majestati nostro nomine proposuerit: quam Nos divinæ Tutelæ & Providentiæ commendatam volumus.

Datis Westmonasterio 6 die Novemb. An. Dom. 1652.

Sub Sigillo Parlamenti ejusque Nomine atque Authoritate subscripsit

Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipublicæ Angliæ.

Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ Serenissimo Principi VENETIARUM Duci, Salutem.

“**P**arlamentum Reipub. Angliæ” literas Celsitudinis vestræ “primo Junii” 1652, datas per “Laurentium Palutium” accepit, ex quibus cum & vestrum, & Senatus propensum in hanc Rempublicam animum prospiciat, occasionem hanc suum vicissim erga Serenissimam Rempub. “Venetam” singulare studium ac benevolentiam declarandi, libenter arripuit, quam & re ipsa idque ex animo, demonstrare quoties usus venerit, haudquaquam gravabitur, cui & omnes vel conservandæ vel etiam augendæ amicitiae ususque mutui rationes in medium allatæ erunt itidem acceptissimæ, vestræque adeò Celsitudini & Reipublicæ Serenissimæ fausta omnia ac prospera exoptat atque precatur.

Datis Westmonasterio die Decemb. An. Dom. 1652.

Subscripsit & Parlamenti Sigillum imponendum curavit

Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.

Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ Serenissimo Principi FERDINANDO Secundo
HETRURIÆ Magno Duci, Salutem.

CUM “Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ” antehac suis Navarchiis atque Præfectis navium ad loca sub vestræ Celsitudinis ditione appellentibus, etiam atque etiam mandaverit, ut se pacatè atque modestè gererent, eaque quâ decet observantiâ erga Principem Serenissimum cujus hæc Respub. & conservare amicitiam tantoperè studeat, & tantis beneficiis affecta sit, prorsus inopinatum sibi quidem accidit, quod à Navarcho “Appletono” in “Liburniensi” portu insolentiùs factum esse accepit; eum nimirum ab eo vigili dum in molestationem ageret, vim attulisse, idque tum contra fidem atque obsequium huic Reipublicæ ab eo debitum, tum contra observantiam atque honorem qui vestræ Celsitudini suâ in ditione jure optimo debetur: quàm rem totam sicuti gesta est, ex literis vestris 7. & 9. “Decembris Florentiâ” datis Parlamentum intellexit; uberius etiam per spectatissimum virum “Almericum Salvettum,” vestrum hîc Residentem; atque vestræ Celsitudinis honorem qui hâc in re agi videtur, usque ad eò sibi commendatum habet, ut Concilio Status id negotii dederit, uti literas Navarcho “Appletono” quam primum scribendas curaret, quibus is terrestri itinere confestim huc advolare juberetur, insoliti hujus facti & extraordinarii rationem redditurus (quarum exemplum literarum his inclusum unâ mittitur) qui ubi advenerit & facti postulabitur, de eo id statutum iri pollicemur, quod testificari possit se vestri juris violationem haud minùs moleste ferre, quàm si ipsum jus suum violaretur. Quinetiam denave dictâ “Phœnice Liburni” recuperatâ consultatione habitâ, quæ res à Celsitudine vestrà necnon ab Oratore suo narratur atque urgetur, contra datam à Navarcho “Appletono” fidem fuisse, qua obstrictus erat ne “Hollandos” intra conspectum portus aut laternæ adoriretur, vestramque Celsitudinem eâ fiduciâ nixam, “Hollandis” fide data de incolumitate promississe, debere proinde eorum satisfactioni prospicere, quibus vestra sub fide damnum datum est, Parlamentum ab Excellentia vestra petit, ut hoc sibi persuasum habeat, hanc rem, quemadmodum sine suo consilio aut mandato est gesta, ita hoc etiam ab sua voluntate ac mente longissimè abesse ut Celsitudo vestra ullo incommodo aut honoris imminutione ex illo factò afficiatur: quin imò se operam daturum, ut vobis satisfaciendi aliqua ratio ineatur, prout sibi quæstione habitâ de re totâ constiterit: quam ut plenius intelligere possit, ipsum Navarchum “Appletonum” ab se audiri necessarium esse judicat; qui & eadem fide obstrictus erat, & ab Excellentia vestra creditur, ejusdem violationi saltèm assensisse; præsertim cum is tam brevi sit ad nos reversurus, atque illum postquam Parlamentum audiverit, & cum dicto Oratore vestro rationes amplius contulerit, hac de re haud exigui sane momenti eam sententiam feret, quæ & æqua erit, summaque benevolentia qua Celsitudinem vestram prosequitur consentanea, collatis denique à vobis in se beneficiis haud indigna. De qua ne interim dubitaret Celsitudo vestra literis per eundem hunc tabellarium statim missis certio rem factam primo quoque tempore volebat; seque nullam occasionem esse prætermisurum, qua possit re ipsâ testari, vestram amicitiam quanti faciat.

Datis Westmonasterio 14 die Decembris An. Dom. 1652.

Subscripsit & Parlamenti sigillum imprimendum curavit,

Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.

Concilium Status Reip. ANGLICANÆ Serenissimo Principi FREDERICO Hæredi
NORWEGIÆ, Duci SLESVICI, HOLSATIÆ, STARMATIÆ, DITMARSICÆ,
Comiti in OLDENBURGH & DELMENHORST, Salutem.

Quanquam sapientissimo Deo visum est rerum omnium Moderatori clementissimo, præter illud onus quod nobis cum majoribus nostris commune imposuit, ut pro libertate nostrâ contra tyrannos honestissima bella gereremus, iis nos etiam auspiciis eaque divinâ ope præ illis insigniter adjuvare, ut non solum civile bellum restringere, sed & causas ejus in futurum præcidere, nec non & hostium externorum inopinatos impetus propulsare valuerimus, eundem tamen supremi numinis in nos favorem ac benignitatem gratissimis quantum possumus animis agnoscentes, non ita rerum nostrarum successibus efferimur, ut non singularem potius Dei justitiam ac providentiam edocti, atque nosmet largiter experti, & bellum omne quantum licet aversemur, & pacem cum omnibus cupidissimè amplectamur. Quemadmodum igitur quæ amicitia quæque foederum jura nobis cum populis quibuscunque ac Principibus antiqua intercessere, ea hætenus cuiquam nec violavimus priores, nec violata volumus, ita & Celsitudo vestra pro vetustâ suâ cum "Anglis" & à majoribus acceptâ amicitia poterit certissimâ animi persuasione de nobis æqua omnia atque amica, & sibi & suis polliceri. Denique ut delata à Celsitudine vestrâ nobis sua studia atque officia plurimi ut par est facimus, ita operam dabimus ut neque nostra ullo tempore vel sibi vel suis deesse sentiat: Vestramque adeo Celsitudinem Omnipotentis numinique Dei Omnipotentis quàm maximè commendatam cupimus.

Datis in Alba Aula die Julii An. 1653.

Subscripsit & Concilii Sigillum imprimendum curavit,

Concilii Præses.

Comiti OLDENBURGICO.

Illustrissime Domine;

Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ plurimam salutem ab Amplitudine vestra officiosissimè atque humanissimè sibi dictam, per "Hermannum Mylium," Jurisconsultum Deputatum & Consiliarium vestrum accepit: qui & fausta omnia Parlamento rei que "Anglicæ" vestro nomine precatus est, & hujus Reipub. amicitiam ut vobis facta tecta permaneret simul expetivit: literas etiam liberi comæatus, quibus vestræ ditionis populus eò tutiùs negotiaretur, navigaret, & commercia exerceret, nec non & nostra ad publicos foris ministros mandata uti Amplitudini vestræ rebusque vestris, suis officiis atque consiliis opitulerentur, idem à nobis petivit. Nos & petitis hisce libenter annuimus, & cum amicitiam, tum etiam literas illas expetitas, illaque ad ministros publicos mandata sub Parlamenti sigillo concessimus. Et quanquam aliquot jam menses abierunt, ex quo Vester Publicus Minister ad nos primum accessit, ea tamén dilatio neque ex eo orta est, quo nos petitioni, Amplitudinis Vestræ nomine factæ, assentiri gravaremur, neque quo Vester Deputatus nos assiduè sollicitare ullo tempore destiterit (qui certe omni cum diligentia, nec non officiosa simul instantia, ut confecto negotio, compos voti dimitteretur, quotidie nos efflagitavit) verum ex eo so-

lùm accidit, quòd maxima quidem & gravissima Reipub. negotia, quæque ad eam vehementer pertinere, aut agitentur per hoc totum fere tempus, aut transigerentur. Quæ de re dignitatem vestram Illustriss. certiore faciendam esse censuimus, ut ne quis dilationem hanc secùs interpretando, gravatim aut ægrè impetratum hoc esse existimet, quod à Parlamento Reipub. "Angliæ" libentissimè concessum est. Cujus nomine consignare hæc jussus est,

HENRICUS SCOBELL, Clericus Parlam.

Parlamentum Reipub. ANGLIÆ Illustribus & Amplissimis Consulibus, Scultetis, Landam. & Senatoribus Cantonum Helvetiæ Evangelicorum, TIGURINI, BERNENSIS, GLARONENSIS, BASILEENSIS, SCHAFFUSIENSIS, ABBATISCELLANI, nec non ejusdem Religionis Confœderatorum in Rhætia, GENEVÆ, SANCTO-GALLI, MULTUSII & BIENNÆ, Amicis nostris charissimis, Salutem.

Literas vestras, "Illustres Domini atque Amici Charissimi, Decembris" 24, 1652. ad Nos datas accepimus, omni humanitate, benevolentia, studioque erga nos nostramque Rempub. egregio refertas; quodque nobis semper majus & antiquius debet esse, charitatem fraternam & verè christianam spirantes. Deoque imprimis Optimo Maximo gratias agimus, qui vos totque vestras "Civitates" nobilissimas, non tam illis montium claustris quàm insitâ vestrâ fortitudine, pietate, & prudentissima æquissimaque rerum civilium administratione, mutuâ denique fœderum fide circumvallatas atque munitas, firmissimum universis orthodoxis præsidium illis in locis excitavit atque constituit: vos deinde, qui per omnem Europam primi fere mortalium post invectas ab Aquilone Barbarorum Regum tyrannidos, Deo vestram virtutem prosperante, libertatem vobis peperistis, partam haud minore prudentiâ ac moderatione, tot per annos, illibatam conservastis; de nobis nostrâque libertate nuper vindicatâ tam præclarè sentire, tamque sinceros Evangelii cultores de nostro in orthodoxam fidem amore ac studio, tam constanter persuaderi, id quidem longè nobis gratissimum est. Quod autem ad pacem nos piè sanè & affectu, ut nobis est persuasissimum, verè christiano adhortamini, permagnum certè pondus apud nos ea adhortatio habere debet; cum propter ipsam rem, quam suadetis, maximè expetendam, tum propter summam etiam auctoritatem, quæ Vobis præ cæteris hac in parte meritò tribuenda est, qui inter maximos circumquaque bellicorum tumultus, & ipsi summam pacem domi forisque tamdiu colitis, & aliis omnibus pacis colendæ simul hortatores & exemplum optimum extitistis; cum id denique suadeatis, quod nos deditâ operâ, idque haud semel, non tam nostrisrationibus, quàm universæ rei Evangelicæ prospicientes, per Legatos aliosque publicos Ministros petivimus, amicitiam nimirum & arctissimum fœdus cum fœderatis "Belgarum Provinciis" ferendum. Verùm illi (sive illa perpetuò nobis infesta, regiis addicta partibus, tyrannidis & ipsa apud suos affectatæ comperta "Arausiana" factio potius dicenda est) quo pacto Legatos nostros, non de pace, sed de fraternâ amicitia ac fœdere arctissimo venientes acceperint, quas postea belli causas præbuerint, ut nos, inter ipsa Legatorum suorum de fœdere colloquia, instructâ classè nihil tale cogitantes, in ipsis navium stationibus nostris, ultrò lacefferint, ex illo à nobis eâ de re publicè scripto, & nunc unâ cum hisce literis ad vos misso, abundè intelligetis. Nos autem in id sedulo incumbimus, Deo benè juvante, quamvis re hactenus tam prosperè gestâ, ut neque nostris quicquam viribus aut copiis tribuamus, sed Uni Omnia Deo, neque successibus insolenter efferamur: Eundemque animum retinemus conficiendæ justæ atque honestæ pacis omnes occasiones amplecti paratissimum. Vos interim, "Illustres ac præstantissimi Domini," quibus pi-
um

um atque præclarum hoc studium est, solo Evangelico amore impulsis, fratres inter se certantes componere atque conciliare, & omni apud homines laude digni, cœlestis illius pacificorum præmii apud Deum haud dubiè compotès futuri, cujus summæ benignitati atque gratiæ vos vestrosque omnes ex animo commendatos volumus, si quâ in re vobis usui esse possimus, ad omnia cum amicorum tum fratrum officia promptissimi.

Datis Westmonasterio, die Octobris An. Dñm. 1653.

Subscripsit & Parlamenti Sigillum imprimendum curavit

Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.

Legato HISPANICO.

Illustrissime Domine;

CUm graves ad nos allatæ essent querelæ Philippi Noelli, Joannis Godalli, & societatis mercatorum in Anglia Foyensium, Navem quandam suam Annam Foyensem dictam, navem Anglicam à sese instructam, suis mercibus onustam, cum domum suam ad portum Foyensem, cursum teneret circa Festum Michaelis Archangeli, à nave quadam præsiaria Ostendensi, cui præfuit Erasmus Bruerus, oppressam injustè & sine causa captam fuisse, inque ea nautas indignè & barbarè tractatos, Concilium Status ea de re ad Marchionem Ledæ scripsit, (quarum literarum exemplar Amplitudini vestræ unà cum his mittimus) expectabatque ab eo sine mora mandatum iri ut ex jure & æquo ista in re quam primum ageretur. Verùm cum denuò prædictus Noëllus unà cum illa societate graviter queratur, quamvis literæ nostræ Marchioni redditæ fuerint, & mercatores illi ab eo tempore se Brugas ad maritimarum causarum curiam contulerint, ibique jus suum suæque causæ veritatem probaverint, justitiam tamen sibi denegari, tamque iniquè secum agi ut quamvis per tres amplius menses cognitioni matura res fuerit, tamen ab illa curia se impetrare non posse ut sententiam tandem ferat; quin navis eorum & bona nihilo minus retineantur, seque per hanc moram in persequendo jure suo magnos sumptus fecisse. Non ignorat Amplitudo Vestra & juri Gentium & commercii & amicitiae, quæ inter Anglos & Flandros est, contrarium esse, ut navis aliqua Ostendensis navem aliquam Anglicam caperet, si quidem mercibus Anglicis onusta Angliam petat; quæque ab illo Præfecto in nautas Anglicos inhumaniter ac barbarè commissa sunt pœnam gravem mereri. Concilium itaque hanc rem Amplitudini vestræ commendat, petitque ut de ea in Flandriam scribere velitis, eamque operam primo quoque tempore dare, ut ne hoc negotium diutius extrahatur, sed uti ea justitia fiat, ut prædicta navis & bona, unà cum damnis, sumptibus & fœnore quæ Angli isti propter illam injustam interceptionem sustinuerunt, Authoritate Curiae maritimæ Brugenfis, aut alio modo bono iis reddantur, utque curetur nequa ejusmodi interceptio deinceps fiat, quin amicitia quæ nostris hominibus cum Flandris intercedit sine ulla violatione conservetur.

Obsignatum nomine & jussu Concilii Status Parlamenti autoritate constituti.

Marchioni

Marchioni LEDÆ.

Illustrissime Domine;

GRaves ad nos allatæ sunt querelæ, à Philippo Noëllō, & Joanni Godallo, & Societate mercatorum Foyensium, de nave quadam sua, cui nomen Anna Foyensis, quæ cum esset Navis Anglica, ab illis instructa, & ipsorum solummodo mercibus onusta, circiter festum “Michaelis Archangeli” ad portum suum renavigans, à nave præfidiaria quæ ad “Ostendam” pertinebat, cujus erat Præfectus “Erasmus Bruerus,” de improvisō capta fuit. Nuntiatum porrò est, “Ostendenses,” cum in sua potestate navis esset, nautas omnes nimis inhumaniter tractasse, accenso fune digitis admotō, & navis magistrum undis immerfisse, atque pœne suffocasse, ut minimè veram ab ipso confessionem extorquerent, de navi atque mercimoniis illis, quasi Gallorum essent. Quod tametsi Magister ille cæterique socii navis firmiter pernegabant, “Ostendenses” tamen, & navim & mercedes in portum suum abduxerunt. Hæc in “Curia Navali Angliæ,” inquisitione factâ, testibusque adhibitis, vera esse apparuere, ut ex autographis testimoniorum quæ cum his literis simul misimus manifesto liquebit. Cum itaque illa Navis, “Anna Foyensis” dicta, atque mercimonia omnia peculiariter verè ac propriè ad “Anglos” pertineant, adeo ut nulla causa appareat cur “Ostendenses” vel illam vel ea vi caperent, multò minùs auferrent navis Magistrum, aut societatem tam durè tractarent; cumque secundum leges Nationum atque amicitiam inter “Anglos Flandrosque,” navim illam atque mercimonia reddi oporteat, magnoperè petimus ab Excellentia vestra, ut jus suum “Anglicani” maturè obtineant, atque illis satisfiat qui damnum acceperunt, utque commercium, & Amicitia quæ inter “Anglos Flandrosque” est, diù atque firmitèr conservetur.

Legato HISPANICO.

“**P**arlamentum Reipub. Angliæ” cum intelligat, plurimos ex populo in hac urbe tam Excellentia vestra, quàm aliorum Legatorum & ministrorum ab exteris regionibus publicorum hic versantium domos “Missæ” audiendæ causâ frequentare, “Concilio Status” mandavit, uti Excellentia vestra significaret, cum hoc gentis hujus legibus damnatum, ac in hac nostrâ Republica mali admodum exempli sit, offensionisque plenum, censere se, sui planè officii esse, ne quid tale dehinc fiat providere; cœtusque ejusmodi in futurum prorsus interdicere. Quâ de re Excellentiam vestram admonitam nunc esse cupimus, ut ne quem ex populo hujus Reipublicæ “Missæ” audiendæ causâ suam in domum posthac velit admittere. Et quemadmodum “Parlamentum” diligenter curabit ut Legati jus & privilegia quæque vestra Excellentia inviolata servantur, ita hoc sibi persuasissimum habet, “Excellentiam” vestram, quamdiu hîc commoratur, leges hujus Reipub. per se suosve nolle ullo modo violatas.

Sum-

Summarium damnorum singulorum & haud fictorum quibus Societas ANGLICANA multis ORIENTALIS INDIAE Locis à BELGICA Societate affecta est.

1. D amna illa sedecim Articulis comprehensa & pridem exhibita, quorum summa est 298555 “Regiorum” $\frac{2}{3}$ quæ est monetæ nostræ	<i>l. s. d.</i> 74638 15 00
2. De “Pularonis” Insulæ fructibus satisfactionem dari postulamus ab anno 1622, ad hoc usque tempus, ducenties millenium “Regiorum” $\frac{2}{3}$ præter dispendium futurum donec jus ditionis in illam Insulam nobis restituatur eo rerum statu in quo fuit cum erepta nobis est, prout foedere sancitum erat: quod est nostræ monetæ	50000 00 00
3. Satisfactionem postulamus de omnibus illis mercimoniis cibariis & apparatus, qui ab Agentibus Societatis “Belgiæ” apud “Indos” ablati sunt, aut iis traditi, aut ulli ex eorum navibus eo cursum tenentibus aut inde redeuntibus, quorum summa est 80635. “Regiorum:” nostræ monetæ	20158 00 00
4. Satisfactionem postulamus ob portoria “Mercium Belgicarum” quæ in “Perside” aut navibus impositæ sunt, aut in terram expositæ ab anno 1624, prout nobis à Rege “Persarum” concessum erat, quæ minoris æstimare non possumus quam Octogies millenis “Regiis.	20000 00 00
5. Satisfactionem postulamus ob quatuor ædes malitiosissime & ini-quissime “Joccatræ” incensas, unâ cum mercium Apothecis reposito-riis & apparatus, cui rei Prætor illic “Belgicus” occasionem dedit, de quibus omnibus ex eo ipso loco certiores postea facti sumus quam priores querelas exhibueramus; cujus damni summa est ducenties mille-num “Regiorum.”	50000 00 00
6. Satisfactionem postulamus ob 32899 “Libras piperis” ex nave “Endimione” vi ablatas “anno” 1649, cujus damni summa est	6000 00 00
	<hr/> 220796 15 00

Summarium Damnorum aliquot particularium quibus etiam à BELGICA ORIEN-TALIS INDIAE Societate affecti sumus.

1. P ropter damna quæ per eos fecimus qui “Bantamum” obse-derunt, unde factum est ut per sex annos continuos eo com-mercio exclusi simus, & consequenter occasione sexcenties mille Regios in coëmendo pipere locandi pro rata nostra portione, quo multas naves nostras in reditu onerare potuissemus, quo onere cum carerent passim per “Indiæ” littora cariem traxere: interea fors nostra apud “In-dos” quæ vel pecuniæ vel bonorum erat stipendio nautico commeatu alioque apparatu imminuta & exhausta est, adeo ut prædictæ Jacturæ haud minoris æstimari queant vicies centies & quater millenis Regiis, id est nostræ monetæ	<i>l. s. d.</i> 600000 00 00
2. Plura etiam propter damna ex amissa parte nostra debita fruc-tuum in “Insulis Moluccis, Banda” & “Amboyna,” ex quo tem-pore per eadem nostrorum ibi factam pulsi inde sumus ad usque illud tempus quo de jactura hac atque dispendio nobis satisfiat, quod spa-tium temporis ab anno 1622, ad hunc annum præsentem 1650, pro reditu anno 25000 “Librarum, annis 28, Summam conficit	700000 00 00

3. Reparationem insuper postulamus centies & bis millenum non-
gentorum quinquaginta novem “Regiorum Surattæ” à Populo
“Mogulli” nobis ablatorum, quos “Belgæ” eum in modum tutati
sunt, ut neque ex pecuniis neque ex bonis ejus populi quæ in ipsorum
“Juncis” seu Navibus erant damna nostra refarcire possemus, quod
quidem perficere & conati sumus & in manu nostra situm erat, nisi
eos “Belgæ” iniquissimè defendissent, quæ pecunia amissa ad im-
pensas faciendas jamdudum in Europa triplum peperisset: quod nos
æstimamus

77020 00 00

4. Ob Portoria “Perfidis” quorum dimidia pars ab Rege “Per-
sarum Anglis” concessa est anno 1624, quæ usque ad annum 1629,
supputata æstimatur octies millenis “Regiis,” quemadmodum prius
exponitur qua ratione subducta quatuor mille Librarum in annos singu-
los præbere tenentur ab anno 1629, à quo unus & viginti anni sunt,
atque indè summa conficietur

84000 00 00

Ab altero summario 220796 15 00

Summa totalis 1681816 15 00

Locus Figuræ
Regii



Debitum ab eo tempore fœnus fortem ipsam longè superabit.

L I T E R Æ

L I T E R Æ

Oliverii Protectoris

Nomine scriptæ.

Comiti OLDENBURGICO.

Illustrissime Domine;

PER literas vestras Januarii die vigesimo 1654 datas, certior sum factus, nobilem virum Fridericum Matthiam Wolisogum Secretarium vestrum, & Christophorum Griphiantrum cum certis mandatis ab illustrissimâ dignitate vestra in Angliam missos fuisse. Qui cum ad nos accessissent, & susceptam Anglicanæ Reipublicæ administrationem nobis vestro nomine gratulati sunt; & uti vos vestraq; ditio in hanc pacem, quam cum Fœderatis Belgii Ordinibus proxime fecimus, assumeremini: ut denique Salvam-Guardiam illam quam vulgo vocant, à Parlamento nuper vobis concessam, nostrâ nunc autoritate confirmaremus, petiverunt: ob istam itaque gratulationem tam amicam maximas, ut æquum est, gratias agimus: & illa duo postulata libenter concessimus; nulli etiam occasione in posterum defuturi, quæ studium in vos nostrum poterit ullo tempore declarare. Idque ex supradictis Oratoribus vestris plenius vos arbitror intellecturos; quorum fides, ac diligentia in hoc vestro apud nos negotio præclarè constitit. Quod reliquum est, vobis, rebusque vestris felicitatem, atque ex voto pacem omnem exopto.

Westmonasterio, Jun 27, 1654.

Illustrissimæ Dignitatis vestræ studiosissimus,

OLIVERIUS, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c. Protector.

Comiti OLDENBURGICO.

Illustrissime Domine;

Literas vestras Maii secundo die Oldenburgo datas accepi haud uno nomine gratissimas; cum quod essent ipsæ singulari erga me humanitate ac benevolentia refertæ; tum quod illustrissimi Domini Comitis Antonii perdilecti Filii vestri

redditæ. Id quod eò magis honorificum mihi duco, ex quo illius virtutes tantâ stirpe dignas, moresque eximios, studium denique in me egregium, non tam acceptum ab aliis, quàm re ipsâ cognitum atque perspectum jam habeo. Neque dubium esse potest, quin eandem quoque suis domi spem faciat, fore se Patris optimi præstantissimique simillimum; cujus præclara virtus atque prudentia perfecit, ut tota illa ditio Oldenburgica permultis ab annis, & summâ pace frui, & pacis commoda percipere inter sævissimos undique circumstrepentium bellorum tumultus potuerit. Talem itaque amicitiam quidni ego quam plurimî facerem, quæ potest inimicitias omnium tam sapienter ac providè cavere. Pro munere denique illo magnifico est, "Illustrissime Domine," quòd gratias habeo; pro jure est ac merito tuo, quòd ex animo sum

Illustrissimæ dignitatis vestræ studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c. Protector.

Westmonasterio,
29. Junii, 1654.

Illustrissimo Domino ANTONIO GUNTHERO, Comiti in Oldenburgh, & Delmenhorst, Domino in Jehvern, & Knipphausen.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reipub. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi CAROLO GUSTAVO Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, Magno Principi Finlandiæ, Duci Ethoniæ, Careliæ, Bremæ, Verdæ, Stetini, Pomeraniæ, Cassubiæ & Vandalæ, Principi Rugiæ, Domino Ingriæ, Wifsmariæ, necnon Comiti Palatino Rheni, Baviaræ, Jul. Cliviæ & Montium Duci, &c. Salutem.

Serenissime Rex,

CUM Suecorum Regnum per hosce dies summis populi studiis, omniumque ordinum suffragiis liberrimis translatum ad vos esse, toto orbe terrarum percrebuerit, id maluisse Majestatem vestram suis literis amicissimis, quàm vulgatâ famâ nos intelligere, & summæ benevolentiæ erga nos vestræ, & honoris inter primos attributi argumentum haud leve esse ducimus. Illam itaque vestris meritis egregiis accessionem dignitatis, præmiumque virtute tantâ dignissimum, & sponte, & jure vobis gratulamur: idque ut Majestati vestræ, Suecorumque Genti, rei que toti Christianæ bonum atque faustum sit, quod & vobis maximè in votis est, junctis precibus Deum oramus. Quòd autem fœderis inter hanc Rempublicam, Sueciæque Regnum recens icti conservationem Majestas vestra, quod ad se attinet integerrimam, usque eò curæ sibi fore confirmat, ut quæ nunc intercedit amicitia, non permanere solum, sed, si id fieri potest, augescere etiam indies possit, id vel in dubium vocare nefas esse, tua tanti Principis fide interposita, cujus eximia virtus non solum in peregrina terra Regnum tibi hæreditarium peperit, sed tantum etiam potuit, ut augustissima Regina, Gustavi filia, cui parem omni laude Heroinam multa retrò sæcula non tulere, possessione imperii justissima inopinanti tibi ac nolenti ultrò cederet. Vestrum denique tam singulare erga nos studium, tamque præclaram animi significationem nobis esse gratissimam omni ratione persuasum esse vobis cupimus; nullumque nobis pulchrius certamen fore, quàm ut vestram humanitatem nostris officiis nullo tempore defuturis, si id potest fieri, vincamus.

Westmonasterio, die
4 Julii 1654.

Majestatis vestræ Studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS, Reip. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c. Protector.

Illustrissimo Domino LUDOVICO MENDEZIO DE HARO.

QUOD accepi ex literis tuis, Illustrissime Domine, constitutum ac nominatum jam esse ab Serenissimo Hispaniarum Rege Legatum, qui de suscepta à me Anglicana Republica gratulatum huc primo quoque tempore veniret; cum est merito per se gratum, tum tu id, qui ex te imprimis hoc me cognoscere voluisti, ut esset mihi aliquanto gratus atque jucundius, singulari tuo studio atque officii celeritate effecisti. Sic enim diligi atque probari me abs te, qui virtute tua atque prudentia tantam apud Regem tuum auctoritatem tibi conciliaisti, ut vel maximis illius Regni negotiis par animo præsuis, haud minori profecto mihi voluptati debet esse, quam judicium præstantissimi viri ornamento mihi intelligo fore. De meo autem in Serenissimum Hispaniarum Regem propensio animo, & ad amicitiam cum isto regno conservandam, atque etiam indies exaugendam promptissimo, & huic qui nunc adest Legato satisfacisse me spero; & alteri, cum advenerit, cumulatè satisfacturum. De cætero, Illustrissime Domine, qua nunc flores apud regem tuum dignitate ac gratia, eam tibi perpetuam exopto; quasque res geris bono publico & administras, volo tibi prosperè feliciterque evenire.

Albâ Aulâ, Septembris
die, 1654.

Amplitudinis tue Illustrissimæ Studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS, Protector Reipub. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c.

Serenissimo Principi CAROLO GUSTAVO ADOLPHO, Suecorum, Gothorum,
Vandalorumque Regi, &c.

CUM de voluntate vestræ Majestatis in me singulari ex vestris sim nuper literis persuasus, quibus & ipse pari studio rescripserim, videor mihi ex ratione prorsus amicitiae nostræ deinceps facturus, si quemadmodum quæ grata acciderint ad lætitiâ mutuam communicem, ita quæ contraria, de iis vobis tanquam amicissimis, animi mei sensum doloremque aperiâ. De me equidem sic existimo, eo me in loco Reipub. jam esse constitutum; ut communi Protestantium, paci imprimis & quantum in me est consulere debeam. Quo gravius necesse est feram quæ de Bremensium & Suecorum præliis mutuisque cladibus ad nos perferuntur. Illud primum doleo, amicos utrosque nostros tam atrociter tamque Protestantium rationibus periculose, inter se decertare; pacem deinde illam Monasteriensis quæ Reformatis omnibus summo præsidio credebatur fore, ejusmodi peperisse infelix bellum: ut nunc arma Suecorum in eos conversa sint quos inter cæteros paulo ante religionis causâ acerrimè defenderent: idque potissimum hoc tempore fieri, cum Pontificii per totam fere Germaniam Reformatos ubique rursus opprimere, & ad intermissas paulisper injurias vimque pristinam redire palam dicantur. Cum itaque intelligerem dierum aliquot inducias ad Bremam urbem jam esse factas, non potui sane quin Majestati vestræ, occasione hac datâ, significarem quam cupiam ex animo quamque enixè Deum pacis orem, uti istæ induciæ utrique parti feliciter cedat; utque in pacem firmissimam ex compositione utrinque commodâ possint desinere: quam ad rem si meam operam conferre quicquam aut usui fore Majestas vestra judicaverit, eam vobis libentissimè ut in re Divino Numini procul dubio acceptissimâ polliceor atque defero. Interea Majestatis vestræ consilia omnia ut ad communem Christianæ rei salutem dirigat Deus atque gubernet, quod idem non dubito, quin & vos maximè velit, animitus exopto.

Albâ Aula Oct. 26. 1653.

Majestatis vestræ studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS, Prot. Reip. Angliæ; &c.
Mag-

Magnificis Amplissimisque Consulibus ac Senatoribus Civitatis BREMENSIS.

EX literis vestris per Oratorem vestrum Henricum Oldenburgum ad nos datis, coortum civitati vestræ cum vicino potentissimo diffidium, quasque exinde ad angustias redacti sitis, eò majore cum molestia ac dolore intelligo, quo magis Bremensem Civitatem præter cæteras Orthodoxâ religione præstantem diligo atque amplector; neque in votis quicquam habeo antiquius, quàm ut universum Protestantium nomen fraterno consensu atque concordia in unum tandem coalescat. Lætari interim communem Reformatorum hostem hisce nostris contentionibus & ferocius passim instare certissimum est. Ipsa autem controversia, cum decisionis nostræ non sit quæ vos jam nunc exercet, Deum itaque oro ut quæ cœptæ sunt induciæ possint foelicem exitum sortiri. Equidem quod petistis ad Suecorum Regem ea de re scripsi suaor pacis atque concordia, Deo nimirum imprimis gratæ, meamque operam ut in re tam pia libens detuli, vos uti æquum animum, neque ab ullis pacis conditionibus, honestis quidem illis, abhorrentem suadeo geratis; vestramque civitatem divinæ tutelæ ac providentiæ commendo.

Albâ Aulâ Octob. 26. 1654.

Amplitudinis Vestræ Studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ Illustrissimo Principi
Tarentino S. P. D.

Perspectus ex literis tuis ad me datis Religionis amor tuus, & in Ecclesias Reformatas pietas eximia, studiumque singulare, in istâ præsertim generis nobilitate ac splendore, eoque sub Regno in quo deficientibus ab Orthodoxa fide tot sunt nobilissimis quibusque spes uberes propositæ, tot firmioribus incommoda subeunda, permagno me planè gaudio ac voluptate affecit. Nec minus gratum erat placuisse me tibi eo ipso Religionis nomine, quo tu mihi dilectus atque charus imprimis esse debes. Deum autem obtestor ut quam de me spem Ecclesiarum & expectationem esse ostendis, possim ei aliquando vel satisfacere, si opus erit, vel demonstrare omnibus, quàm cupiam non deesse. Nullum equidem fructum laborum meorum, nullum hujus quam obtineo in Repub. meâ sive dignitatis sive muneris, nec ampliorem existimarem, nec jucundiorum, quàm ut idoneus sim, qui Ecclesiæ Reformatæ vel amplificationi vel incolumitati, vel quod maximum est, paci inserviam. Te verò hortor magnopere ut religionem Orthodoxam qua pietate ac studio à majoribus acceptam profiteris, eâdem animi firmitate atque constantiâ ad extremum usque retineas. Nec sanè quicquam erit te tuisque Parentibus religiosissimis dignius, nec quod pro tuis in me meritis, quanquam tuâ causâ cupio omnia, optare tibi melius, aut præclarius queam, quàm si sic te pares atque instituas, ut Ecclesiæ, præsertim patriæ, quarum in disciplina tam felici indole tamque illustri loco natus es, quanto cæteris præluces, tanto firmius in te præsidium suis rebus constitutum esse sentiant. Vale.

Albâ Aulâ die Aprilis 1655.

OLIVERIUS

OLIVERIUS Protector Reipub. ANGLIÆ Serenissimo Principi IMMANUELI
SABAUDIÆ Duci, PEDEMONTII, salutem.

Serenissime Princeps,

R Edditæ sunt nobis Genève, nec non ex Delphinatu aliisque multis ex locis ditione vestræ finitimis literæ, quibus certiores facti sumus, Regalis vestræ Celsitudinis subditis Reformatam Religionem profitentibus, vestro Edicto atque autoritate imperatum nuper esse, uti triduo quàm hoc edictum promulgatum erit suis sedibus atque agris excedant pœnâ capitis, & fortunarum omnium amissione proposita, nisi fidem fecerint se derelictâ religione suâ, intra dies viginti Catholicam Religionem amplexuros: Cumque se supplices ad Celsitudinem vestram Regalem contulissent, petentes uti edictum illud revocetur, utque ipsi pristinam in gratiam recepti, concessâ à Serenissimis Majoribus vestris libertati restituantur, partem tamen exercitus vestri in eos impetum fecisse, multos crudelissime trucidasse, alios vinculis mandasse, reliquos in deserta loca montesque nivibus coopertos expulisse, ubi familiarum aliquot centuriæ, eo loci rediguntur ut sit metuendum ne frigore & fame, brevi sint miserè omnes perituræ. Hæc cum ad nos perlata essent, haud sane potuimus quin, hujus afflictissimi populi tanta calamitate auditâ, summo dolore ac miseratione commoveremur. Cum autem non humanitatis modo, sed ejusdem religionis communione, adeoque fraternâ penitus necessitudine cum iis conjunctos nos esse fateamur, satisfieri à nobis neque nostro erga Deum officio, neque fraternæ charitati, neque religionis ejusdem professioni posse existimavimus, si in hac fratrum nostrorum calamitate ac miseria solo sensu doloris afficeremur, nisi etiam ad sublevanda eorum tot mala inopinata, quantum in nobis est situm, omnem operam nostram conferamus. Itaque à vestra imprimis Celsitudine Regali majorem in modum enixè petimus & obtestamur, ut ad instituta Serenissimorum Majorum suorum, concessamque ab iis omni tempore & confirmatam subditis suis Vallsibus libertatem velit animum referre. In quâ concedendâ atque confirmandâ, quemadmodum id præstiterunt, quod Deo per se gratissimum proculdubio est, qui conscientiæ jus inviolabile ac potestatem penes se unum esse voluit, ita dubium non est quin Subditorum etiam suorum meritam rationem habuerint, quos & in bello strenuos ac fidelissimos & in pace dicto semper audientes experti fuissent. Utque Serenitas Vestra Regalis in cæteris omnibus & benignè & gloriosè factis Avorum suorum vestigiis optimè insistit, ita in hoc nolit ab iisdem discedere etiam atque etiam obsecramus; sed & hoc edictum, & si quod aliud inquietandis Reformatæ Religionis causâ subditis suis rogatum sit, uti abroget; ipsos patriis sedibus atque bonis restituat; concessa jura ac libertatem pristinam ratam iis faciat; accepta damna sarciri, & eorum vexationibus finem imponi jubeat. Quod si fecerit Regalis Celsitudo vestra, & rem Deo acceptissimam fecerit, miseros illos & calamitosos erexerit & recrearit, & à suis omnibus vicinis, quotquot Reformatam Religionem colunt, maximam gratiam inierit; nobisque potissimum, qui vestram in illos benignitatem atque clementiam obtestationis nostræ fructum arbitrabimur. Quod & ad omnes officiorum reddendas vices nos obligaverit; nec stabiliendæ solùm verum etiam augendæ inter hanc Remp. vestramque ditionem necessitudinis & amicitie fundamenta firmissima jecerit. Neque verò hoc minus ab justitia vestra & moderatione animi nobis pollicemur: quam in partem Deum Opt. Max. oramus uti mentem vestram & cogitationes flectat: vobisque adeo vestroque populo pacem ac veritatem & successus rerum omnium felices ex animo precamur.

Albâ Aulâ, May 1655.

OLIVERIUS

OLIVERIUS Protector Reipub. ANGLIÆ, &c. Serenissimo Principi
TRANSYLVANIÆ, Salutem.

Serenissime Princeps,

EX literis vestris sexto decimo Novembris 1654, ad nos datis, singularem erga nos benevolentiam vestram atque studium perspeximus; & Internuntius vester qui illas nobis literas dedit de contrahenda nobiscum societate & amicitia voluntatem vestram ampliùs coram exposuit. Nos certè occasionem hanc esse datam, unde nostrum quoque erga vos animum, & quanti Celsitudinem vestram meritò faciamus declarare atque ostendere possimus, haud mediocriter sanè gaudemus. Cum autem Vestra in Rempublicam Christianam præclara merita laboresque suscepti ad nos usque famâ pervenerint & hæc omnia certiùs, & quæ ampliùs rei Christianæ vel defendendæ vel promovendæ causa in animo habeatis Celsitudo vestra suis literis communicata nobis amicissimè voluerit, ea uberiores insuper lætandi materiam nobis attulere: Deum nempe iis in regionibus excitasse sibi tam potentem atque egregium suæ gloriæ ac providentiæ ministrum; qui, cum virtute atque armis tantum possit, de religione communi Protestantium tuenda, cui nunc undique malè & dictum & factum est, nobiscum unà sociare consilia cupiat. Deus autem qui utrisque nobis tametsi locorum intervallo tam longè disjunctis, eundem Religionis Orthodoxæ defendendæ studium atque animum iniecit, dubium non est quin earum præcipue rationum author nobis futurus sit, unde & nobis & inter nos & Reformatorum reliquis principibus ac civitatibus hac in re maximo esse adjumento atque usui possimus, occasionibus certè omnibus intenti, si quas Deus obtulerit, iis quod ad nos attinet, eodem Deo benè juvante, non deerimus. Interea Celsitudini Vestræ sine summo dolore commemorare non possumus quanta inclementia Dux Allobrogum subditos suos Alpinarum quarundam Vallium incolas Orthodoxam Religionem retinentes persequutus sit. Quos non solùm severissimo Edicto quotquot Romanam Religionem suscipere recusarunt sedes avitas, bonaque omnia relinquere coëgit; verùm etiam suo exercitu adortus est, qui multos crudelissime concidit, alios barbarè per exquisitos cruciatus necavit, partem verò maximam in montes expulit fame & frigore absumendam, exultis domibus, & siqua eorum bona ab illis carnificibus non sint direpta. Hæc ut ad vos jamdudum nuntiata sunt & Celsitudini Vestræ tantam crudelitatem graviter displicuisse, & vestram opem atque auxilium, quantum in vobis est, illis miserrimis, siqui tot cædibus atque mîleriis adhuc supersunt, non defuturum, nobis facilè persuadetur. Nos literas Duci Sabaudia ad deprecandum ejus infensum in suos animum jam scripsimus; sicut & Gallorum Regi, idem ut is etiam velit facere; vicinis denique Reformatae Religionis Principibus uti de illa sævitia tam immani quid nos sentiamus intelligere possint: quæ quanquam in illos inopes primum cœpta est, idem tamen omnibus eandem religionem profitentibus minatur: eoque majorem illis prospiciendi sibi in commune suisque omnibus consulendi necessitatem imponit: quam & nos eandem rationem, prout Deus nobis in animum induxerit, semper sequemur. Id quod Celsitudo vestra persuadere sibi poterit quemadmodum & de singulari nostro erga se studio atque affectu, quò prosperos rerum omnium successus vobis animatùs exoptamus; & vestra incœpta omnia atque conatus, quibus Evangelii cultorumque ejus libertati studeatis fœlicem exitum fortiri volumus.

2

Albâ Aulâ, May 1655.

OLIVERIUS

OLIVERIUS Protect. Serenissimo Principi CAROLO GUSTAVO ADOLPHO, SUECORUM Regi, Salutem.

Pervenisse nuper in regna vestra illius Edicti acerbissimi famam quo dux Sabaudiaë subjectos sibi Alpinos incolas, Reformatam Religionem profitentes, funditus afflixit, & nisi religione Romanâ suam mutare fidem à Majoribus acceptam intra dies viginti velint, patriis sedibus exterminari jussit, unde multis interfectis, cæteri spoliati, & ad interitum certissimum expositi, per incultissimos montes, hyememque perpetuam fame & frigore confecti cum conjugibus ac parvulis jam nunc aberrant, & hæc graviter tulisse Majestatem vestram nobis persuasissimum est. Nam Protestantium nomen atque causam, tametsi inter se de rebus non maximis dissentiunt, communem tamen & penè unam esse, adversariorum par in omnes Protestantes odium facile demonstrat. Et Suecorum Reges, suam cum Reformatis conjunxisse semper causam illatis etiam in Germaniam armis ad Protestantium religionem sine discrimine tuendam, nemo est qui ignoret: petimus imprimis igitur, idque majorem in modum, à Majestate vestra (nisi id jam fecerit, quod & Reformatorum aliæ Respublicæ & nos fecimus) ut cum Sabaudiaë Duce per literas velit agere; suaque autoritate interpositâ, & hanc tantam edicti atrocitatem ab hominibus cum innocuis tum religiosi, deprecando, si fieri potest, avertere conetur: etenim hæc initia tam sæva quo spectent, quid nobis omnibus minentur, admonere vestram Majestatem supervacuum esse arbitramur. Quod si is iræ suæ, quam nostris omnium precibus auscultare maluerit: Nobis profecto, siquod est vinculum, siqua religionis charitas aut communio credenda atque colenda est, communicato prius vestra cum Majestate, cæterisque Reformatorum primoribus consilio, alia quamprimùm ineunda ratio erit, qua provideri maturè possit, nè tanta innocentissimorum fratrum nostrorum multitudo omni ope destituta miserrimè pereat. Quod idem quin Majestati vestræ visum jam sit atque decretum cum nullo modo dubitemus, nihil consultius, ut nostra quidem fert sententia, esse poterit quam ut gratiam, autoritatem, consilia, opes, & siquid aliud necesse est, in hanc rem primo quoque tempore conferamus. Interea Majestatem vestram Deo Opt. Max. commendatam ex animo volumus.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Excelsis & Præpotentibus Dominis
FOEDERATI BELGII Ordinibus.

Edictum Ducis Sabaudiaë nuperrimum in subjectos sibi Alpinos incolas, Orthodoxam Religionem antiquitus profitentes, quo illi edicto, ni intra dies viginti fidem Romanam amplectantur, exuti fortunis omnibus, patriæ quoque sedes relinquere jubentur, & quantâ crudelitate in homines innoxios atque inopes, nostrosque, quod maximè refert, in Christo fratres illius edicti auctoritas grassata sit, occisis permultis ab exercitus parte contra eos missa, direptis reliquis atque domo expulsis, unde illi cum conjugibus ac liberis fame & frigore conflictari inter asperrimos montes nivesque perpetuas jamdiu coacti sunt, rumore & vicinis undique ex locis creberrimis literis ac nunciis cognovisse vos jamdudum existimamus. Qua autem animi commotione, quo sensu fraternæ calamitatis hæc vos affecerint, facile ex dolore nostro qui certe est gravissimus intelligere videmur. Qui enim eodem religionis vinculo conjuncti sumus, quidni iisdem plane affectibus in tam gravi atque indigna fratrum nostrarum commoveremur. Et vestra quidem in Orthodoxos ubicunque locorum disiectos atque oppressos spectata pietas atque in multis Ecclesiarum difficultatibus & adversis rebus jam

sæpe cognita est. Ego certe, nisi me fallit animus, quavis in re potius, quàm studio & charitate erga fratres religionis causâ violatos atque afflictos vinci sustineam: quandoquidem Ecclesiarum salutem atque pacem incolumitatî etiam propriæ libens prætulim. Quod igitur hætenus potuimus, ad Sabaudia Ducem scripsimus; suppliciter penè rogantes ut in hos homines innocentissimos & subditos & supplices suos placatiorem animum ac voluntatem suscipiat, suas sedes atque fortunas miseris reddat, pristinam etiam in religione libertatem concedat. Scripsimus præterea ad summos Protestantium Principes & Magistratus, ad quos hæc maximè pertinere judicavimus, ut in Sabaudia Duce exorando suam conferre operam nobiscum unà velint. Hæc eadem, & plura forsitan vos quoque fecistis. Nam exemplum hoc tam periculosum, & instaurata nuper in Reformatos tanta crudelitas si auctoribus benè cedat, quantum in discrimen adducta religio sit vestram commonefacere prudentiam nihil attinet. Et is quidem si flecti nostris omnium precibus & exorari se passus erit præclarum nos atque uberem suscepti hujus laboris fructum ac præmium reportabimus. Sin ea in sententia persistit, ut apud quos nostra Religio vel ab ipsis Evangelii primis Doctoribus tradita per manus & incorruptè servata, vel multo antè quàm apud cæteras Gentes sinceritati pristina restituta est, eos ad summam desperationem redactos, deletos funditis ac perditos velit, paratos nos esse commune aliquod vobiscum cæterisque Reformatis fratribus ac sociis consilium capere, quo & saluti pereuntium justorum consulere commodissimè queamus, & is demum sentiat Orthodoxorum injurias atque miseria tam graves non posse nos negligere. Valete.

Civitatis HELVETIORUM Evangelicis.

NON dubitamus quin ad aures vestras aliquanto citius quàm ad nostra illa nuper calamitas pervenerit Alpinorum hominum religionem nostram profitentium, qui Sabaudia Ducis in fide ac ditione cùm sint, sui Principis edicto patriis sedibus emigrare jussi ni intra triduum satisdeditissent se Romanam Religionem suscepturos, mox armis petiti & ab exercitu Ducis sui occisis, etiam permultis in exilium ejecti, nunc sine lare, sine tecto, nudi, spoliati, afflicti, fame & frigore moribundi, per montes desertos atque nives cum conjugibus ac liberis miserrimè vagantur. Multo est minus cur dubitemus quin hæc, ut primum vobis nuntiata sunt pari atque nos tantarum miserationum sensu eoque fortasse graviore quo illorum finibus propiores estis, dolore affecerint. Vestrum enim in primis Orthodoxæ fidei studium egregium summamque in eâ cum retinendâ constantiam tum defendendâ fortitudinem abundè novimus. Cum itaque religionis arctissimâ communione Fratres, vel potius unum corpus, cum his miseris vos pariter nobiscum sitis, cujus membrum nullum affligi sine sensu, sine dolore, sine detrimento atque periculo reliquorum potest, scribendum ad vos hac de re & significandum censuimus quanti nostrum omnium interesse arbitremur, ut Fratres nostros ejectos atque inopes communi ope atque auxilio, quoad fieri potest, juvemus & consolemur; nec eorum tantummodo malis & miseriis removendis, verum etiam nequid serpat latius, nequid periculi exemplo atque eventu vel nobis omnibus creari possit, maturè prospiciamus. Literas nos quidem ad Sabaudia Ducem scripsimus, quibus uti cum Subditis suis fidelissimis pro clementiâ suâ lenius agat, eosque jam prope perditos suis sedibus ac bonis restituat, vehementer petivimus. Et his quidem nostris, vel nostrum potius omnium conjunctis precibus, exoratum iri Principem Serenissimum quodque ab eo tanto opere petivimus, facile concessurum speramus. Sin illi in mentem secus venerit, communicare vobiscum consilia parati sumus, quæ potissimum ratione oppressos tot injuriis atque vexatos innocentissimos homines, nobisque charissimos in Christo fratres, sublevare atque erigere, & ab interitu certissimo
atque

atque indignissimo conservare possimus. Quorum salutem atque incolumitatem pro vestra pietate vobis quam maxime cordi esse confido: Ego eam certe vel gravissimis meis rationibus, immò incolumitati propriâ potiorē habendam esse existimem. Valete.

Westmonasterio, Maii 19, 1655.

O. P.

Superscript.

Illustribus atque amplissimis Dominis, Helveticorum Pagorum Protestantium & Confœderatarum Civitatum Consulibus ac Senatoribus, Salutem.

Serenissimo Potentissimoque Principi LUDOVICO GALLIÆ Regi.

Serenissime Potentissimeque Rex,

EX Literis Majestatis Vestræ, quibus illa ad meas quinto & vigesimo Maii proximi, datas rescribit, facilè intelligo nequaquam fefellisse me eam opinionem, quâ mihi quidem persuasum erat, cædes illas immanissimas, barbaramque eorum hominum stragem, qui Religionem Reformatam in Sabaudia profitentur, à cohortibus quibusdam vestris factam, neque jussu vestro neque mandato accidisse. Quæ quantum Majestati vestræ displicuerit, id vos vestris militum Tribunis, qui hæc tam inhumana suo solo impetu injussi perpetraverant, ita maturè significasse, deque tanta crudelitæ Ducem ipsum Sabaudia monuisse, pro reducendis denique istis miseris exulibus unde pulsi sunt, vestram omnem gratiam, necessitudinem, auctoritatem tanta cum fide atque humanitate interposuisse, majorem equidem in modum sum lætatus. Ea nempe spes erat, illum Principem voluntati ac precibus Majestatis vestræ aliquid saltem hac in re fuisse concessurum. Verùm cum neque vestro, neque aliorum Principum rogatu atque instantiâ in Misericordiarum causa quicquam esse impetratum perspiciam, haud alienum ab officio meo duxi, ut hunc nobilem virum extraordinarii nostri Commissarii munere instructum ad Allobrogum Ducem mitterem; qui tantæ crudelitatis in ejusdem nobiscum Religionis cultores, idque ipsius Religionis odio adhibitæ, quo sensu afficiar, uberius eidem exponat. Atque hujus quidem Legationis eo feliciorem exitum speravero, si adhibere denuò & adhuc majore cum instantiâ suam auctoritatem atque operam Majestati Vestræ placuerit; & quemadmodum fideles fore illos inopes dictoque audientes Principi suo ipsa in se recepit, ita velit eorundem incolumitate atque saluti cavere, ne quid iis hujusmodi injuriæ & calamitatis atrocissimæ innocentibus & pacatis deinceps inferatur. Hoc cum in se justum ac verè regium sit, nec non benignitati vestræ atque clementiæ, quæ tot subditos vestros eandem illam Religionem sequentes ubique salvos & incolumes præstat, summè consentaneum, à Majestate Vestra, ut par est, non possumus quin expectemus. Quæ hac simul operâ, cum universos per sua Regna Protestantes, quorum studium erga vos summaque fides maximis in rebus perspecta jam sæpe & cognita est, arctius sibi devinxerit, tum exteris etiam omnibus persuasum reddiderit, nihil ad hoc facinus contulisse Regis consilium, quicquid Ministri Regii atque Præfecti contulerunt. Præsertim si Majestas Vestra pœnas ab iis Ducibus ac Ministris debitas repetiverit, qui auctoritate propria, suæque pro libidine tam immania patrare scelera sunt ausi. Interea cum Majestas Vestra factum hoc inhumanissimum, quo dignum est odio, aversari se testetur, non dubito quin miseris illis atque ærumnosis ad vos confugientibus, tutissimum in Regno suo receptum atque perfugium sit præbitura; nec Subditorum suorum cuiquam, ut contra eos Duci Allobrogum auxilio adsit, permissura. Extremum illud est; ut Majestatem Vestram,

quanti apud me sua amicitia sit, certiolem faciam: Cujus rei neque fructum ullo tempore defuturum confirmo.

Albâ Aulâ, Julii 29. 1655.

Majestatis Vestræ Studiosissimus,
Oliverius Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c.

Eminentissimo Domino Cardinali MAZARINO.

Eminentissime Domine Cardinalis,

CUM nobilem hunc virum cum literis, quarum exemplar hic inclusum est, ad Regem mittere necessarium statuissem, tum ei, ut Eminentiam vestram meo nomine salutaret, simul in mandatis dedi, certasque res vobiscum communicandas ejus fidei commisi: Quibus in rebus Eminentiam rogo vestram, uti summam ei fidem habere velit, utpote in quo Ego summam fiduciam reposuerim.

Albâ Aulâ, Julii 29. 1655.

Eminentia vestra studiosissimus,
Oliverius Protector Reipublicæ Angliæ.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, Serenissimo Principi FREDERICO III. DANIÆ, NORWEGIÆ, &c. Regi, Salutem.

QUAM severo nuper, & inclementi edicto Allobrogum Dux Immanuel suos ipse Subditos Alpinarum Vallium incolas, innoxios homines & religionis cultu purioris jam multis ab sæculis notos ac celebres, religionis causa finibus patriis egerit, &, occisis permultis, reliquos per illa desertissima loca malis omnibus & miseriis inopes ac nudos exposuerit, & audisse jamdudum arbitramur Majestatem Vestram, & gravissimum ex ea re, prout tantum Reformatæ Fidei Defensorem ac Principem decuit, dolorem percepisse. Siquidem pro institutis Christianæ Religionis quæ mala atque miseria pars aliqua nostrorum patitur, earum sensu penitus eodem tangi omnes debemus; & sanè omnibus nobis & universo Protestantium nomini hujus facti eventus atque exemplum, quid periculi ostendat, nemo Vestra Majestate, si nos ejus pietatem atque prudentiam rectè novimus, melius videt. Scripsimus itaque libenter, ut quem dolorem ob hanc Fratrum innocentissimorum calamitatem, quam sententiam, quod judicium de re tota vestrum esse speramus, idem planè & nostrum esse significemus. Itaque ad Ducem Sabaudia literas dedimus, in quibus uti miseris atque supplicibus parcat, illudque atrox edictum porro esse ratum ne sinat, magnopere ab eo petivimus. Quod si Majestas Vestra, cæterique Reformatorum principes fecerint, ut jam fecisse credimus, spes est leniri posse Serenissimi Ducis animum, & hanc iram suam tot saltem vicinorum Principum intercessioni atque instantiæ condonaturum; sin perseverare in instituto suo maluerit, paratos nos esse testamur cum Majestate Vestra, cæterisque Religionis Reformatæ fociis eam inire rationem quâ tot miserorum hominum subvenire quamprimum inopiæ, providere saluti ac libertati pro virili parte nostra possimus. Vestræ interea Majestati bona omnia atque fausta à Deo Opt. Max. precamur.

2

Westmonasterio, Maii 1655.

OLI-

OLIVERIUS Protector Reipub. ANGLIÆ, &c. Amplissimis Consulibus & Senatoribus Civitatis GENEVENSIS, Salutem.

Summum dolorem nostrum quem ex maximis & inauditis Protestantium calamitatibus Valles quasdam Pedemontanas incolentium percepimus, quos Allobrogum Dux tanta crudelitate persequutus est, jampridem vobis exposuissimus, nisi id magis operam dedissemus ut eodem tempore intelligeretis tantis eorum miseriis non affici nos solum, verum etiam de sublevandis iis atque solandis, quantum in nobis est prospicere. Quapropter Eleemosynas per hanc totam Rempublicam colligendas curavimus: quas ejusmodi fore haud immerito expectamus, quæ nationis hujus affectum erga fratres suos tam immania perpeffos demonstrare possint, & quemadmodum religionis eadem utrinque communio est, ita sensum quoque eundem calamitatum esse; interea dum pecuniæ collectio maturatur, quod sine spatio temporis fieri nequit, & miserorum istorum egestas atque inopia pati moram non potest, necessarium duximus duo millia librarum Anglicarum quanta fieri potuit celeritate præmittere inter eos distribuenda qui præsentissimâ ope atque solatio indigere maximè videbuntur. Cum autem nescii non simus innocentissimorum hominum miseriæ atque injuriæ quantopere vos affecerint, nec vobis quicquam labori aut molestiæ fore quod illis adjumento atque auxilio esse possit, prædictam pecuniæ summam illis calamitosis curandam ac numerandam ad vos transferre non dubitavimus; idque vobis negotii dare, ut pro vestrâ pietate ac prudentiâ providere velitis qua ratione æquissimâ quam primum illa pecunia egentissimis quibusque distribui queat, ut quamvis summa sane exigua sit, aliquid tamen sit saltem quo illi inopes recreari ac refici in præsens aliquantum possint, donec uberiores iis copiam suppeditare poterimus: vos hanc vobis datam molestiam æqui bonique consulturos esse cum non dubitemus, tum etiam Deum Opt. Max. oramus uti populo suo Religionem orthodoxam profitenti det animum sui in commune defendendi, sibi que mutuò opem ferendi contra hostes suos immanissimos; qua in re nostram quoque operam Ecclesiæ utcunque usui fore lætaremur. Valet.

Junii 8. 1655.

Mille quingentæ Libræ de prædictis bis millibus à Gerardo Henish Parisiis, quingentæ reliquæ per literas à Domino Stoupio curabuntur.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ Serenissimo Principi VENETIARUM Duci.

Serenissime Princeps;

CUM rebus vestris omnibus contra hostem præsertim Christiani nominis prospere gestis lætari semper consuevimus, tum & illo navalis prælii novissimo successu nequaquam sanè dolemus, quamvis id aliquo nostrorum cum detrimento accidisse intelligamus. Ostenderunt enim nobis per libellum supplicem Negotiatores quidam nostri Gulielmus & Daniel Gulielmi nec non Edoardus Bealus navem suam, cui nomen Princeps magnus, Constantinopolim ab se commercii causâ missam nuper fuisse eam navem ab aulæ Turcicæ ministris ad com meatum & milites in Cretam insulam deportandos retentam, dum in illa classe Turcarum coacta eo navigaret quæ à classe Venetorum oppugnata in itinere & superata est, captam & Venetias abductam, ab maritimarum causarum judicibus adjudicatam publico fuisse. Cum itaque inscientibus dominis

dominis & nullo modo probantibus navis illa Turcis operam dare invitissima coacta sit, seque ex ea pugna explicare militibus referta non potuerit, Serenitatem Vestram magnopere rogamus, ut sententiam illam maritimæ curiæ velit nostræ amicitiae condonare, navemque illam suis dominis, de Vestra Republica nullo suo facto malè meritis, restituendam curare. Qua in re impetranda nobis præsertim petentibus, cum mercatores ipsos de vestra clementia benè sperare videamus nos utique de ea dubitare non debemus: qui & præclara vestra consilia remque Venetam terrâ marique maxima uti pergat fortunare Deus omnipotens ex animo optamus..

Westmonasterio, Decemb. 1655.

Serenitatis vestræ Venetæque Reip. studiosissimus,
Oliverius Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Serenissimo Principi LUDOVICO
GALLIARUM Regi.

Serenissime Rex;

Mercatores aliquot nostrates, quorum nomina sunt Samuel Mico, Gulielmus Co-
cainus, Georgius Poynerus, alique complures per libellum supplicem nobis ostenderunt se anno 1650, in navem quandam, cui insigne Unicornus erat, permagnas rationes suas contulisse: eam navem bombyce, oleo aliisque mercibus onustam, quæ, plus minus, triginta quatuor millibus librarum nostrarum ab iisdem æstimata sunt, ab nave prætoria, & proprætoria Majestatis Vestræ in Mediterraneo Mari Orientali oppressam atque captam fuisse: nostros autem illa in navi, propterea quod nobis eo tempore cum Gallis illibata pax erat, cum contra naves regias vi se defendere nolissent, promissis Pauli & Terrerii Navarchorum inductos, qui velle se nostros dimittere aiebant, prolatis onerum libellis, maritimis legibus paruisse: Mercatores proinde suprâ dictos procuratorem suum, qui navem illam ac bona restituenda sibi peteret, in Galliam misisse: ibi post triennium eoque amplius consumptum, cum ad sententiam de restitutione ferendam perventum jam esset, Cardinalis Mazarini Eminentiam eorum procuratori Hugoni Morello factam mercatoribus istis injuriam agnovisse; datumque iri satisfactionem, ut primùm confirmata pax inter utramque gentem, fœdusque, quod tum agitabatur, confectum atque ratum esset, in se repecisse: immò recentius Majestatis Vestræ apud nos Legatum Excellentissimum Dominum de Bordeaux ex mandato vestro vestrique Concilii, disertis verbis confirmasse, hujus navis atque bonorum peculiari exceptione habitum iri rationem, etiam seorsim ab iis controversiis, de quibus in commune decidendis ex fœdere provisum est: hujus promissi Legatum ipsum, qui nunc percommode negotiorum quorundam suorum causâ ad vos transineavit, testem esse posse locupletem. Quæ cum ita sunt, jusque horum mercatorum in repetendis rebus suis tam præclare constet, à Majestate Vestrâ majorem in modum petimus, ut in eo obtinendo nulla iis mora diutiùs afferatur, velitque nostro rogatu has nobis redintegratæ amicitiae & instaurati recens fœderis esse primitias. Quod & fore confidimus, vobisque fausta omnia vestroque regno à Deo Opt. Max. precamur.

Westmonasterio, Decemb. 1655.

Majestatis vestræ studiosissimus,
Oliverius Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

Civitatibus HELVETIORUM Evangelicis.

EX vestris ad nos tam actis publicis per Commissarios nostros Genève transmissis, quam literis 27 Decembris Tyguri datis, quo in loco res vestræ sint, cum non sint optimo, satis superque intelligimus: In quo etsi pacem vestram, tamque diuturnum Sociale fœdus ruptum dolemus, tamen cum id vestrâ culpâ nequaquam accidisse appareat, novam hinc vobis ex Adversariorum iniquitate & pertinacia illustrandæ fortitudinis, constantiæque vestræ in Evangelica fide jam olim cognitæ parari rursus materiem confidimus. Nam Suteses, qui Religionem nostram si quis amplectatur, Capitale censent, quid moliantur, quibus hortatoribus tam hostiles Spiritus in Orthodoxam Religionem susceperint, latere neminem potest, cui modò indignissima illa fratrum nostrorum in Pedemontio facta strages animo nondum excidit. Quapropter, Dilectissimi Amici, quod soletis esse, aspirante Deo fortes estote; jura vestra atque fœdera, immo conscientiæ libertatem, Religionemque ipsam idolorum cultoribus obculcandam concedere nolite; vosque ita parate ut non propriæ duntaxat libertatis atque salutis propugnatores esse videamini, sed ut fratribus quoque vicinis, Pedemontanis præsertim illis ærumnosissimis, quibus potestis rebus, opitulari atque adesse possitis: hoc certò persuasi per illorum corpora ac necesse ad vestra latera illum nuper adiutum fuisse patefactum. De me scitote, incolumitatem vestram resque prosperas non minùs mihi curæ ac sollicitudini esse quàm si in hac nostra Rep. coortum hoc incendium, quam si in nostras cervices expeditæ Sutesium secures illæ (sicuti revera sunt in omnes Reformatos) strictique enses essent. Ut primum itaque à vobis de statu rerum vestrarum, & obstinato hostium animo certiores facti sumus, adhibitis in Concilium viris quibusdam honestissimis & Ecclesiæ aliquot Ministris pietate spectatissimis, de subsidio vobis mittendo, quantum quidem rationes nostræ in præsentia ferre possunt, ea decrevimus, quæ Commissarius noster Pellus vobiscum communicabit. De cætero vestra omnia consilia causamque imprimis hanc vestram justissimam sive pace sive bello tuendam, Deo Opt. Max. fautori commendare non desinimus.

Westmonasterio, Jan. 1655.

Vestrarum Amplitudinum ac Dignitatum
studiosissimus
Oliverius Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Serenissimo Principi CAROLO GUSTAVO, Dei Gratia SUECORUM, GOTHORUM, VANDALORUMQUE Regi, Magno Principi FINLANDIÆ, &c.

Serenissime Rex;

CUM amicorum inter se mutua omnia, tam adversa quam prospera, atque communia debere esse nemo non intelligat, quòd jucundissimam amicitiae partem Majestas Vestra, gaudium nempe suum impertitum nobis per suas literas voluerit, non potest id quidem nobis non esse longè gratissimum: quandoquidem & hoc singularis indicium humanitatis, verèque Regia est, ut nec vivere, ita ne gaudere quidem sibi soli velle nisi amicos quoque & fœderatos eadem, quâ se, lætitiâ affectos esse sentiat. Itaque Regi tam præstanti & natum esse Filium Principem, quem Paternæ virtutis atque gloriæ speremus hæredem, meritò gaudemus, & idem quod Regi olim fortissimo, Philippo Macedoni sive felicitatis sive decoris domi simul & foris contigisse gratulamur:

lamur: Cui eodem tempore & natus Alexander filius, & Illyricorum gens potentissima subacta memoratur. Nam & Poloniæ Regnum vestris armis ab imperio Papano quasi cornu quoddam avulsum & cum Duce Brandenburgico pax piorum votis omnium exoptata, freudentibus licet adversariis, facta, quin ad Ecclesiæ pacem atque fructum permagnum sit momentum habitura non dubitamus. Det modò finem Deus tam præclaris initiis dignum; det modò filium, virtute, pietate, rebusque gestis patri similem: id quod & auguramur fanè & à Deo Opt. Max. tam vestris rebus jam antè propitio, ex animo precamur.

Westmonasterio, Feb. 1655.

Majestatis Vestræ Studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c.

DANIÆ Regi.

Serenissime ac Potentissime Princeps;

Questi sunt per libellum supplicem suo aliorumque mercatorum Londinensium nomine nobis exhibitum Joannes Fremannus & Philippus Travesius hujus Reip. cives, se circiter mensem Octobris 1653. cum in navem quandam Sunderburgensem, cui nomen Salvatori, Nicolao Weinshinks magistro, merces varias, pannum laneum, aliamque vestem textilem ac mercimonia plus tribus millibus librarum æstimata imposuissent, magistro mandasse, ut per Fretum Balticum recto cursu Dantiscum navigaret utque ad Elfenoram vectigal solveret, eique etiam pecuniam ad eam rem curasse: supradictum tamen magistrum perfidiosè, & contrà quàm ipsi à mercatoribus mandatum erat, prætervectum Ellenoram nullo portorio soluto Balticum pernavigasse. Navisque per hanc causam cum toto onere non sine magno mercatorum damno publicata atque retenta est. Quorum in gratiam jampridem ad Legatum Majestatis vestræ Londini tunc temporis commorantem scripsimus; qui, ut ipsi aiunt, pollicitus est, ut primum ad Majestatem vestram rediisset, daturum operam, uti ratio mercatorum haberetur. Verum cum is postea aliis in regionibus Majestatis Vestræ negotia obiret, & ante discessum ejus & postea frustra se eum adiisse ostendunt: unde procuratorem suum mittere coacti sunt, qui jus suum Hafniæ persequeretur, navemque illam ac bona liberari, sibique reddi flagitaret: verum exinde nullum se fructum percepisse, nisi ut ad damna vetera novas impensas, & susceptum frustra laborem adjungerent: cum fisco damnata, & retenta hætenus sint bona, tametsi ex lege Daniæ, quemadmodum ipsi in libello suo demonstrant, magister quidem navis ob suum delictum est ipse puniendus, navisque, non bona, proscriptioni sunt obnoxia: eoque gravius accidisse sibi hoc malum existimant, quòd, sicuti nobis perlatum est, vectigal illud quod Elfenoræolvere debuisset, est admodum exiguum. Quapropter, cum mercatores nostri nullum proscriptioni causam præbuisse videantur, confessusque ipse magister paulo ante obitum sit, suo solum delicto illatum hoc mercatoribus detrimentum esse, cumque Pater defuncti jam magistri ipse per libellum supplicem Majestati Vestræ exhibitum, sicuti nos accepimus, culpam omnem in filium suum contulerit, mercatores absolverit, haud sane potuimus quin navis illius bonorumque retentionem iniquissimam esse arbitraremur; adeoque confidimus, simulatque Majestas Vestra hac de re certior facta erit, fore ut non modo has ministrorum suorum injurias improbet, verum etiam ipsos rationem reddere, bonaque illa suis Dominis eorumve procuratoribus quamprimum restitui damnaque inde data sarciri jubeat. Quod & nos à Majestate vestra majorem in modum petimus, utpote rem usque adeo æquam & rationi consentaneam, ut æquiores petere aut expectare in causa tam justa nostrorum civium non posse videamur, haud minus æqua vestris subditis, quoties data occasio erit, reddituri.

Sere-

Serenissimo Principi JOANNI Quarto LUSITANIÆ, &c. Regi.

Serenissime Rex;

QUAM pacem & amicitiam cum Anglicanâ Republicâ Majestas Vestra, Legatione amplissimâ ac splendidissimâ jampridem ad nos missâ, expetivit, eam à Parlamento, quæ tum potestas rebus præfuit, inchoatam, & à nobis summo semper studio exoptatam, Deo imprimis favente, proque eâ quam accepimus Reipublicæ administratione, feliciter tandem confecimus, & in perpetuum, uti spes est, sanximus. Itaque Legatum vestrum extraordinarium Dominum Joannem Rodericum de Saa Meneses, Comitem Pennaguiadanum, virum cum Majestatis vestræ judicio comprobatum, tum humanitate, ingenio, prudentiâ, fide præstantissimum à nobis repertum, cum expleti muneris egregiâ laudē, & reportatâ secum pace, vobis reddimus. Quod autem per literas secundo die Aprilis Ulyssipone datas, Majestas vestra quanti nos faciat quamque impensè dignitati nostræ faveat, nosque Rempublicam suscepisse gubernandam quanto-pere lætata sit, haud obscuris indiciis singularis benevolentiae testatur, id vero mihi gratissimum esse, ex meis in Majestatem vestram paratissimis omni tempore officiis, dabo operam ut facilè posthac omnes intelligant. Neque segniùs interea pro incolumitate vestra, vestrique regni felici statu, rerumque prospero successu conceptis ad Deum precibus contendo.

Majestatis Vestræ Studiosissimus,

OLIVERIUS Reipub. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c. Protector.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reipub. ANGLIÆ, &c. Excelsis & Præpotentibus
FOEDERATI BELGII Ordinibus S. D.

Excelsi & Præpotentes Domini, amici charissimi;

OStendunt nobis mercatores quidam, cives nostri Thomas Busselus, Richardus Bearus, alique focii navem quandam suam Edmundi & Joannis nomine insignitam dum ab ora Brasiliæ Olyssiponem contenderet ab navi quadam prædatoria Flissingensi cui nomen Rubro Leoni, Magister Lambertus Bartelsonus, oppugnatam se dedidisse; verum ea lege & pacto (id quod ipsum Lamberti chirographum obsignatum testatur) ut navis, & quæcunque in illa fuissent Anglorum bona, Flissingæ restituerentur: eò cum appulsum est, navem quidem & nauticorum peculia reddita, mercatorum Anglicorum bona adempta eorumque auctionem statim esse factam: se mercatores nempe quibus hoc damni datum est, cum in foro Flissingensium suas res repeterent, iniquissima sententia lata, litem cum grandibus impensis post quinquennium perdidisse, ab iis nimirum judicibus abjudicatam, quorum nonnulli cum in illa navi prædatoria suas rationes collatas habuissent; & judices & adversarii & rei simul erant: nihil jam sibi superesse spei nisi in vestra æquitate & incorrupta fide, ad quam nunc demum confugiunt: eam sibi fore propensiores existimarunt, si nostra commendatio accessisset. Et hominibus condonandum hoc sane est, si in hac tanta fortunarum suarum dimicatione omnia timentibus, quid ab summa auctoritate atque potentia vestra sibi metuendum, quam quid apud integros præsertim judices de sua causa sit bene sperandum sæpius in mentem veniat: nos quin religione, justitiâ, integritate vestrâ potius quam rogatu nostro adducti, quod æquum, quod justum, quod vobis denique dignum est judicaturi sitis,

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non dubitamus. Deus vos vestramque Rempub. ad gloriam suam, suæque Ecclesiæ præsidium conservet.

Westmonasterio, April. 1. 1656.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi CAROLO GUSTAVO Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, Magno Principi Finlandiæ, Duci Esthoniæ, Careliæ, Bremæ, Verdæ, Stetini, Pomeraniæ, Cassubiæ & Vandaliæ, Principi Rugiæ, Domino Ingriæ, Wismariæ, necnon Comiti Palatino Rheni, Bavariæ, Jul. Cliviæ & Montium Duci, &c.

Serenissime Princeps;

Perfunctus Legatione suâ apud nos Petrus Julius Coictus, atque ita perfunctus ut suâ debitâ laude non inornatus à nobis dimittendus sit, ad Majestatem vestram revertitur. Fuit enim cum vestro præcipuè nomine, quod jure apud nos plurimi esse debet, nobis gratissimus, tum suo etiam merito, suo nempe munere diligentissimè obito, haud parum acceptus. Quam igitur commendationem vestram de eo accepimus, eam (si quid ad eam accedere testimonio ullo potest) & ab ipso impletam, & à vobis meritisimè datam, libentes utique testamur: quemadmodum & is poterit nostrum erga Majestatem vestram singulare studium & observantiam, eâdem fide atque integritate ad vos referre, verissimeque exponere. Extremum illud est ut Majestati vestræ felicitatem omnem victoriarumque cursum contra omnes Hostes Ecclesiæ perpetuum, à Deo Opt. Maximoque optemus.

Westmonasterio, April. 17. 1656.

Majestatis vestræ Studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS, Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi LUDOVICO Galliæ Regi, S. D.

Serenissime Princeps;

Adierunt ad nos per libellum supplicem, Joannes Dethic urbis Londini in hunc annum præfectus, & Gulielmus Wakefield Mercator, conquesti, se anno 1649, Calendas circiter Octob. navem quandam cui nomen Jonæ Londinensi, Jona quoque cognomento Lighthaghe Magistro, suis mercibus, quæ Ostendam mitterentur, onerasse: eam navem à prædone quodam Barkingenfi, cui nomen White (is filii Regis Caroli defuncti nomine piraticam faciebat) in ipso Thamesis ostio oppressam, atque inde Dunkirkam, quæ eo tempore in ditione Gallorum erat, fuisse abductam; cum autem edicto Majestatis vestræ ann. 1647, & ann. rursus 1649, aliquot etiam consilii Regii decretis, in gratiam Parlamenti Anglicani, cautum esse intelligerent, ne naves ullæ aut merces, illius belli tempore, quoquo obtentu Anglis ereptæ, in Majestatis vestræ portus quoscunque asportarentur, venalesve essent, misisse se statim Dunkirkam procuratorem suum Hugonem Morellum negotiatorem, qui à Domino Lestrado illius oppidi per id tempus præfecto, reddi sibi suam navem cum mercibus postularet, cum eas præsertim magnâ ex parte adhuc integras, neque dum permutatas aut divenditas, in ipso oppido deprehendisset:

hendisset : respondit Præfectus, se Regis Galliarum dono, ob navatam Reipublicæ operam, præfecturam eam accepisse : curaturum proinde, uti ea sibi pretium operæ sit. Hoc responso frustratus, post magnum cum temporis tum pecuniæ dispendium, procurator domum revertitur. Petitores, quæ restat sibi spes, eam in vestra sola clementiâ atque iustitiâ repositam esse vident ; ad quam per nostras literas faciliorem sibi aditum fore crediderunt : ea ne desit hominibus contra jus omne, & repetita vestra interdicta spoliatis, rogamus. Quod tamen si impetrabimus, quandoquidem hoc sanè æquissimum videtur, ab infinitâ æquitate vestrâ, potius quam rogatu nostro, impetratum id esse statuimus.

Westmonasterio, Maii, 1656.

Majestatis vestræ Studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS, Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Excelsis & Præpotentibus Dominis
FOEDERATI BELGII Ordinibus S. D.

Excelsi & præpotentes Domini, amici charissimi ;

DEmonstrarunt nobis per libellum supplicem Joannes Brunus, Nicolaus Gulielmus, alique Londinenses, se, cum in navem, cui Bonæ Esperantæ Londinensi nomen inditum erat, in Orientalem Indiam navigaturum, sortem quisque suam contulisset, procuratori suo negotium dedisse Februario mense 1644, ut bis mille quadringentas libras Belgicas ad illius navis periculum præstandum Amsterodami curaret : ea navis cum in itinere ad oram ipsam Indiæ ab Hollandica quadam, quæ ex navibus Orientalis illius societatis erat, capta esset ; qui præstando periculo se obligaverant, pactam pecuniam numerare recusasse ; & sextum jam annum posse nostros, qui summam cum assiduitate maximisque impensis jus suum persecuti sunt, dilationibus variis eludere. Quod cum petitoribus grave admodum atque iniquum videatur, & nonnulli ex iis qui se obligarunt vel jam diem obierint vel solvendo non sint, nequid fortè ad priora damna summi discriminis accedat, magnopere à vobis petimus, ut per tot annos in foro jactatis ac propriè naufragis istis vestram æquitatem portum esse atque perfugium velitis ; utque de causa sua, quam illi iustissimam esse confidunt, primo quoque tempore iudicium fiat. Vobis interim omnia ad Dei gloriam Ecclesiæque præsidium faustè atque feliciter evenire volumus.

Excelsarum & præpotentium Dominationum vestrarum Studiosissimus,

Westmonasterio,
Maii, 1656.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reipub. ANGLIÆ, &c. Excelsis & præpotentibus Dominis
FOEDERATI BELGII Ordinibus S. D.

Excelsi & præpotentes Domini, amici charissimi ;

Conqueruntur apud nos graviter iidem, de quibus antea circa idus Septemb. superioris anni literas ad vos dedimus, Thomas & Gulielmus Lower defuncti Nicholai Lower hæredes legitimi, se adversariorum suorum sive gratiâ sive opibus oppressos, quamvis

quamvis causa sua imprimis optima, & cum id satis non esset, literis etiam nostris ter deinceps commendati fuissent, impetrare hæcenus nullo modo posse ut relictam testamento hæreditatem adire sibi liceat: Ab Hollandiæ foro ubi primum actio instituta erat vestram ad Curiam rejecti, inde in Zelandiam transmissi (quæ tria in loca totidem nostras literas attulerunt) ab Zelandia nunc rursus ad vestrum summum judicium haud inviti remittuntur: ubi enim potestas summa est, ibi æquitatem quoque summam esse sperant: si ea spes fallat, elusi atque irriti, post hanc tantam juris obtinendi causâ concursationem suam, quem demum consistendi locum habituri sint, nesciunt: nam de literis nostris, si his jam quartis nos viderint nihil proficere, non est ut in posterum quicquam sibi polliceantur. Nobis certè gratissimum erit, si post tot rejectiones, factò sine mora judicio, hæredes plurimum quidem in æquitate atque justitiâ vestrâ, aliquid etiam in autoritate apud vos nostrâ præsidii sibi fuisse intellexerint. Quorum de altero non dubitamus, alterum vel amicitia nostræ duros vos esse confidimus.

Excelsarum & præpotentium Dominationum vestrarum Studiosissimus,

Westmonasterio, Maii, 1656.

OLIVERIUS, Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Serenissimo Principi JOANNI LUSITANIÆ Regi.

Serenissime Rex;

CUM mercatoribus quibusdam Anglis à nonnullis mercatoribus Lusitanis ex societate Brasiliensi vecturæ commorationisque nomine Ann. 1649, & 1650, grandis pecunia debeatur, quæ pecunia à supradicta societate jussu Majestatis Vestræ retinetur, expectabant quidem dicti mercatores uti ea pecunia ex conditionibus proximi fœderis jampridem sibi numerata esset. Verùm ne amputetur sibi spes omnis ac ratio recuperandi sua debita verentur, ex quo intelligunt statuissè Majestatem Vestram ut quam pecuniam Brasiliensis societas ipsis debuisset, in ærarium vestrum inferretur, utque portorii dimidia pars solvendis iis debitis impenderetur; atque hoc pacto mercatores legitimum duntaxat lucrum, sive fœnus pecuniæ suæ accepturi essent; ipsâ forte interim funditis intereunte. Quod nos nobiscum reputantes quam durum sit, eorumque justissimis precibus victi, has nostras ad Majestatem vestram literas ipsis concessimus: hoc potissimum à vobis postulantes uti præstandum curetis, ut supradicta societas Brasiliensis hujus Reipub. Mercatoribus quamprimum satisfaciat tam de summâ pecuniæ cuique eorum debitâ, quam de fœnore quinquennali: cum hoc & per se justum sit, & fœderi nuper vobiscum inito consentaneum: quod & nos eorum nomine à Majestate Vestra peramicè petimus.

Majestatis Vestræ Studiosissimus

OLIVERIUS Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c.

Ex Palatio nostro Westmonasterio, die Julii, 1656.

OLIVERIUS

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Serenissimo Principi CAROLO
GUSTAVO Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.

Serenissime Rex ;

CUM amicitiam Majestatis Vestræ tanti Principis rebusque gestis tam clari meritò plurimi faciamus, tum is cujus operâ fœdus inter nos arctissimum sancitum est, Illustrissimus Dominus Christiernus Bondus Legatus Vester Extraordinarius necesse est gratus nobis & commendabilis hoc nomine imprimis fuerit. Hunc itaque hac Legatione laudatissimè perfunctum non sine summa cæterarum etiam virtutum egregiarum laude ad vos dimittendum censuimus : ut qui antea in pretio apud vos atque honore fuit, nunc uberiores assiduitatis atque prudentiæ suæ fructus ex hac nostra commendatione percepisse se sentiat. Quæ reliqua transigenda sunt, de iis Legationem brevi mittendam ad Majestatem Vestram decrevimus : quam interim Deus incolumem defendendæ Ecclesiæ suæ Reique Sueciæ columnen conservet.

Majestatis Vestræ Studiofissimus,
OLIVERIUS Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

Ex Palatio nostro Westmonasterii, Julii An. Dom. 1656.

OLIVERIUS Prot. Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Serenissimo Principi LUDOVICO Galliæ
Regi, S. D.

Serenissime Rex, Amice ac Fœderate charissime ;

DEtulerunt ad nos per libellum supplicem Mercatores quidam Londinenses Richardus Baker ejusque focii, navem quandam Anglicanam ab se conductam, cui nomen vernaculum The Endeavour, Magister Gulielmus Joppus, trecentis atque tredecim vini optimi culeis ex Tenariffâ Insula Londinûm advehendis onustam, dum inter Palmam & supradictam Insulam cursum teneret, à quatuor navibus Gallicis, in speciem quidem onerariis, sed prædatorium in modum armatis, quibus Ægidius de la Roche Navarchus erat, primo ac vigesimo Novembris die, An. Dom. 1655. occupatam fuisse, atque in Orientalem Indiam, quo is iter sibi esse prædicabat, cum omni onere ac ple-
risque nautarum abductam ; reliquis quatuordecim ad Guineam Nigritarum in littus quoddam expositis. Quod eo consilio Ægidius fecisse se dictitabat, nequis eorum ex terra tam longinqua & inhumana forte elapsus testimonio læderet. Fatebatur enim, se neque mandatis instructum, ut Anglorum naves caperet, neque alias quas poterat antea cepisse, ut propterea quod inter Gallos nostramque Remp. per eos ipsos dies convenisse pacem non ignorabat : sed cum in Portugallia constitutum sibi esset commeatus accipere, & ab adversis ventis rejectus attingere ea loca non potuisset, coactum se, ad supplendum quæ opus sibi essent, iis uti quæ in ista nave reperisset : credere se proinde, illarum navium dominos de damno satisfacturos. Damnum autem constat supra sedecim mille libras Anglicas, id quod ex juratis testibus facile apparebit, Mercatoribus nostris datum. Verùm si tam levibus de causis temerare acta principum religiosissima & quasi ludibrio habere negotiatoribus quibusvis ob sua commoda licuerit, concidet profecto omnis posthac fœderum sanctitas, omnis Principum fides atque authoritas obsolescet, proque nihilo habebitur. Quapropter non rogamus tantum, sed Majestatis Vestræ quàm maximè interesse arbitramur, ut qui Regis sui fœdus, jusque jurandum sanctissimum primi omnium tam facile violare sunt ausi, quamprimum dent pœnas tantæ per-

fidiae atque audaciae debitas; utque illarum interea navium Domini de damno, etiam ipso suorum praepudio, mercatoribus nostris summam per injuriam illato, satisfaciant. Deus Majestatem Vestram diutissime conservet, Remque Gallicam contra communem utriusque nostrum hostem tueatur atque sustineat.

Majestatis Vestrae Studiosissimus,

OLIVERIUS Protector Reipub.

Ex Palatio nostro Westmonasterii, die Augusti An. Dom. 1656.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIAE Eminentissimo Domino Cardinali
MAZZARINO.

Eminentissime Domine,

CUM dandae mihi literae ad Regem essent, eandem quoque ad Eminentiam vestram scribendi occasionem arbitrabar mihi oblatam: cujus enim unius viri prudentia singularis Gallorum res maximas, summaque Regni negotia pari fide, consilio, ac vigilantia moderatur, eum celari qua de re scriberem non convenire existimabam. Foedus enim à vobis, quod dubitare nefas esset, sanctissime percussum, eodem penè die spretum ac violatum à Gallo quodam Aegidio quatuor navium praefecto ejusque focis nequaquam inscientibus querimur: quemadmodum & ex literis nostris ad Regem datis, & ex ipsis mercatorum nostrorum postulatis facile poterit cognoscere Eminentia vestra; quam praeter ceteros non fugit, quanti non magistratuum duntaxat, verum etiam ipsius Regiae Majestatis intersit violatores foederum primos eos severius puniri. Verum illi fortasse, quo tendebant, in Orientalem Indiam jam nunc appulsi, nostrorum bona contra jus omne atque fidem in recentissimo foedere erepta, veluti praedam ab hostibus captam sibi habent. Illud est interea quod Eminentiam Vestram rogamus, ut quae ab navium praefecto, tanquam itineri suo necessaria, nostris ablata sunt, ea ab illarum navium Dominis, id quod ipsi praedatores aequum esse censebant restituantur: qua in re Vestram Eminentiam, qua valet autoritate, plurimum posse intelligimus.

Ex Palatio nostro Westmonasterii,
die Augusti An. 1656.

Eminentiae Vestrae Studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS Prot. Reip. Angliae, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIAE, &c. Excelsis & praepotentibus Dominis
FOEDERATI BELGII Ordinibus, S. D.

Excelsi & Praepotentes Domini, Amici ac Foederati charissimi;

NON dubitamus nos quidem quin omnes testimonium hoc nobis perhibitori sint, nullas in contrahendis externis amicitii rationes defendenda Religionis veritate potiores unquam nobis fuisse, nec conjungendis eorum animis, qui Protestantium vel amici ac defensores, vel saltem non hostes essent, antiquius nos quicquam habuisse. Quo graviore animi dolore commovemur, quoties annuntiatum est, Protestantium Principes ac Civitates quae sibi mutuo amicissimae summæque concordēs esse deberent, suspectos inter se esse & non optimè animatos; vos praesertim Regemque Sueciae, quibus fortiores Orthodoxa fides defensores non habet, neque socios nostra Respub. sibi conjunctiores, videri non aequè ac consuevistis vobis invicem confidere, immo indicia quaedam vel nascentis inter vos dissidii, vel vacillantis amicitiae haud obscura apparere. Causae quae fuerint utrinque, & usque quo progressa animorum alienatio sit, ignotum esse nobis profiteamur: veruntamen haud potuimus quin gravem sane molestiam animo caperemus ex ipsis initiis vel minimae dissensionis inter fratres coortae, ex qua

qua tantum creari Protestantium rebus discrimen necesse sit; quæque si ingravesceret (quod Deus ne fiverit) quantum inde Reformatis Ecclesiis periculum impenderet, quanta triumphandi materies inimicis nostris, & Hispanis potissimum daretur, latere vestram prudentiam usumque rerum solertissimum non potest. Hispano certe, tantum hinc fiducia tantum spiritus accessit, ut non dubitaverit per Legatum suum apud vos commorantem, sua vobis consilia, idque de summa Reip. vestrae audacissime obtrudere: & partim injecto renovandi belli metu terrere, partim ostentatâ utilitatis falsâ specie sollicitare vestros animos, est ausus, ut relictis ejus hortatu amicis vetustis ac fidelissimis, Gallo, Anglo, atque Sueco, arctissimam cum hoste ac tyranno quondam vestro, pacato nunc scilicet; &, quod maxime metuendum est, blandiente, coire societatem velletis. Sane qui ex hoste inveteratissimo, arreptâ tam levi occasione pro consiliario repente vestro se gerit, quid est quod iste sibi non sumeret, quò non audaciæ progredetur, si cernere id semel oculis posset quod nunc animo duntaxat concipit atque molitur, discordiam nempe inter Protestantes ac bellum intestinum. Nescii non sumus, vos, pro sapientia vestra, qui sit Europæ universæ status, quæ Protestantium præsertim conditio sæpius cum animis vestris cogitare; Helvetiorum Pagos Orthodoxam fidem sequentes novorum motuum à popularibus suis fidem Papæ sequentibus jam jamque ciendorum expectatione suspensos teneri, ex eo vix dum bello emerfos quod Religionis planè causâ ab Hispano, qui hostibus eorum & duces dederat & pecuniam suppeditaverat, conflatum est atque accensum; Vallium Alpinarum incolis consilia Hispanorum eandem rursus machinari cædem atque perniciem quam superiore anno crudelissime intulerunt; Protestantes Germanos sub ditione Cæsaris gravissime vexari, sedesque Patrias ægrè retinere; Regem Sueciæ quem Deus, uti speramus, fortissimum religionis Orthodoxæ propugnatorem excitavit, cum potentissimis Reformatæ fidei hostibus bellum anceps atque asperrimum totis regni viribus gerere; vestris Provinciis infesta vicinorum Papistarum, quorum princeps Hispanus est, nuper ista fœdera minitari; nos denique indicto Hispanorum Regi bello esse occupatos. In hac rerum inclinatione siqua inter vos Regemque Sueciæ discordia existeret, Reformatarum totius Europæ Ecclesiarum quam miseranda conditio esset, quæ inmanium hostium crudelitati ac furori objicerentur? Hæc nos cura haud leviter tangit; eundemque vestrum esse sensum confidimus, proque vestro in communi Protestantium causa præclaro semper studio, utque pax inter fratres eandem fidem eandem spem sequentes intemerata servetur, vos vestra consilia ad has rationes esse accommodaturos, quæ cæteris quibuscunque anteponendæ sunt, nec quod paci inter vos Sueciæque Regem stabiliendæ possit conducere, quicquam esse omisso. Qua in re si nos usus ullius esse possumus, quantum apud vos vel autoritate vel gratiâ valemus, nostram vobis operam libentissime profitemur, Sueciæ quoque Regi eandem deferre paratissimi, ad quem etiam Legationem quamprimum mittere in animo habemus, quæ hac de re quid nostræ sententiæ sit, exponat. Deumque vestros utrinque animos ad moderata consilia flexurum esse speramus, vosque cohibiturum, nequid ab alterutrâ parte fiat quod irritare possit, remque ad extrema deducere: sed ut contrâ, pars utraque remove vellet quicquid alterutri offensum aut suspiciosum esse queat. Id si feceritis, & hostes frustrabimini, & amicis solatio eritis, & vestrae denique salutis Reipubl. quàm optimè prospicietis. Hoc etiam uti persuasissimum sit vobis rogamus, daturos nos esse operam, quoties facultas oblata erit, uti nostrum erga Fœderatas Belgii Provincias summum studium benevolentiaque appareat. Deum proinde assiduis precibus obtestamur, ut vestram Remp. pace, opibus, libertate, atque imprimis Christianæ fidei amore ac vero cultu florentissimam conservare perpetuò velit.

Ex Palatio nostro Westmon.
die Aug. 1656.

Vestrarum Celsitudinum Potentium Studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Serenissimo Principi JOANNI
LUSITANIÆ Regi, S. D.

Serenissime Rex;

DIE undecimo Julii proximi stylo veteri sanctionem pacis à Majestate Vestra jam rata, à Legato vestro Extraordinario Londini transactæ, nec non arcanorum & præliminarium articulorum per Thomam Maynardum accepimus: perque literas à Philippo Meadow nostro Olyssiponi Internuntio eodem tempore datas, nostram etiam dictæ pacis & articulorum sanctionem, pro iis mandatis quæ à nobis eâ de re acceperat, Majestati Vestræ ab ipso redditam intelligimus: cum suprädicta sanctionis instrumenta inunte Junio proximo vicissim data acceptaque fuissent, adeo ut nunc inter utramque gentem pax firmissima sancita sit. Quâ ex pace nos quidem voluptatem haud mediocrem percipimus; propterea quòd eam & communi utriusque gentis utilitati fore arbitramur, hostiumque communium haud levi detrimento: qui ut prioris fœderis turbandi rationem aliquam primò invenerunt, ita nunc ne idem instaurari fœdus posset, intentatum nihil reliquerunt. Neque dubium nobis est quin suspicionum utrinque offensionumque inter nos materiam creandi occasionem nullam prætermisuri sint. Quas nos quidem, quantum in nobis est, quàm longissimè amovere animo nostro ita constanter decrevimus, immo ut majorem indies mutuam fiduciam hæc nostra pariat necessitudo, tam vehementer cupimus, ut eos pro hostibus habituri simus, qui ullis artibus amicitiam nostram imminuere conabuntur inter nos nostrosque populos hac pace stabilitam; eundemque esse Majestatis Vestræ animum ac voluntatem facilè nobis persuademus: Cumque placuerit Majestati Vestræ suis in literis ad nos quarto & vigesimo Junii stylo novo datis, & diebus aliquot post instrumentum confirmatæ pacis datum atque acceptum nostro Internuntio traditis, clausularum quarundam hujus fœderis mentionem facere quas aliquantum immutatas velit, ut quæ huic Reipublicæ, quemadmodum Majestas Vestra censet, levis admodum sint momenti, Portugalliæ Regno maximi, peculiari tractatione agere iis de rebus quæ à Majestate Vestra proponuntur, & si quid præterea fœderi stabiliendo vel etiam arctiùs obstringendo conducere alterutri parti videbitur, parati erimus: in qua Majestatis Vestræ, sui que populi haud secus atque nostri, ut utrisque æquè satisfiat, rationem habebimus: atque hæc omnia Olyssiponi an Londini agitanda ac transigenda sint, vestra optio erit. Verùm hoc fœdere jam rato, signisque gentis utriusque ritè obsignato, dato denique vicissim atque accepto, immutare partem ejus ullam idem esset atque totum rescindere; quod Majestatem Vestram minimè velle pro certo habemus. Majestati Vestræ fausta omnia ac prospera exoptamus.

Ex Palatio nostro Westmonasterii,
Augusti die 1656.

Majestatis Vestræ Studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Serenissimo Principi JOANNI
LUSITANIÆ Regi, S. D.

Serenissime Rex;

Perlatum ad nos est facinus illud inhumanum ac nefarium, quo cædes Philippi Meadows Internuntii apud vos nostri, transigendæ pacis causâ à nobis missi attentatâ est: cujus atrocitas tanta fuit, ut Divino plane Numini atque tutelæ ejus conservatio attribuenda sit. Nosque ex litteris Majestatis Vestræ sexto & vigesimo Maii proximi

proximi ad nos datis, perque Thomam Maynardum nobis redditis, permotam facti indignitate Majestatem Vestram de authoribus jussisse quæri intelligimus, ut supplicium de iis, pro eo ac meriti sunt, sumatur. Verum comprehensos esse ullos ex iis, aut iusta vestra hac in parte quicquam effecisse nondum accepimus. Quapropter nostrum esse duximus palam significare, tentatum illud facinus barbarum, & partim commissum quàm indignè feramus: atque adeo à Majestate Vestra postulamus, ut ab illius facinoris authoribus, sociis, administris supplicium debitum repetatur: Et quo hoc maturius fiat, ut honestissimi integerrimique viri, quique gentis utriusque paci quàm maximè student, huic quæstioni præficiantur, quo res penitus investigari, tamque in authores sceleris quam in ministros severius animadverti possit. Id nisi fiat, neque Majestatis Vestræ justitia, neque nostra hujusque Reipub. existimatio vindicari, neque conservandæ inter utramque gentem amicitia ulla ratio firma esse poterit. Majestati Vestræ sceleris faustaque omnia precamur.

Ex Palatio nostro Westmonasterii
Aug. die 1656.

Majestatis Vestræ Studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Illustrissimo Domino Comiti
MIRANO, S. D.

Illustrissime Domine;

Singulare tuum erga me atque hanc Rempub. studium haud mediocriter nos demeruit, tibi que devinxit: id vestris ex literis 25 Junii proximi ad me scriptis facile perspexi, tum etiam ex iis quas ab Internuntio nostro Philippo Meadows conficiendæ pacis causâ ad Lusitaniam Regem à nobis missò, accepi: quibus is de eximio vestro studio atque opera in hac pace transigenda abundè nos docuit: hujus novissimam sanctionem & accepi libentissimè, mihi que persuadeo fore, ut neque collatæ in hanc pacem operæ tuæ, neque in Anglos benevolentia, neque fidei erga Regem hac in re spectatæ unquam te pœniteat: quandoquidem, annuente Deo, sperandum est, hanc pacem & utrique genti permagna emolumenta, & hostibus incommoda haud exigua esse allaturam. Quod solum in hoc negotio triste atque infaustum accidit, fuit illud facinus in Internuntium nostrum Philippum Meadows nefariè susceptum atque tentatum: Cujus in occultos auctores haud segnius inquiri oportuit quam in manifestos sceleris ministros: neque de Regis vestri justitia ac severitate in tanto scelere puniendo, neque de tuâ cum primis ad eam rem operâ, ut qui fas piùmque colas, & pacis inter utramque nationem studiosus fueris dubitare possum: quæ quidem stare nullo modo potest, si facta hujusmodi nefaria impunita atque inulta ibunt. Verum tua facinoris illius nota detestatio facit ut necesse mihi non sit plura de hac re in præsentia dicere. Cum itaque de meâ erga te benevolentia quam & rebus omnibus demonstrare paratissimus ero, certiorum te fecerim, extremum illud est, ut te tuaque omnia Divinæ benignitati ac tutelæ à me scias esse commendatissima.

Ex Palatio nostro Westmonasterii,
Aug. die 1656.

Amplitudinis Vestræ Studiosissimus,
OLIVERIUS Prot. Reip. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Serenissimo Principi CAROLO
GUSTAVO Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.

Serenissime Rex, Amice ac Fœderate charissime;

CUM eundem nobiscum animum, idem consilium in Majestate Vestrâ inesse animadvertam, Protestantium fidei defendendæ contra hostes ejus, hoc tempore, si unquam aliàs, infestissimos, unde est quòd tam prosperis successibus vestris victoriarumque nuntiis penè quotidie lætemur, tum illud sanè vehementer doleo, quòd unum lætitiæ hanc nostram turbat atque corrumpit, perferri ad nos, inter læta cætera, vestram cum Fœderatis Belgii Provinciis amicitiam pristinam non satis constare; remque eo deductam inter vos, in mari præsertim Baltico, ut ad discordiam spectare videatur. Cujus causas quidem ignorare me fateor; eventum certe (nisi Deus avertat) Protestantium summæ rei periculosissimum fore facile perspicio. Quapropter pro illâ arctissimâ necessitudine quæ cum utrisque vestrum nobis intercedit, proque eo, quo duci omnes imprimis debemus, Religionis Reformatæ studio atque amore, nostrum esse censuimus, quemadmodum Fœderatos Belgii Ordines ad pacem & æquanimitem magnopere hortati sumus, ita nunc Majestatem vestram hortari. Satis superque hostium Protestantibus ubique est: nunquam acrioribus odiis inflammati conspirasse in exitium nostrum undique videntur. Testes Alpinae Valles haud ita pridem miserorum cæde ac sanguine redundantes; testis Austria edictis nuper & proscriptionibus Cæsariis concussa; testis Helvetia; quid enim attinet pluribus verbis tot calamitatum recentium memoriam luctumque revocare? Hæc omnia loca quis nescit Hispanorum & Romani Pontificis consilia incendiis, cladibus, vexationibus Orthodoxorum per hoc biennium miscuisse? Si ad hæc tot mala Protestantium Fratrum inter se dissensio accesserit, inter vos præsertim quorum in virtute, opibus, constantia præsidium Ecclesiis Reformatis constitutum est maximum, quantum humanæ opis est, periclitari Religionem ipsam Reformatam, atque in summo discrimine versari necesse erit. Quod contra, si universum Protestantium nomen eâ quâ decet inter se fraternâ consensione perpetuam pacem coluerit, nihil omnino erit quod pertimescamus quid hostium vel artes vel vires incommodare nobis possint, quos sola nostra concordia vel propulsabit vel frustrabitur. Quapropter Majestatem vestram majorem in modum oro atque obsecro, ut ad confirmandam cum Fœderatis Provinciis amicitiam pristinam, si qua in parte collapsa est aut imminuta, propensum atque benignum animum afferre velit. Siquid est in quo mea opera, fides, diligentia ad compositionem usui esse possit, eam omnem vobis profiteor atque defero. Deus modò aspiret, faustumque esse jubeat, quod cum summa felicitate cursuque perpetuo rerum prosperarum Majestati vestræ exopto.

Ex Palatio nostro Westmonasterii, die Aug. 1656.

Majestatis vestræ Studiosissimus,
Oliverius Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reipub. ANGLIÆ, &c. ORDINIBUS HOLLANDIÆ.

Excelsi & Præpotentes Domini, Amici charissimi;

DEmonstratum est nobis à Gulielmo Coepero Pastore Londinensi, civique nostro, Joannem le Maire Amsterodamensem focerum suum, ante annos circiter triginta tres rationem quandam excogitasse, qua Reip. vestræ reditus, sine ullo populi onere, multo

multo auctiores fierent; factaque cum Joanne van den Brook societate partiendi inter se præmii quod ex illo invento suo reportassent, id autem erat parvi Sigilli in Provinciis constitutio, ob hoc Celsitudines Vestras Præpotentes supradictæ van den Brook ejusque posteris tria millia Geldricorum (quæ trecentas libras valent) in singulos annos pensitanda spondidisse: jam verò, etsi inventa illa parvi sigilli ratio facilis admodum & expedita reperta est, magnosque ex eo tempore redditus Celsitudinibus Præpotentibus vestris, nonnullisque vestris Provinciis retulit, tamen ad hodiernam usque diem, quamvis multâ sollicitatione petito, illius pacti præmii nihildum adnumeratum esse: unde postquam supradictis van den Brook & le Maire longarum dilationum pertæsum est, actionem illam in supradictum Gulielmum Cooperum civem nostrum jure esse translatam: qui cum fructum industriæ Soceri sui percipere cupiat, ad nos per libellum supplicem se contulit, ut hanc ejus postulationem Celsitudinibus vestris Præpotentibus commendare vellemus; quod ei non esse denegandum censuimus. Quapropter Celsitudines Vestras Præpotentes amicè rogamus, uti petitionem supradicti Gulielmi Cooperi ea de re benignè audire velitis, pactumque industriæ præmium atque stipendium tam justum, & pro numero tot annorum præteritorum & annua deinceps pensione solvendum curare. Quod cum non dubitemus quin Celsitudines Vestræ Præpotentes libenter facturæ sint, utpote & justum & munificentiam vestra dignum, parati & nos vicissim erimus, vestris quoque popularibus in postulatis suis, quoties nobis edentur, æquè propenso animo favere.

Vestrarum Celsitudinum Præpotentium Studiosissimi,
 Oliverius Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

Ex Palatio nostro Westmonasterii,
 die Septemb. An. 1656.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Serenissimo Principi LUDOVICO
 GALLIÆ Regi.

Serenissime Rex, Amice ac Fœderate charissime;

INviti facimus ut Majestatem Vestram de suorum injuriis post pacem instauratam toties interpellemus: verum & vos factas nolle confidimus, & nos nostrorum querimoniis deesse non possumus. Navem Antonium Diepensem ante fœdus jure captam, ex Judicium sententia Curiae nostræ maritimæ præsidentium facile constat. Ejus prædæ partem quatuor millia plus minus coriorum Robertus Brunus Mercator Londinensis ab iis qui auctioni præfuerunt, quod & ipsi testantur, coëmit: ex iis circiter ducenta cum Diepam advecta post ratam pacem Coriario cuidam Diepensi vendidisset pecuniamque redegisset, eâ pecuniâ in manibus procuratoris sui occupata atque retenta, litem sibi impingi, suumque jus illo in foro se obtinere non posse queritur. Quocirca Majestatem Vestram rogandum censuimus, ut ad Consilium suum de re tota referri velit, pecuniamque illam iniquissima lite extricari. Etenim si ante pacem facta & judicata, post pacem rursus in controversiam atque judicium vocabuntur, quis sit fructus fœderum futurus, non videmus. Verum hujusmodi querelarum nullus finis erit, nisi in fœdifragos hosce tam frequentes exemplum aliquod severitatis maturè statuatur: id quod Majestati Vestræ quamprimùm curæ fore speramus; Quam Deus interim tutelâ sua sanctissima dignetur.

Ex Palatio nostro Westmonasterii,
 die Septemb. An. 1656.

Majestatis Vestræ Studiosissimus,
 Oliverius Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Serenissimo Principi JOANNI
LUSITANIÆ Regi.

Serenissime Rex;

TRansacta jam feliciter inter hanc Rempub. Lusitaniæque Regnum pace, nec non ad commercium quod attinet, recte atque ex ordine cautum atque sancitum cum sit, necessarium esse duximus Thomam Maynardum, à quo hæ literæ perferuntur, ad Majestatem Vestram mittere; qui Consulis munere negotiatorio vestra in ditione, ad mercatorum res rationesque ordinandas fungatur. Cum autem hoc sæpius usu venire possit, ut adeundi Majestatem Vestram fieri sibi copiam nonnunquam postulet, tam de commercio quam aliis de rebus quæ nostra hujusque Reip. interesse possint, à Majestate vestra petimus, ut illi, quoties audito opus sit, benignum velitis aditum atque aurem præbere; id vestræ erga nos benevolentia pro argumento singulari atque indicio habebimus: interim Majestati vestræ Deum Opt. Max. fortunare omnia volumus.

Ex Aula nostra Westmonasterii,
die Octob. 1656.

Majestatis vestræ Studiosissimus,
Oliverius Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

SUECORUM Regi.

Serenissime Potentissimeque Rex;

TAmeti ea est solita Majestatis vestræ & spontanea in viros bene meritos benevolentia, ut omnis eorum commendatio supervacanea possit videri, tamen nobilem hunc virum Gulielmum Vavaforem Equitem auratum, Majestatis Vestræ sub signis merentem, & ad vos jam proficiscentem nolumus sine nostris ad Majestatem Vestram literis dimittere. Quod eo libentiùs fecimus, posteaquam significatum nobis est, jampridem eum, Majestatis Vestræ auspiciis secutum, multis in præliis vestra causâ suum sanguinem profudisse: adeo ut Suecorum Reges proximi ob militarem ejus peritiam, operamque sæpe in bello strenuè navatam, eum agro & annuis pensionibus veluti virtutis præmio remuneraverint. Neque verò dubitamus quin Majestati vestræ in hodiernis bellis permagno sit usui futurus, cum sit fide ac bellicarum rerum scientia jamdiu spectata. Eum itaque Majestati Vestræ, pro eo ac meritis est, commendatum cupimus; simulque rogamus, ut quæ illi præterita stipendia processerint, solvantur. Hoc nobis erit gratissimum; nec gratificari vicissim Majestati Vestræ, quoties facultas erit, gravabimur, cui fausta omnia ac prospera exoptamus.

Ex Palatio nostro Westmonasterii,
die Octob. An. 1656.

Majestatis Vestræ Studiosissimus,
Oliverius Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Serenissimo Principi JOANNI
LUSITANIÆ Regi, S. D.

Serenissime Rex, Amice ac Fœderate Charissime;

EXhibuit nobis libellum supplicem Thomas Evans Naucerus, civis noster, in quo ostendit, se An. 1649, & 1650, cum navi sua, cui nomen Scipioni, quadringentarum amphorarum, & cui ipse præfuit, societati Brasiliensi operam navasse; eam navem cum onere toto & apparatu, Majestatis Vestræ jussu ereptam sibi esse: unde damnum homini factum, præter amissum ex tanta sorte sexennii lucrum, Commissarii ex fœdere ad decidendas controversias utrinque dati plus septem millibus librarum nostrarum, sive bis totidem Milreis Lusitanicis æstimarunt; quemadmodum & ad nos retulerunt. Quod detrimentum tam grave cum supradictum Thomam vehementer affligerit, coactus ad repetendas ex fœdere res suas Olyssipponem navigare, petiit suppliciter à nobis, ut literas nostras hac de re ad Majestatem vestram sibi daremus: nos, tametsi in communi causa mercatorum, quibus à Societate Brasiliensi debebatur, superiore anno scripsimus, tamen ne cui nostram opem poscenti defuisse videamur, Majestatem vestram pro amicitia rogamus, ut hujus nominatim hominis ratio habeatur; utque velit Majestas vestra suis omnibus ita præcipere, ut ne quid ob stare possit quo minus is in ea urbe, quod sibi à Societate Brasiliensi vel aliunde debetur, sine ullo impedimento exigere, & sine morâ possit recuperare. Deus Majestatem vestram perpetua felicitate augeat; nostramque amicitiam faxit quàm diuturnam.

Ex Palatio nostro Westmonasterii
die Octob. An. 1656.

Majestatis Vestræ Studiosissimus,
Oliverius Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protect. Reipub. ANGLIÆ, &c. Illustri & Magnifico Civitatis
HAMBURGENSIS Senatui, S. D.

Amplissimi, magnifici & spectabiles Viri, Amici charissimi;

GRavem detulerunt ad nos querimoniam Jacobus & Patricius Hays cives hujus Reip. se, sui fratris Alexandri, qui intestatus diem obiit, hæredes legitimum cum sint, atque ita ipsius Curix vestræ sententiâ ante annos duodecim secundum se latâ contra fratris viduam pronuntiati fuissent, bonaque defuncti fratris cum fructibus exceptâ solùm viduæ dote, adjudicata sibi ex eo judicio essent, non potuisse tamen hactenus, neque pro suo jure, neque literis Caroli olim Regis eadem de re scriptis ullum laborum suorum ac sumptuum ex ea sententia fructum consequi: obesse sibi scilicet potentiam atque opes Alberti van Eizen Decurionis apud vos primarii, apud quem bonorum pars maxima deposita est; eum agere omnia, ne ea bona hæredibus restituantur. Elusi, ac dilationibus confecti, summam denique ad inopiam redacti supplicant nobis ne se negligamus tantis injuriis fœderatâ in civitate oppressos. Quod nos cum officii imprimis nostri intelligamus esse, ut nequis civis noster præsidium suis rebus, atque susceptum patrociniū in nobis requirat, petimus quod a civitate vestra videamur facile impetrare posse, ut sententiam ipsimet vestram hisce fratribus ratam esse velitis; neque per causam provocationis ad Spirensē Cameram, vel primò simulatæ vel nunc irritæ, moram justitiæ fieri diutius patiamini. Nam de summa ipsius causæ jurisperitorum nostrorum sententias requisivimus; unâque descriptas ob signataf-

que ad vos misimus. Quod si rogando nihil proficitur, erit necessariò, idque ex consueto jure gentium, quod tamen minimè vellemus, ad reciproca deveniendum: id ne accadat, vos pro vestra prudentia provisuros esse confidimus.

Ex Palatio nostro Westmonasterii,
die Octob. 16. an. 1656.

Amplitudinum vestrarum studiosissimus,
Oliverius, Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reipub. ANGLIÆ, Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi
LUDOVICO GALLIÆ Regi, S. D.

Serenissime potentissimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate charissime;

Pervenisse ad Majestatem vestram literas nostras arbitramur, Maii quarto decimo superioris anni datas: in quibus Joannem Dethicum, eodem anno Londini urbis præfectum, & Gulielmum Wakefeild mercatorem, per libellum supplicem nobis ostendisse scripsimus, navem Jonam suis mercibus onustam, quæ Ostendam veherentur, Dunkirkam, quæ tum temporis in Gallica ditione erat, à prædone quondam Caroli Stuarti filii auspiciis piraticam faciente ex ipso Thamesis ostio fuisse abreptam: se, cum ex edictis vestris vestrique consilii decretis, quibus erat cautum, nequa navis Anglorum ab hostibus Parlamenti capta vestris portubus reciperetur, venalisve esset, à Domino Lestrado illius oppidi præfecto postulassent ut reddi sibi navem suam atque bona juberet, responsum ab eo tulisse, fanè neque viro primario dignum, neque eo qui Regi suo satis dicto audiens videretur, se scilicet ab Rege Galliæ ob navatam in bello operam hanc præfecturam præmio accepisse; curaturum proinde uti ea quàm maximè quæstui sibi sit: per fas videlicet ac nefas; id enim minime laborare videbatur. Quasi verò hanc præfecturam atque Provinciam Majestatis vestræ dono accepisset, ut socios juxtà spoliaret, vestraque edicta in eorum gratiam promulgata pro nihilo haberet. Quod enim Rex Galliæ, si maximè ab hostibus factum contra nos voluisset, facti tamen participes suos esse vetuit, id regius præfectus contra regium interdictum non modo fieri est passus, ut nos vestris in portubus diriperemur, prædæque essemus, verum etiam ipse diripuit, ipse prædæ habuit, seque facti authorem palam professus est. Hoc itaque responso mercatores infecto negotio irriti atque elusi discessere: nosque hæc itidem superiore anno Majestati vestræ per literas significavimus successu licet haud multo meliore; nihil dum enim responsi ad eas literas habuimus. Quod non habuerimus accidisse id credimus, propterea quòd eo tempore Præfectus ille apud exercitum in Flandria fuit; nunc in urbe ipsa Parisiorum degit, vel potius per urbem perque aulam nostrorum spoliis locupletatus impunè volitat. A Majestate igitur vestra nunc denuò id petimus, quod ipsius Majestatis vestræ interest in primis providere, nequis ad sociorum injurias edictorum regionum contemptionem audeat adjungere: sed neque ad Legatos sive Commissarios de controversiis communibus utrinque dandos rejici propriè hæc causa poterit; quandoquidem hîc non sociorum jus duntaxat, sed auctoritas ipsa vestra Regique nominis reverentia agitur. Illud enim mirum sit, si mercatores damna sua molestius quàm Majestas vestra sui ferat imminutionem. Eam si non ferat, eadem operâ simul perficiet, ut neque amicissimorum de Reipub. nostra edictorum pœnituisse, neque in suorum injuriis connivisse, neque nostræ postulationi non tribuisse quod par sit videatur.

Ex Aula nostra Westmonasterio,
die Novemb. an. 1656.

Majestati vestræ voluntate, amicitia, fœdere divinctissimus,
Oliverius Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

OLI-

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Serenissimo potentissimoque Principi
FREDERICO III. DANIÆ, NORVEGIÆ, VANDALORUM, GOTHORUMQUE
Regi; DUCI SLESVICI, HOLSATIÆ, STORMARIÆ, & DITHMARSIAE; Co-
miti in OLDENBURG & DELMENHORST, &c. S. D.

Serenissime potentissimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate charissime;

Literas Majestatis vestræ sexto decimo Februarii Hafniâ datas ab ornatissimo viro
Simone de Petkum, Oratore apud nos vestro, accepimus. Iis perlectis, & vo-
luntatis erga nos vestræ præclara significatio, & ipsius rei, de qua scriptum erat,
pondus usque eò nos permovit, ut statim ad Majestatem vestram mittere qui mandatis
nostris instructus, nostra consilia vobis hac de re plenissime exponeret, in animo ha-
beremus. Et quanquam idem nobis etiamnum animus manet, hætenus tamen idone-
um aliquem cum iis mandatis dimittere, quæ gravissimum hujusmodi negotium postu-
laret, non potuimus; quemadmodum jam brevi facturos nos esse speramus. Interea
non omittendum diutius existimavimus Majestatem vestram certiore facere, præsen-
tem rerum in Europa statum haud mediocri nos curâ ac cogitatione sollicitos tenuisse:
cum ab aliquot jam annis summo cum dolore videamus Protestantium Principes ac
civitatum Primores (quos ex communi Religionis atque salutis vinculo omnem sese
mutuò confirmandi ac defendendi inire rationem oporteret) inter se indies magis ma-
gisque infirmè animatos, quid quisque moliatur, quidve struat, suspectum habere; me-
tum amicis, spem hostibus præbentes, inimicitias atque diffidia potius hac rerum in-
clinatione portendi, quam firmum invicem animorum consensum, ad præsidium mu-
tuum ac defensionem. Atque hæc quidem sollicitudo eo altius animo nostro insedit,
quo magis in Majestate vestra, Regeque Sueciæ adhuc aliquid residere mutuæ suspi-
cionis videtur; vel saltem non eam existere voluntatum conjunctionem quam commu-
nis nostrum omnium in Orthodoxam religionem amor ac studium flagitaret; dum
Majestati vestræ injecta forte aliqua suspicio est, fore ut ab Rege Sueciæ detrimen-
tum aliquod ditionis vestræ commerciis afferatur; suspicante vicissim Suecorum Rege,
ne per vos & bellum, quod nunc gerit, difficilius, & contrahendarum societatum ra-
tio impeditior sibi reddatur. Non præterit Majestatem vestram, pro ea summa pru-
dentia quam adhibere suis omnibus in rebus solet, quantum discriminis Protestantium
summæ rei impendat, si istiusmodi suspensiones inter vos diu versentur; quanto magis,
quod Deus avertet, siquod hostilitatis indicium erumperet. Utcunque hæc se habe-
ant, nos, quemadmodum & Suecorum Regem, & Fœderati Belgii Ordines ad pacem
& moderata consilia magnopere hortati sumus (adeoque redintegrari inter eos pacem
atque concordiam vehementer gaudemus, nam & capita quoque illius fœderis à Do-
minis Ordinibus transmissa ad nos sunt) ita nostras esse partes duximus, nostræque ami-
citæ quam maxime convenire, ut qui sensus noster his de rebus sit, Majestatem ve-
stram ne celaremus (præsertim cum ut ita faciamus, Majestatis vestræ literis amicissi-
mis tam studiose invitemur; id quod etiam benevolentia erga nos vestræ pro argumen-
to singulari sanè habemus atque amplectimur) vestræque Majestati ante oculos pone-
remus, quantam nobis necessitatem, qui Protestantium Religionem sequimur, divina
providentia imposuerit colendi inter nos pacem, idque nunc maxime, cum hostes nos-
tri acerrimè, si unquam alias, rem gerere, & conjurasse undique in perniciem nostram
videntur. Valles Alpinas miserorum nuper incolarum cæde ac sanguine madentes
commemorare nihil attinet; nec conquassatam per eosdem dies Cæsareis proscriptioni-
bus atque edictis Austriam; nec denique contra Helvetios Protestantes Helvetiorum
Papistarum infestos impetus. Quis nescit Hispanorum dolos ac machinationes per
hosce

hosce aliquot annos hæc loca omnia incendiis, ruinis, cladibus Protestantium permiscuisse? Si ad hæc mala Reformatorum Fratrum inter se dissensio velut cumulus accedat, inter vos præsertim qui nostrarum virium tanta pars estis, & in quibus tantum præsidij ac roboris Protestantium dubiis temporibus comparatum atque repositum est; quod ad opem humanam attinet, pessum ire Protestantium res, & in extremo discrimine atque occasu versari necesse erit. Quod contra, si pax constet inter vos vicinos, cæterosque Orthodoxos Principes, si concordia fraternæ omni ex parte studeatur, non erit cur, Deo bene juvante, vel vim vel versutiam nostrorum hostium pertimescamus; quorum conatus nostra sola consensio vel dissipabit vel frustrabitur. Neque vero dubitamus quin Majestas vestra ad hanc pacem beatam impertiri suam operam, quam potes maximam, & libens velit & velle desitura non sit. Qua in re ipse etiam communicare consilia cum Majestate vestra atque conjungere paratissimus ero; utpote & veram amicitiam professus, & cui non solum pactam inter nos tam auspiciatò fervare pacem deliberatum omnino sit, verum etiam necessitudinem hanc, quæ nunc intercedit, prout Deus facultatem dabit, arctiori vinculo confringere. Idem Deus interim Majestati vestræ secunda ac prospera omnia concedat.

Majestati vestræ amicitia, foedere ac voluntate conjunctissimus,
Dabantur ex Aula nostra Westmonasterii. Decem. An. 1656. OLIVERIUS Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protect. Reipub. ANGLIÆ, &c. Serenissimo Illustrissimoque Principi ac Domino, Domino GULIELMO Hassiæ Langravio, Principi Herefeldiæ, Comiti in Cattimeliboco, Decia Ligenhain, Nidda & Schaumburgo, &c.

Serenissime Princeps;

AD literas Celsitudinis vestræ non sic altero post anno, quod prope jam pudet, rescripsissemus, nisi nos admodum invitos permulta sanè, eaque gravissima, quorum curam, pro nostro in Repub. munere, differre non potuimus, interpellassent. Quæ enim literæ debebant esse nobis gratiores, quàm quæ à Principe religiosissimo, majoribus quoque religiosissimis orto, de pace Religionis, deque concordia Ecclesiarum concilianda sunt scriptæ; quæ etiam literæ eundem planè animum, idem pacis Christianæ promovendæ studium non solum suo, verum etiam universi ferè orbis Christiani opinione ac judicio, & ipsæ nobis tribuunt, & universim attributum esse gratulantur? Et nos quidem per tria hæc olim regna quid hac in parte simus conati, quidque hortando, ferendo, præeundo, divino maximè auxilio, effecerimus, & norunt nostri plerique, & in summa conscientia tranquillitate sentiunt. Eandem præsertim Germaniæ totius Ecclesiis, ubi acrius ferè, jamque diu nimis dissidetur, pacem optavimus; perque nostrum Duræum hoc idem multos jam annos frustra molientem siquid eam in rem nostrâ operâ conferre posset ex animo detulimus. In eadem nos etiamnum sententia permanemus; eandem illis Ecclesiis fraternam inter se charitatem optamus: sed quam sit hoc arduum conciliandæ pacis negotium inter ipsos pacis, ut præ se ferunt, filios, summo cum dolore satis superque intelligimus. Nam ut utrique Reformati nempe & Augustani, in unius Ecclesiæ communionem aliquando coalescant, sperandum vix est; suam utrique sententiam ne possit vel voce vel scriptis defendere, prohiberi sine vi non poterunt; vis autem cum pace Ecclesiasticâ consistere non potest: hoc tantum se finant exorari qui dissentiant, ut humanius saltem & moderatius velint dissentire, nihiloque minus inter se diligere; utpote non hostes sed fratres in levioribus licet dissentientes, in summa tamen fidei conjunctissimos. Hæc nos inculcando, hæc suadendo nunquam defatigabimur; quod

quod ultrà est, humanis neque viribus neque consiliis datur : Deus quod suum solius est suo tempore perficiet. Tu interim, Serenissime Princeps, præclaram in Ecclesias declarationem animi tui, sempiternum sanè monumentum & majoribus tuis dignum & omnibus posthac principibus imitandum reliquisti. Nos Celsitudini vestræ, pro eo ac merita est, felicitatem cæteris in rebus quantum ipsa cupit, mentem, ea quam nunc habes, haud meliorem (quid enim potest esse melius?) à Deo Optimo Maximo precamur.

Westmonasterio, die Martii, an. 1656.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Serenissimo Principi Duci
CURLANDIÆ.

Serenissime Princeps;

DE benevolentia Celsitudinis erga nos vestræ & aliàs, & tum quidem abunde nobis constitit cùm Oratorem nostrum ad Moscoviæ Ducem iter facientem, & in ditione vestra per aliquot dies commorantem hospitio benignè accepisti: nunc justitiæ & æquitatis suæ haud leviora indicia daturam esse Celsitudinem vestram & suopte ingenio & nostro rogatu confidimus. Cum enim Joannes Jamesonus Scotus, navis cujusdam vestræ Magister, fidelem naucleri operam septennioque cognitam vobis navaverit, seque illam navem Balenam sibi commissam, in ostio fluminis, ut mos est, Gubernatori vestro appellendam in portum tradidisset, eumque imperitè suo munere fungentem quod solum potuit sæpius monuisse multis testibus probaverit, non ejus profecto culpâ, sed Gubernatoris vel imperitia vel pervicacia fractam esse navem nemini non liquet. Quod cum ita sit, à Celsitudine vestra majorem in modum petimus, ut supradicto Joanni Magistro neque illud naufragium imputare, neque eum idcirco stipendio debito velit privare; cujus spe solâ, jam altero naufragio bonis omnibus amissis, se utcunque in extrema inopia sustinet & solatur.

Ex Aula nostra Westmonasterio,
die Martii An. 1657.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Amplissimis, Consulibus ac Senatoribus Reip. GEDANENSIS, S. P. D.

Amplissimi, magnifici viri, amici charissimi;

URbem vestram industriâ, opibus & optimarum artium studiis florentem cùm nobilissimis quibusque urbibus semper esse duximus conferendam: nunc posteaquam in hoc bello, quod vestris jamdiu in finibus geritur, Polonorum sequi partes quàm Suecorum maluistis, sanè & Religionis causâ quam colitis & commercii, quod cùm Anglis vetustum jam habetis, optavimus ut ea vobis maxime consilia placerent, quæ cùm Dei gloria urbisque vestræ dignitate ac splendore viderentur esse conjunctissima. Quocirca petimus pro amicitia quæ vobis cùm Anglorum Gente multo usu firmata jamdiu constat, & siqua in gratia apud vos nostrum quoque nomen est, ut insignem inter primos Suecorum Duces Conismarcum, egregium præsertim bello virum, casu & suorum prodicione mari interceptum belli lege, non acerbissimè adhuc gesti, dimittere velitis, sin id minus vestris rationibus convenire arbitramini, ut leniore saltem ac liberiore custodiâ habendum censeatis. Utrum horum vobis faciendum decreveritis, id profecto imprimis

mis quod existimatione urbis vestræ dignum est decerneretis; deinde ab omnibus præclaris belli ducibus magnam gratiam inibitis; nos denique, quicquid id vestra interesse putatis, haud mediocri sanè beneficio devincietis.

Ex Aula nostra Westmonasterio,
Aprilis An. 1657.

Vestrarum amplitudinum Studiosissimus,
Oliverius Protector Reipub. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c. Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi ac Domino Imperatori Ducique magno universæ Russiæ, Soli Domino Voladomari, Moschoæ, Novogrodi, Regi Cazani, & Astracani, Syberia, Domino Vobscœ, Magno Duci Smolenchii, Tueriscoiæ, & aliarum, Domino ac Magno Duci Novogrodæ, Inferiorumque Regionum Chernigoi, Rezanscœ & aliarum, Domino omnis Plagæ Septentrionalis, item Domino Everscœ, Cartalinscæ, aliarumque permultarum; S. P. D.

Anglorum Genti cum imperii vestri populis, vetus amicitia, magnusque usus, id quod nemo nescit, amplissimumque commercium jamdiu fuit; illa verò virtus singularis, Imperator Augustissime, qua majoribus suis Majestas vestra longè præluet, & quæ de ea est vicinorum omnium Principum opinio, potissimum nos movet, ut Majestatem vestram & eximio studio colamus, eique communicata cupiamus, quæ & rei Christianæ & rationibus vestris haud parum conducere, nec minus nominis vestri gloriæ servire posse existimemus. Quapropter ornatissimum virum Dominum Richardum Bradshaw, summa fide, integritate, prudentia, usuque rerum, ex aliis etiam Legationibus, nobis cognitum, ad Majestatem Vestram misimus Oratorem; qui & singulare erga vos nostrum studium, summamque observantiam vobis exponat, & supradictis de rebus agere cum Majestate Vestra possit. Eum itaque ut benignè nostro nomine accipiat, eique ut, quoties commodum erit, liberum aditum, auresque benignas, fidem denique in iis omnibus quæ proposuerit aut transegerit, eandem atque nobismetipsis, si coram adfuissimus, præbere velitis rogamus; adeoque Majestati vestræ atque Imperio Russico fausta omnia à Deo Opt. Max. precamur.

Ex Aula nostra Westmonasterii,
die April. An. Dom. 1657.

Majestatis Vestræ Studiosissimus,
Oliverius Protector Reip. Angl. &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reipub. ANGLIÆ Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi CAROLO GUSTAVO Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, Magno Principi Finlandiæ, Duci Esthoniæ, Careliæ, Bremæ, Verdæ, Stetini, Pomeraniæ, Cassubiæ & Vandalia, &c.

Serenissime Potentissimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate charissime;

VIR nobilissimus Gulielmus Jepsonus, Militum Tribunus, & Parlamenti nostri Senator, cui hoc munus honori erit, quòd Majestati Vestræ hæcce literas dabit, certiores eam faciet quanta cum perturbatione ac dolore nuntium accepimus belli illius funesti inter Majestatem vestram Daniæque Regem coorti; quamque nobis cordi ac studio sit, nullam nostram operam aut officium prætermittere, quoad Deus facultatem dederit; ut huic ingruenti malo remedium aliquod maturè afferatur, eæque simul calamitates.

mitates avertantur, quas inferri ex hoc bello religionis causæ communi necesse erit; hoc præsertim tempore, quo adversarii nostri contra Orthodoxæ fidei professionem & professores cum consilia perniciosissima tum vires arctissimè conjungunt. Hæc atque alia nonnulla permagni ad utriusque gentis commoda rationesque publicas momenti adduxere nos, ut hunc virum ornatissimum Internuntii extraordinarii prædictum munere ad Majestatem vestram mitteremus; Quem uti amicè recipiatis, eique, iis in rebus quas cum Majestate vestra nostro nomine communicaverit, summam fidem adhibeatis rogamus; cum is sit cujus fidei atque prudentiæ nos quoque plurimum tribuamus. Simul & illud petimus, ut Majestas vestra nostram erga se resque suas benevolentiam singularem, atque studium persuasissimum sibi habeat; cujus nos argumenta certissimam per omnem occasionem & propenso animo & officiis paratissimis præbebinus.

Ex Aula nostra Westmonast.
Aug. An. Dom. 1657.

Majestatis vestræ Amicus & Fœderatus conjunctissimus,
Oliverius Protector Reipub. Angl. &c.

Excellentissimo Domino, DOMINO DE BOURDEAUX, Serenissimi Regis GALLIARUM Legato extraordinario.

Excellentissime Domine,

Mercatores quidam Londino-derrienses Samuel Daufonus, Joannes Campsejus, & Joannes Nevinus, per libellum supplicem Serenissimo Domino Protectori ediderunt, se, posteaquam fœdus inter hanc Rempub. Regnumque Galliæ redintegratum intellexerant, An. Dom. 1655. navem quandam cui nomen Anglicè The Speedwell, melioris ominis causâ, quam eventus ferebat, impositum, Joannes Ker Magister erat, mercibus quibusdam ex portu Derriensi Burdegalam convehendis onerasse; eam navem illic onere exposito, vinoque aliisque mercibus inde impositis, captam in reditu die 24. Novembris anni supradicti à duabus Brestensum Navibus armatis, quarum alteri Adrianus Vindmian Swart, alteri Jacobus Jonsonus præfuit, ab iisdem etiam in portum Brivatem, vulgo Brestensem, fuisse abductam; ibique & jure captam judicatam esse, & auctione venditam, cum mille centumque libras nostras æstimatione justâ valuisset, extra damnum mille librarum præterea datum: de quibus recuperandis omni se honesta ratione cum illius loci præfectis egisse: id sibi hætenus frustra fuisse: se etiam moribus edictum curiæ maritimæ consecutos esse, quo citarentur in judicium qui navem illam cepissent, autem jure esse captam defendere statuissent. Edictum hoc & recte atque ordine promulgatum & redditum: idque ab ejusdem curiæ ministris publicis maturè Domino Legato Galliæ significatum esse: cum nemo contra comparuisset, testes aliquot juratos de re judicanda interrogatos esse. Quæ res cum à Petitoribus ad Celsitudinem Domini Protectoris delata sit, ab eoque cognitioni atque sententiæ Concilii mandata, cumque de facto ex testimoniis juratis libello supplici adjunctis abunde constet, Petitoribusque liberum commercium Burdegalæ sit datum, mercesque illic emptæ atque impositæ vi sint in reditu ereptæ & occupatæ contra fœderis fidem, ut supra demonstratum est, quis non videt hoc esse æquissimum, aut navem cum onere Petitoribus restitui, aut de damno cum captæ navis tum juris persequendi plene satisfieri? Peto igitur ab Excellentia vestra atque etiam Serenissimi Domini Protectoris nomine peto omnem velit operam dare, omnique operæ auctoritatem etiam sui muneris adjungere ut primo quoque tempore horum alterutrum fiat: Cum neque in causa æquiore laborare possit, neque mihi gratiore; qui eo diligentius curasse quod mandatum mihi est videbor, quo Excellentia vestra maturius quod suum est præstiterit.

Ex Albâ Aulâ, Augusti An. Dom. 1657.

Y y y 2

OLIVERIUS

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Serenissimo Principi D. FREDERICO WILHELMO Marchioni Brandenburgensi, Sacri Romani Imperii Archi-Camerario, ac Principi Electori Magdeburgi, Prussiæ, Juliæ, Cliviæ, Montium, Stetini, Pomeraniæ, Cassubiorum Vandalorumque, nec non in Silesia Crofnæ & Carnoviæ Duci, Burggravio Norinbergensi, Principi Halberstadii & Mindæ, Comiti Marcæ & Ravensbergi, Domino in Ravenstein; S. P. D.

Serenissime Princeps, Amice ac Fœderate Charissime,

CUM ea sit Celsitudinis vestræ singularis virtus & pace & bello terrarum orbe toto jam clara, ea magnitudo animi atque constantia, ut amicitiam vestram omnes fere Principes vicini ambiant, amicum & socium nemo fidelior sibi aut constantior cupiat, ut nos quoque in eorum numero esse intelligatis qui de vobis vestrisque egregiis de Rep. Christiana meritis quam optimè quamque præclarè sentiunt, nobilissimum virum Gulielmum Jepsonum, Tribunum Militum, & Parlamenti nostri Senatorem, ad vos misimus, qui vobis nostro nomine & plurimam salutem dicat, & rebus vestris felicitatem omnem ominetur atque exoptet; nostram denique benevolentiam summumque studium erga vestram Serenitatem verbis amplissimis exponat: eique proinde fidem, iis in rebus de quibus vobiscum egerit, eandem habeatis rogamus, ac si à nobismetipsis testata omnia atque confirmata coram essent.

Ex Aula nostra Westmonasterio, Augusti An. Dom. 1657.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Amplissimis Civitatis Hamburgensis Consulibus ac Senatoribus, S. P. D.

Amplissimi, magnifici & spectabiles Viri, Amici charissimi;

CUM Vir ornatissimus Gulielmus Jepsonus, Tribunus Militum, & Parlamenti nostri Senator, ad Suecorum Regem Serenissimum à nobis missus vestram per urbem iter faciat, in mandatis dedimus, uti vos quoque ne præteriret nostro nomine insalutatos; neque non rogatos, ut si qua in re vestra autoritate, consilio aut præsidio opus sibi esse judicaverit, ei quibus rebus potestis præstò esse velitis. Id quo libentius feceritis, eo majorem à nobis iniisse vos gratiam intelligetis.

Ex Aula nostra Westmonasterio, die Augusti An. Dom. 1657.

Amplissimis Civitatis Bremensis Consulibus ac Senatoribus, S. P. D.

Amplissimi, magnifici & spectabiles Viri, Amici charissimi;

QUI noster animus erga vestram civitatem, quæque benevolentia cum propter puriorem apud vos Religionis cultum etiam propter urbis celebritatem sit, & sensistis aliàs, & quoties facultas dabitur sentietis. Nunc, cum ornatissimus vir Gulielmus Jepsonus, Tribunus Militum, & Parlamenti nostri Senator, ad Serenissimum Regem Sueciæ per urbem vestram Oratoris munere instructus iter faciat, hoc tantum in præsentia volumus, ut & vos ille peramanter perque amice nomine salutet, & siquid acciderit in quo vestra ope atque amicitia usus sibi esse possit, id uti à vobis pro nostra necessitudine peteret. Qua in re non magis defuturos vos esse confido quam de nostro erga vos amore singulari ac studio dubitare debetis.

Westmonasterio ex Aula nostra, die Aug. An. Dom. 1657.

OLIVERIUS

OLIVERIUS Protector Reipub. ANGLIÆ, &c. Amplissimis Civitatis Lubecensis
Consulibus ac Senatoribus, S. P. D.

Amplissimi, magnifici & spectabiles Viri, Amici charissimi;

GUilielmus Jepsonus vir nobilissimus, Militum Tribunus, & Parlamenti nostri Senator, ad Serenissimum Suecorum Regem ab urbe vestra haud longe castra habentem publico munere ornatus proficiscitur. Quapropter ei per urbem vestram aut ditionem iter facienti ut omni adjumento, si opus erit, atque præsidio, pro nostra amicitia atque commercio, adesse velitis rogamus. De cætero & salutatos vos esse nostro nomine peramice volumus, deque nostro erga vos propenso animo ac voluntate esse persuasissimos.

Westmonasterio ex Aula nostra, die Aug. An. Dom. 1657.

OLIVERIUS Protect. Reipub. ANGLIÆ, &c. Amplissimis Civitatis HAMBURGENSIS
Consulibus ac Senatoribus, S. P. D.

Amplissimi, magnifici & spectabiles Viri, Amici charissimi;

QUI hæc ad vos literas perfert Philippus Meadows Oratoris munere à nobis instructus ad Serenissimum Daniæ Regem per Urbem vestram proficiscitur. Eum, si quid erit, in quo vestram authoritatem adjumento sibi fore aut præsidio existimaverit, commendatum vobis magnopere volumus. Nostraque commendatio que solet esse apud vos pondere, eodem uti nunc sit rogamus: vobis vicissim, siquid ejusmodi occurrat non defuturi.

Ex Aula nostra Westmonasterio, die Aug. An. 1657.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Serenissimo Principi FREDERICO
HÆREDI NORWEGIÆ, DUCI SLESVICI, HOLSATIÆ, STORMARIÆ, DIT-
MARSIAE; Comiti in OLDENBURG & DELMENHORST.

Serenissime Princeps, Amice charissime;

Missus à nobis Vir domi nobilis Gulielmus Jepsonus, Militum Tribunus, & Parlamenti nostri Senator, ad Serenissimum Suecorum Regem, quod paci communi, Reique Christianæ felix faustumque sit, Legationem obit. Ei inter alia negotium dedimus, ut cum in itinere salutem plurimam Serenitati Vestræ nostro nomine, dixisset, pristinamque nostram benevolentiam & constantissima studia significasset, ab eo quoque peteret, ut autoritate vestrâ munitus iter tutum atque commodum habere per vestram ditionem possit. Quo beneficio Celsitudo vestra nos nostraque vicissim officia majorem in modum demerebitur.

Westmonasterio ex Aula nostra, die Aug. An. 1657.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reipub. ANGLIÆ Serenissimo Principi EËRDINANDO
Magno Duci Hetruriæ.

Serenissime Dux magne, Amice charissime;

Ostendit nobis per libellum supplicem Societas Mercatorum nostrorum qui ad oras Mediterranei Maris Orientales negotiantur, Præfectum quendam navis Lodoviculi, five Anglicè The Little Lewis, nomine Gulielmum Ellum, cum Alexandria in Egypto esset, conductum à Satrapa Memphitico ut Oryzam, Saccharum & Caphiam, ipsius Turcarum Principis in usum Constantinopolim aut Smyrnam comportaret, classi se Ottomanae

nicæ in itinere subduxisse, & contra datam fidem, navistotum onus Liburnum avertisse : ibi prædâ potitum nunc agere. Quod facinus, pessimi sanè exempli, cum Christianum nomen probro, Mercatorum fortunas degentium sub Turca direptionis periculo objiciat, petimus à Celsitudine Vestra, ut illum hominem comprehendi, & in custodiam tradi, navemque & bona retineri jubeat, quoad significatum à nobis erit curasse nos res illas Turcarum principi reddendas. Vestræ Celsitudini sicubi nostris officiis usus vicissim erit, paratissima omni tempore fore profitemur.

Westmonasterio ex Aula nostra
die Septemb. An. 1657.

Celsitudinis vestræ Studiosissimus,
Oliverius Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi ac Domino D. FREDERICO WILHELMO Marchioni Brandenburgensi, Sacri Romani Imperii Archi-Camerario, ac Principi Electori Magdeburgi, Prussiæ, Juliæ, Cliviæ, Montium, Stetini, Pomeraniæ, Cassubiorum, Vandalorumque, nec non in Silesia, Crosnæ & Carnoviæ Duci, Burggravio Norinbergensi, Principi Halberstadii & Mindæ, Comiti Marcæ & Ravensbergi, Domino in Ravenstein.

Serenissime Princeps, Amice ac Fœderate charissime;

ALteris ad Celsitudinem vestram literis per Oratorem nostrum Gulielmum Jepsonum aut redditis aut brevi reddendis Legationis ipsi à nobis mandatæ fidem fecimus; idque sine vestrarum virtutum aliqua mentione, nostræque erga vos benevolentia, significatione facere non potuimus. Verum nequis vestra de rebus Protestantium egregiè merita, quæ summâ omnium prædicatione celebrantur, nos obiter tetigisse tantum videamur, resumendum nobis nunc idem argumentum, nostraque officia non libentiùs quidem aut animo propensiore, aliquanto tamen prolixius deferenda Serenitati vestræ censuimus. Et meritò sanè, cum ad aures nostras quotidie perferatur, fidem vestram atque constantiam omnibus tentatam machinis, sollicitatam technis, labefactari tamen, & ab amicitia fortissimi Regis ac socii, nullo modo posse dimoveri: idque cum eo loco Suecorum res nunc sint, ut in retinenda eorum societate Celsitudinem vestram Reformatæ potius Religionis causa communi, quàm suis commodis duci manifestum sit: cumque hostibus vel occultis vel jam prope imminentibus cincta undique & penè obsessâ sit, copiarum ut sint validæ non tamen sint maximæ, eâ tamen firmitate animi ac robore esse, eo consilio ac virtute imperatoriâ, ut unâ vestrâ voluntate niti totius rei summa ac moles, bellicque hujus maximi exitus pendere videatur. Quapropter nihil est quod dubitet Celsitudo vestra quin de amicitia nostra summoque studio polliceri omnia sibi possit; qui vel ipsi ab omni laude derelicti nobis videremur, si præclarâ istâ fide atque constantiâ, cæterisque vestris laudibus minùs delectaremur, aut vobis ipsis communi Religionis nomine minus deberemus. Quòd si rebus ab ornatissimo Viro Joanne Friderico Schlezer Consiliario & Oratore apud nos vestro propositis respondere, pro eo ac studemus, hætenus non potuimus (quanquam is omni assiduitate ac diligentia id agit atque contendit) conditioni rerum nostrarum hoc velit imputare Celsitudo vestra rogamus; sibi que imprimis persuadere nihil nobis esse antiquius aut optatius, quam ut vestris rationibus cum Religionis causa tam conjunctis usui quam plurimum atque subsidio esse possimus. Interim tam clara virtus ac fortitudo ne ullo tempore deficiat aut opprimatur, dignæ laude aut fructu careat Deum Opt. Max. precamur.

Ex Aula Nostra Westmonasterio,
die Sept. An. 1657.

Celsitudinis Vestræ Studiosissimus,
Oliverius Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

Ex-

Excellentissimo Domino, DOMINO DE BOURDEAUX, Serenissimi GALLIARUM
Regis Legato extraordinario.

Excellentissime Domine,

Postulavit à Serenissimo Domino Protectore, Lucas Lucius Mercator Londinensis de sua quadam navi, cui nomen Maria, quæ cum ab Hibernia Bajonam peteret, vi tempestatis ad Fanum divi Joannis de Luz, appulsa, ibi retenta & occupata est actione Martini cujusdam De Lazon; nec restituta donec à procuratoribus Mercatoribus illius satisficeretur, se de illa navi atque onere cum Martino lege experturos. Tulit enim præ se Martinus deberi sibi grandem à Parlamento Angliæ pecuniam, mercium quarundam suarum nomine quæ in navi quadam Sancta Clara anno 1642. Parlamenti Auctoritate sunt retentæ. Verùm cum satis constaret, Martinum illum earum mercium verum dominum non esse, sed cum Antonio quodam Fernandez verorum dominorum Richaldi & Iriati jus persequi, dissidentibusque inter se Martino & Antonio, decreverit Parlamentum uti merces illæ retinerentur quoad lege esset decisum utri eorum reddendæ essent, paratusque fuerit semper Antonius lege agere; contrà, neque Martinus neque pro eo quisque in judicio hætenus comparuerit, quæ omnia ex Lucæ Petitoris libellis libello supplici annexis liquent; iniquissimum sanè est, ut is, qui jus suum supposititium cum Antonio collegâ suo de alienis bonis experiri apud nos recusat, cogeret nostros homines verosque dominos de suis bonis in aliena ditione contendere: Quin idem æquitati vestræ atque prudentiæ videatur, non dubitat Serenissimus Dominus Protector; à quo sum jussus hanc Lucæ Lucii causam æquissimam Excellentiæ Vestræ singularem in modum commendare: ne Martino qui jus alienum apud nos persequi negligit, eo obtentu aliis eripiendi jus suum apud vos potestas detur.

Westmonasterio, die Octob. An. 1657.

Excellentiæ Vestræ Studiosissimus.

OLIVERIUS, Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Serenissimo Duci ac Senatui Reip.
VENETÆ.

Serenissime Dux atque Senatus, Amici charissimi;

Nuntii rerum vestrarum contra Turcas felicissimè gestarum tam crebri ad nos perferuntur, ut nobis non sæpius ulla de re ad vos scribendum, quam de insigni aliqua victoria gratulandum sit. Hanc recentissimam, & Reip. vestræ quam maxime lætam atque opportunam cupimus, &, quod gloriosissimum est, Christianorum omnium sub Turca fervientium quam maxime liberatricem. Nominatim Thomam Galileum navis, cui nomen The Relief, olim præfectum, Serenitati vestræ ac Senatui, tametsi non nunc primum, nunc tamen eo libentiùs, quo latiori tempore, quinquennalem captivum commendamus. Ei cum à vobis imperatum esset, ut cum navi sua Reip. vestræ operam navaret, solus cum multis hostium triremibus congressus, nonnullas depressit, magnamque stragem edidit; tandem combustâ navi captus vir fortis, deque Veneta Rep. tam benè meritus, quintum jam annum in misera servitute Barbarorum degit. Unde se redimat facultatum nihil est; nam quicquid erat, id à Celsitudine vestra & Senatu, vel navis vel bonorum vel stipendii nomine debere sibi ostendit. Verùm ut facultates non deessent; hostes tamen non alia lege dimissuros se eum profitentur, quam si suorum aliquis, qui illis in pretio æquè sit, permutetur. Petimus itaque magnopere à Vestra atque Senatus Celsitudine serenissima, petit per nos senex miserrimus, captivi pater, mœroris & lachrymarum plenus, quæ nos quidem permoverunt, ut primum quoniam ex tot prosperis præliis Turcarum tanta copia captorum vobis.

vobis est, unam aliquem ex eo numero, quem illi accipiant, hostem vestro milite fortissimo, nostro cive, senis mœstissimi filio unico commutare velitis. Deinde, ut quod stipendii, vel aliis nominibus ipsi à Rep. debetur, id quam primùm velitis patri aut procuratori ipsius annumerandum curare. Priori quidem rogatu nostro, vel potius æquitate vestrâ effectum est, ut statim re cognitâ, putatisque rationibus constitutum esset quid debeatur; verum illum supputationem, urgentibus fortasse aliis negotiis, nulla solutio secuta est. Nunc miseri conditio dilationem salutis diutiùs non fert: eum, si omnino salvum vultis, danda opera est, ut squalore illo carceris teterrimo quamprimùm liberetur. Id sine mora, sine hortatu etiam nostro humanissimâ voluntate vestrâ facturos vos esse confidimus: quandoquidem justitiâ, moderatione, atque prudentiâ non minus quam belli gloriâ victoriisque floretis: Atque ut diutissimè floreatis, devicto hoste potentissimo, Deum Opt. Max. precamur.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra,
die Octob. An. 1657.

Celsitudinum vestrarum studiosissimus,
Oliverius Prot. Reip. Angl. &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Excelsis & præpotentibus Dominis
Fœderati Belgii Ordinibus, S. P. D.

Excelsi & præpotentes Domini, Amici ac Fœderati charissimi;

Redit ad vos Vir illustrissimus Gulielmus Nuport Legatus vester annis jam aliquot apud nos extraordinarius: sed ita redit, petito ad tempus duntaxat à vobis com-
meatu, ut eum brevi reversurum speremus. Ea enim est fide, vigilantia, prudentia, æquitate apud nos in suo munere versatus, ut majorem in unoquoque genere virtutem ac probitatem neque nos desiderare in Legato, viroque optimo neque vos possitis; eo animo ac studio ad pacem inter nos & amicitiam sine furo & fraude conservandam, ut illo hanc Legationem obeunte quid inter nos offensionis aut scrupuli suboriri queat, aut pullulare, non videamus. Et discessum sanè ejus molestiore animo ferremus, hac præsertim rerum ac temporum inclinatione, nisi persuasissimum nobis hoc esset, neminem melius posse aut fidelius vel rerum utrobique statum, vel nostram erga Celsitudines vestras benevolentiam studiumque integrum coram exponere. Quapropter hunc ut Virum undiquaque præstantissimum, deque Rep. & suâ & nostrâ optime meritum accipere redeuntem velitis rogamus: sicuti & nos verissimostrarum laudum testimonio ornatum abeuntem dimisimus prope inviti. Deus ad ipsius gloriam ecclesiæque præsidium Orthodoxæ vestris rebus felicitatem, nostræ amicitie perpetuitatem concedat.

Celsitudinum vestrarum studios.

Westmonast. ex Aula nostra, die Nov. An. 1657.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Excelsis & Præpotentibus Dominis
Fœderati Belgii Ordinibus, S. P. D.

Excelsi & præpotentes Domini, Amici nostri ac Fœderati charissimi;

Georgius Duningus Vir nobilis, nobis est multis ac variis negotiis summâ fide, probitate ac solertiâ perspectus jam diu & cognitus. Eum, ut apud vos Oratoris munere fungatur, mittendum censuimus, mandatisque nostris amplissimè instruximus. Eum itaque amico, ut consuevistis, animo recipiatis rogamus; & quoties habere se significaverit, quod nostro nomine vestrum cum Excelsis Ordinibus agat, amicè audire, fidemque adhibere; & quæ vos vicissim communicanda nobis censebitis, ea omnia, sicuti rectè potestis, perinde ac si nos ipsi coram essemus, ei committere velitis.

De

De cætero vobis vestræque Reip. ad Dei gloriam ecclesiæque præsidium secundas res omnes ex animo precamur.

Westmon. ex Aula nostra, die
Decemb. An. Dom. 1657.

Celsitudinum Vestrarum studiosissimus,
Oliverius, &c.

Ordinibus Hollandiæ.

CUM ea nostræ Reip. cum vestra intercedat necessitudo, ea sint, utrinque negotia, ut sine Oratore atque interprete vel hinc vel inde misso res tantæ ad utilitatem utriusque gentis constitui commodè vix possint, ex usu communi fore arbitrati sumus, ut Georgium Duningum Virum nobilem, multis ac variis negotiis summâ fide, probitate ac solertiâ spectatum, jam diu nobis & cognitum, eo munere instructum mitteremus: qui nostro nomine apud vos maneat, iis maxime officiis intentus, quibus nostra amicitia facta tecta conservari posse quam diutissimè videatur. Hac de re cum ad Excelsos & Præpotentes Ordines scripsimus, tum vos quoque qui in Provinciâ vestrâ summæ rei præsidetis & Fœderati Belgii tanta pars estis, certiores faciendos per literas duximus; ut & nostrum Oratorem eâ ratione quâ convenit accipiat, & quæ ille cum excelsis Dominis Ordinibus transfegerit, ea vobis persuadeatis peræque firma ac rata nos esse habituros, ac si ipsi rebus transactis coram interfuissemus. Deus consilia vestra & facta omnia ad gloriam suam & ecclesiæ pacem dirigat.

Westmonasterio &c. Decemb. 1657.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi FERDINANDO
Magno Duci Heturriæ.

Serenissime Dux Magne, Amice noster, plurimum colende,.

Permagnam nobis attulere voluptatem literæ Celsitudinis Vestræ decimo Nov. Florentiâ datæ; in quibus benevolentiam erga nos Vestram eo vidimus perspectiorem, quanto res ipsæ verbis, facta promissis certiora benevolentis animi indicia sunt: quæ nempe rogavimus Celsitudinem vestram, juberet illum navis Lodovici parvi præfectum Gulielmum Ellum, qui fidem Turcis datam turpissimè fregerat, & ipsum comprehendi, & navem cum mercibus in portu retineri, quoad Turcarum quæ essent redderentur, ne nomen Christianum per istiusmodi furta labem aliquam fusciperet, ea omnia, & summo quidem studio, quod satis intelligimus, scripsit Celsitudo Vestra se præstitisse. Nos itaque cum pro accepto beneficio gratias agimus, tum hoc porro nunc petimus, quandoquidem satisfactum iri Turcis Mercatores in se receperunt, ut & Præfectus ille custodiâ liberetur, & navis cum mercibus quamprimum dimittatur; ne Turcarum forte rationem potiorè, quam nostrorum civium habuisse videamur. Interim Celsitudinis vestræ spectatâ voluntate erga nos singulari, & sanè gratissimâ sic libenter fruimur, ut ingratitude notam non recusamus, nisi pari promptitudine vobis vicissim gratificandi occasionem quam primum dari nobis exoptamus, ex qua nostram quoque in reddendis officiis promptitudinem animi rebus ipsis erga vos demonstrare possimus.

Westmonasterio, ex Aulâ nostrâ,
Decemb. an. 1657.

Celsitudinis vestræ Studiosissimus,
Oliverius, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Serenissimo ac potentissimo Principi
CAROLO GUSTAVO Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi.

Serenissime potentissimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate invictissime;

Multa simul attulere nobis literæ Majestatis vestræ 21 Feb. in Castris Selandicis datæ, cur, & privatim nostrâ, & totius Reipub. Christianæ causâ, lætitiâ haud mediocri afficeremur: primum quod Rex Daniæ, non suâ credo voluntate aut rationibus, sed hostium communium artibus factus hostis, repentino vestro in intimum ejus regnum adventu, sine multo sanguine, eò sit redactus, ut, quod res erat, utiliore sibi pacem bello contra vos suscepto tandem judicaverit: deinde cum is eam nullâ se ratione citius posse consequi existimaret, quam si delata sibi jamdiu ad conciliandam pacem nostrâ operâ uteretur, quòd Majestas vestra solis Internuntii nostri literis exorata, tam facili pacis concessione ostenderit, quantum nostrâ amicitia atque gratiâ interpositâ apud se valeret: meumque imprimis in hoc tum pio negotio officium esse voluerit, ut pacis tam salutaris Protestantium rebus, uti spero, mox futuræ ipse potissimum unus conciliator atque auctor propemodum essem. Cum enim Religionis hostes conjunctas opes vestras alio pacto frangere se posse desperarent, quàm si vos inter vos commisissent, habebunt nunc, profectò quod pertimescant, ne armorum animorumque, ut spero, vestrorum hæc inopinata conjunctio ipsis belli hujus conflatoribus in perniciem vertat. Tu interim, Rex fortissime, macte tuâ egregiâ virtute; & quam felicitatem in rebus tuis gestis victoriarumque cursu contra Regem nunc socium hostes Ecclesiæ nuper admirati sunt, eandem in suâ rursus clade, Deo benè juvante, fac sentiant.

Westmonasterio, ex Palatio nostro, 30 die Martii, 1658.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi FERDINANDO
Magno Duci Heturriæ.

Serenissime Princeps,

QUOD satisfacturum arbitramur Celsitudini vestræ de nostro classis præfecto qui ad portus vestros nuper est delatus, vestro apud nos Oratori respondimus: Interim per libellum supplicem nobis ostendit Joannes Hosierus Londinensis, cujusdam navis, cui Dominæ nomen, Magister, se, cum anno 1656, mense Aprili, navem suam ex syngrapha (chartam partitam Jus nostrum vocat) Josepho Armano Italo cuidam locasset, isque factas in syngrapha pactiones ter apertè fregisset, coactum esse demùm, ne navem suam, totumque onus ejus, sortem denique totam amitteret, more mercatorio declarata publicè ejus fraude, & in tabulas publicas relata, Liburni in jus eum vocare: eum autem, ut fraudem fraude tueretur, adhibitis in societatem duobus aliis negotiatoribus litigiosis, de pecunia Thomæ cujusdam Clutterbuxi sex mille octonos, conficto quodam obtentu, petitoris hujus nomine occupasse: se, post multas impensas consumptumque tempus, jus suum Liburni obtinere non posse; ne audere quidem, propter adversariorum minas atque insidias, in judicio illic comparere. Petimus itaque à Celsitudine vestra, ut cum huic homini oppresso subvenire, tum hujus adversarii insolentiam pro consueta sua justitia velit coercere: frustrâ enim auctoritate Principum leges essent civitatibus latæ, si vis atque injuria, cum, ne omnino sint leges, efficere non possint, possint efficere terrore ac minis, ne quis ad eas audeat confugere.

fugere. Verum in hujusmodi audaciam quin maturè animadversura sit Celsitudo vestra, non dubitamus; cui pacem prosperaque omnia à Deo Opt. Max. precamur.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra,
die 7 April. an. 1658.

Serenissimo potentissimoque Principi LUDOVICO Galliarum Regi.

Serenissime Potentissimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate augustissime;

Meminisse potest Majestas vestra quo tempore inter nos de renovando fœdere agebatur; quod optimis auspiciis initum multa utriusque populi commoda, multa hostium communium exinde mala testantur, accidisse miseram illam Convallensium occisionem, quorum causam undique desertam atque afflictam vestræ misericordiæ, atque tutelæ summo cum ardore animi ac miseratione commendavimus. Nec defuisse per se arbitramur Majestatem vestram officio tam pio, immo verò tam humano, pro eâ quâ apud Ducem Sabaudia valere debuit vel auctoritate vel gratia: nos certè alique multi Principes ac Civitates, Legationibus, Literis, Precibus interpositis, non defuimus. Post cruentissimam utriusque sexus omnis ætatis trucidationem, pax tandem data est, vel potius inducta pacis nomine hostilitas quædam tectior: conditiones pacis vestro in oppido Pinarolii sunt latæ; duræ quidem illæ, sed quibus miseri atque inopes dira omnia atque immania perpeffi faciliè acquiescerent, modo iis, duræ & iniquæ ut sint, staretur; non statur; sed enim earum quoque singularum falsa interpretatione variisque diverticulis fides eluditur ac violatur; antiquis sedibus multi dejiciuntur, religio patria multis interdicitur, tributa nova exiguntur, arx nova cervicibus imponitur, unde milites crebro erumpentes obvios quosque vel diripiunt vel trucidant: ad hæc nuper novæ copiæ clanculum contra eos parantur; quique inter eos Romanam Religionem colunt, migrare ad tempus jubentur; ut omnia nunc rursus videantur ad illorum internecionem miserrimorum spectare, quos illa prior laniena reliquos fecit. Quod ego per dextram tuam, Rex Christianissime, quæ fœdus nobiscum & amicitiam percussit, obsecro atque obtestor, per illud Christianismi Tituli decus sanctissimum, fieri ne siveris: nec tantam sæviendi licentiam non dico principi cuiquam (neque enim in ullum Principem, multo minus in ætatem illius principis teneram, aut in muliebre matris animum tanta sævitia cadere potest) sed facerrimis illis sicariis ne permiseris; qui cum Christi Servatoris nostri servos atque imitatores sese profiteantur, qui venit in hunc mundum ut peccatores servaret, ejus mitissimo nomine atque institutis ad innocentium crudelissimas cædes abutuntur: eripe qui potes, quique in tanto fastigio dignus es posse, tot supplices tuos homicidarum ex manibus, qui cruore nuper ebrii, sanguinem rursus sitiunt; suæque invidiam crudelitatis in Principes derivare consultissimum sibi ducunt. Tu verò nec titulos tuos aut Regni fines ista invidiâ, nec Evangelium Christi pacatissimum ista credulitate fœdari te regnante patiaris. Memineris hos ipsos avi tui Henrici Protestantibus amicissimi dedititios fuisse; cum Diguius per ea loca, quâ etiam commodissimus in Italiâ transitus est, Sabaudum trans Alpes cedentem victor est infecutus: dedititionis illius instrumentum in actis regni vestri publicis etiamnum extat; in quo exceptum atque cautum inter alia est, Ne cui postea Convallenses traderentur, nisi iisdem conditionibus quibus eo avus tuus invictissimus in fidem recepit. Hanc fidem nunc implorant, avitam abs te Nepote supplices requirunt: tui esse, quàm cujus nunc sunt, vel permutatione aliquâ, si fieri possit, malint atque optarint: id si non licet, patrocinio saltém, miseratione atque perfugio. Sunt & rationes regni quæ hortari possint ut Convallenses ad te confugientes ne rejicias: sed nolim te, Rex tantus cum sis, aliis rationibus

ad defensionem calamitosorum quàm fide a majoribus data, pietate, regiaque animi benignitate ac magnitudine permoveri. Ita pulcherrimi facti laus atque gloria illibata atque integra tua erit, & ipse Patrem misericordiæ ejusque filium Christum Regem, cujus nomen atque doctrinam ab immanitate nefaria vindicaveris, eo magis faventem tibi atque propitium per omnem vitam experieris. Deus Opt. Max. ad gloriam suam, tot innocentissimorum hominum Christianorum tutandam salutem, vestrumque verum decus Majestati vestræ hanc mentem injiciat.

Westmonasterio, Maii an. 1658.

Civitatibus Helvetiorum Evangelicis.

Illustres atque amplissimi Domini, Amici charissimi; .

DE Convallensibus Vicinis vestris afflictissimis, quàm sint à Principe suo gravia & intoleranda religionis causâ passi, cùm propter ipsam rerum atrocitatem horret prope animus recordari, tum ad vos ea scribere quibus notiora multo sunt, supervacuum duximus. Exemplâ etiam literarum vidimus quas Legati vestri pacis jamdudum Pinarolianæ hortatores atque testes ad Allobrogum Ducem illiusque Taurinensis consilii Præsidentem scripserunt; in quibus ruptas esse omnes pacis conditiones, illisque miseris fraudi potius quàm securitati fuisse singulatim, ostendunt atque evincunt. Quorum violationem ab ipsâ statim pace datâ in hunc usque diem continuatam, & indies graviolem nisi æquo animo patiuntur, nisi se conculcandos planè & pessumdandos prosternunt atque abjiciunt, religione etiam ejuratâ, impendet eadem calamitas, eadem strages, quæ ipsos cum conjugibus ac liberis tertio abhinc anno sic miserabilem in modum attrivit atque afflixit, & subeunda iterum si est, funditus eradicabit. Quid agant miseri? quibus nulla deprecatio, nulla respiratio, nullum adhuc certum perfugium patuit; res est cum feris aut cum furiis, quibus priorum cædium recordatio nullam pœnitentiam, aut suorum civium, miserationem, nullum sensum humanitatis aut fundendi sanguinis satietatem attulit. Hæc ferenda planè non sunt, sive fratres nostros Convallenses Orthodoxæ Religionis cultores antiquissimos, sive ipsam Religionem salvam volumus. Et nos quidem locorum intervallo plus nimio disjuncti, quod opis aut facultatis nostræ fuit, & præstitimus ex animo, & præstare non desinemus. Vos qui non modo fratrum cruciatibus ac penè clamoribus, verum etiam eorundem furori hostium proximi estis, prospicite per Deum immortalem idque maturè quid vestrarum nunc partium sit; quid auxilii, quid præsidii vicinis ac fratribus aliqui mox perituris ferre possitis ac debeatis, prudentiam vestram ac pietatem, fortitudinem etiam vestram consulite. Causa certè eadem est Religio, cur iidem hostes vos quoque perditos velint, immo cur eodem tempore, eodem superiore anno, foederatorum vestrorum intestino Marte perditos voluerint. Vestra duntaxat in manu post opem divinam videtur esse, ne purioris ipsa stirps Religionis vetustissima in illis priscorum fidelium reliquiis excindatur: quorum salutem in extremum jam discrimen adductam si negligitis, videte ne vosmetipsos paulo post proximæ vices urgeant. Hæc dum fraternè ac liberè hortamur, ipsi interea non languescimus: quod solum nobis conceditur tam longinquis, cùm ad procurandam periclitantium incolumitatem tum ad sublevandam egentium inopiam, omnem operam nostram & contulimus & conferemus. Deus det utrisque nobis eam domi tranquillitatem ac pacem, eum rerum ac temporum statum, ut omnes nostras opes atque vires, omne studium ad defendendam ecclesiam suam contra hostium suorum furorem ac rabiem, convertere possimus.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra, Maii die, an. 1658.

Eminen-

Eminentissimo Domino Cardinali MAZARINO, Salutem.

Eminentissime Domine;

Illatæ nuper Protestantibus, qui Valles quasdam Alpinas in ditione Ducis Sabaudia incolunt, gravissimæ calamitates cædesque cruentissimæ fecere ut inclusas has literas ad Majestatem Regiam, hasque alteras ad Eminentiam vestram scripserim. Et quemadmodum de Rege Serenissimo dubitare non possum quin hæc tanta crudelitas, quâ in homines innoxios atque inopes tam barbarè sævitum est, vehementer ei displiceat atque offensa sit; ita mihi facilè persuadeo quæ ego à Majestate Regiâ illorum causa miserorum peto, ad ea impetranda vestram quoque operam atque gratiam, velut cumulum, accessuram. Cum nihil planè sit quod Francorum Genti benevolentiam apud suos omnes vicinos Reformatæ Religionis cultores majorem conciliaverit, quam libertas illa ac privilegia quæ ex edictis suis atque actis publicis permessa Protestantibus atque concessa sunt. Et hæc quidem Respublica cum propter alias tum hanc potissimum ob causam Gallorum amicitiam ac necessitudinem majorem in modum expetivit. De qua constituenda jamdiu cum Legato Regio apud nos agitur ejusque tractatio jam penè ad exitum perducta est. Quid! quod etiam singularis benignitas Eminentia vestra, ac moderatio, quam in summis Regni rebus gerendis erga Protestantes Gallia semper testata est, à prudentia vestra & magnitudine animi ut hoc sperem atque expectem, facit; qua ex re & fundamenta arctioris etiam necessitudinis inter hanc Rempublicam, Regnumque Gallicum Eminentia vestra jecerit; meque sibi privatim ad officia omnia humanitatis ac benevolentia vicissim reddenda obligaverit: adeoque hoc velim Eminentia vestra sibi persuasissimum habeat.

Eminentia vestra Studiosissimus.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, Serenissimo ac Potentissimoque Principi
LUDOVICO Galliarum Regi.

Serenissime potentissimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate augustissime;

Thomam Vicecomitem Falconbrigium generum meum in Galliam proficiscentem, & ad testificandum obsequium suum & observantiam, qua Majestatem vestram colit, venire in conspectum vestrum, Regiamque manum osculari cupientem, tametsi propter consuetudinem ejus jucundissimam invitus dimitto, tamen cum non dubitem quin ab aula tanti Regis, in quâ tot viri prudentissimi fortissimique versantur, multo instructior ad res quasque laudatissimas, & quasi consummatus ad nos brevi sit reversurus, obsistendum esse ejus animo ac voluntati non sum arbitratus. Et quanquam is est, nisi ego fallor, qui per se satis commendatus, quocunque accesserit, videri possit, tamen si se meâ gratiâ Majestati vestra aliquanto commendatiorem fuisse senserit, eodem me quoque beneficio affectum atque devinctum arbitrabor. Deus Majestatem vestram incolumem, nostramque amicitiam firmissimam communi orbis Christiani bono quam diutissime conservet.

Westmonasterio, ex Aula nostra, Maii die, an. 1658.

OLIVERIUS

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Eminentissimo Domino Cardinali
MAZARINO.

Eminentissime Domine;

CUM Thomam Vicecomitem Falconbrigium generum meum proficiscentem in Galliam Serenissimo Regi commendaverim, non potui quin ea de re Eminentiam vestram certiore facerem, nec non vobis etiam eundem commendarem: id quantum ponderis atque momenti ad superiorem quoque commendationem allaturum sit non nescius. Quem certè fructum commorationis apud vos suæ, sperat autem non mediocrem hunc fore, percepturus est, ejus maximam partem favori vestro ac benevolentiae non poterit non debere; cujus prope sola mens ac vigilantia res tantas eo in regno sustinet ac tuetur. Quicquid ei gratum Eminentia vestra fecerit, id mihi fecisse se existimet; id ego in multis vestris erga me humanitè & amicè factis numerabo.

Westmonasterio, Maii an. 1658.

OLIVERIUS Protect. Reipub. Angliæ, &c. Eminentissimo Domino Cardinali
MAZARINO.

Eminentissime Domine;

CUM illustrissimum virum Thomam Bellassum Vicecomitem Falconbrigium generum meum Serenissimi Regis adventum in castra ad Dunkirkam gratulatum mitterem, eidem præcepi ut vestram quoque Eminentiam adiret, meoque nomine & plurimam salutem dicat, & gratias vobis agat, cujus potissimum fide, prudentiâ, vigilantia perfectum est, ut res Gallica tam diversis in partibus, & præsertim in vicina Flandria contra Hispanum hostem communem tam prosperè geratur: à quo nunc celeriter, uti spero, fraudum & insidiarum, quibus se maxime tuetur, aperta atque armata virtus pœnas reposcet: quod uti fiat quàm citissimè, nos certe neque copiis, quantum possumus, neque votis deerimus.

Westmonasterio ex Aulâ nostrâ,
Maii an. 1658.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi
LUDOVICO Galliae Regi.

Serenissime potentissimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate augustissime;

UT nuntiatum est venisse in castra Majestatem vestram, tantisque copiis infame illud oppidum piratarum atque asylum Dunkirkam obsedisse, & magnam cepi voluptatem, & spem certam, fore nunc brevi, Deo bene juvante, ut infestum minùs posthac latrociniis mare tutiùs navigetur; fore ut Hispanicæ fraudes, ducem alterum ad Hesdenæ prodicionem auro corruptum, alterum ad Ostendam dolo captum virute bellicâ Majestas vestra nunc brevi vindicet. Mitto itaque nobilissimum virum
Thomam

Thomam Vicecomitem Falconbrigiū generum meum, qui & adventum vestrum in tam propinqua nobis castra gratularetur, & coram exponat quanto nos studio Majestatis vestræ res gestas non junctis solum viribus nostris, sed votis etiam omnibus prosequamur, uti Deus Opt. Max. & ipsam incolumem, & nostram amicitiam firmissimam communi orbis Christiani bono quam diutissimè conservet.

Westmonasterio ex Aula nostra, Maii an. 1658.

Serenissimo Principi FERDINANDO, Duci Magno Hetururiæ.

Serenissime Dux Magne;

CUM Celsitudo vestra in omnibus quidem literis suis summam erga nos benevolentiam suam nobis semper significaverit, dolemus id præfectis vestris ac ministris aut tam obscurè significatum, aut tam male esse intellectum, ut in Portu Liburnensi, ubi maximè quæ vestra sit erga nos benevolentia intelligi oporteret, nos nullum ejus fructum aut indicium percipere queamus; immo alienum potius & hostilem vestrorum in nos animum indies experiamur. Quàm enim non amicis nostra classis Liburnensibus usâ nuperrime sit, quàm nullis adjuta rebus, quàm hostiliter denique accepta bis ab illo oppido discedere coacta sit, cum ex eo ipso loco multis testibus fide dignis, tum ex ipso Navarcho nostro, cui cum classẽ credamus, narrandi fidem derogare non possumus, satis videmur nobis nimisque certò cognovisse. Priore ejus adventu Cal. Jan. post redditas Celsitudini vestræ literas nostras, vestraque omnia humanitatis officia nostris hominibus ultro delata, petentibus ut portus Ferrarii commoditate uti liceret, responsum est, id concedi non posse, ne Rex Hispaniæ scilicet noster hostis offenderetur. Et tamen quid est quod princeps amicus amico præbere communius possit, quàm littoris ac portus aditum? quid est quod nos expectare ab hujusmodi amicitia possimus quæ hostium nostrorum animum ne offendant, incommodare nobis quàm commodare, aut vel minimis rebus subvenire paratior sit? Et primo quidem ex singulis navibus duobus vel tribus nautis duntaxat excensus in terram, sive commercium (quam vos Practicam vocatis) est datum: mox ut auditum est in oppido, navem quandam Belgicam, quæ frumentum in Hispaniam portabat, à nostris esse interceptam, quod erat antea commercii statim adimitur; Longlandius qui nostris illis Mercatoribus præsidet, classẽ adire non permittitur; aquatio, quæ omnibus non planè hostibus libera est, non sibi nisi sub armatis custodibus iniquo pretio, & quidem egerrimè præbetur: tot nostris Mercatoribus qui non sine maximo vestrorum emolumento illic versantur, suos ne invisant populares aut ulla re adjuvent interdicitur. Posteriore ejus adventu sub exitum mensis Martii, egressus ex navibus nemini datur: quinto post die cum naviculam quandam Neapolitanam prætoria navis nostra incidentem in nos fortè excepisset ducenta plus minus tormenta ab oppido classẽ versus disploduntur, quorum nullum ictu nos læsit ne attingit quidem: quod argumento esse potest quàm longe hæc à Portu atque castelli ditione in alto gererentur, quæ vestros quasi portu violato sic sine causâ irritarunt: confestim aquatorum nostrorum scaphæ intra portum oppugnantur; una capitur, detinetur; reposcentibus neque scapham neque homines redditum iri respondetur, nisi capta illa navis Neapolitana reddatur quam constat libero mari captam, ubi capi licuit. Ita nostri multis modis incommodati sine illo comœatu, quem numeratâ pecuniâ coëmerant, abire denuo coguntur. Hæc si Celsitudinis vestræ voluntate ac jussu quod speramus non fiunt, petimus id ostendat præfecti illius supplicio, qui amicitias Domini sui violare tam facile in animum induxit: sin est ut sciente ac volente vestra Celsitudine commissâ hæc sint, cogitet

cogitet nos, ut benevolentiam vestram plurimi semper fecimus, ita apertas injurias à benevolentia dignoscere didicisse.

Westmonasterio ex Aula nostra,
Maii die An. 1658.

Vester quoad licet bonus amicus
Oliverius Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Potentissimoque Principi
LUDOVICO Galliæ Regi.

Serenissime Potentissimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate Augustissime;

QUòd tam celeriter illustri missâ Legatione Majestas Vestra meum officium cumulo rependit, cum singularem benignitatem, animique magnitudinem testata est suam, tum meo etiam honori ac dignitati quantopere faveat, non mihi solum declaravit, verum etiam universo populo Anglicano: quo nomine Majestati Vestræ, pro eo ac de me merita est, gratias & ago & habeo maximas. De victoria quam conjunctis nostris copiis Deus contra hostes felicissimam dedit, vobiscum unâ lætor; nostrosque in eo prælio neque subsidiis vestris, neque majorum suorum bellicæ gloriæ, neque suæ denique virtuti pristinæ defuisse perquam etiam gratum est. De Dunkirka, quam deditioi proximam Majestas Vestra sperare se scribit, eam nunc deditam tam citò posse me rescribere insuper gaudeo: neque unius Urbis jactura duplicem perfidiam Hispanum propediem esse luiturum spero; quod captâ urbe altera effectum esse, velim Majestas etiam vestra tam citò possit rescribere. Quod reliquum pollicetur meas rationes curæ sibi fore, de eo regi optimo atque amicissimo pollicenti, ejusque Legato excellentissimo atque ornatissimo viro Duci Crequiensi idem confirmanti, non diffido; Deumque Opt. Max. Majestati vestræ Reique Gallicæ domi bellicque propitium exopto.

Westmonasterio, die Junii. An. 1658.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Eminentissimo Domino Cardinali
MAZARINO.

Eminentissime Domine;

CUM Regi Serenissimo per literas gratias agam qui honoris & gratulationis reddendæ causâ, suæque lætitiæ de nobilissima recenti victoria mecum communicandæ Legationem Splendidissimam misit, ingratus tamen sim, nisi Eminentia quoque vestræ debitas simul gratias per literas persolvam; quæ ad testandam suam erga me benevolentiam, meique rebus omnibus quibus potest ornandi studium, nepotem suum præstantissimum atque ornatissimum adolescentem unâ misit, & siquem haberet apud se propinquiorem aut quem pluris faceret, eum potissimum fuisse missurum scribit: additâ etiam ratione, quæ ab judicio tanti Viri profecta ad meam haud mediocrem laudem atque ornamentum pertinere existimo; nempe ut qui sanguine conjunctissimi sibi sunt in me honorando atque colendo Eminentiam suam imitarentur. Et humanitatis quidem, candoris, amicitia vestrum in me diligendo exemplum haud postremum fortasse habuerint; summæ virtutis summæque prudentiæ alia in vobis longe clariora; quibus regna resque maximas summa cum gloria administrare discant. Quæ res uti possit Eminentia vestra quam diutissimè quamque felicissimè gerere ad totius
Regni

Regni Gallici, immo totius Reip. Christianæ commune bonum, vestrumque proprium decus, non defutura mea vota polliceor.

Westmonasterio ex Aula nostra
die Junii An. 1658.

Eminentiae Vestrae Studiosissimus.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Potentissimoque Principi
CAROLO GUSTAVO Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.

Serenissime Potentissimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate Charissime;

QUoties communium Religionis hostium importuna consilia variasque artes intuemur, toties nobiscum reputamus, quàm necessarium orbi Christiano, quamque salutare sit futurum, quo faciliùs adversariorum conatibus iri obviam possit, Protestantium Principes inter se, & potissimum Majestatem vestram cum Repub. nostra arctissimo fœdere conjungi. Id à nobis quantopere fit, quantoque studio expetitur, quàm denique gratum nobis accidisset, si Suecorum nostræque res ea conditione ac loco fuissent, ut fœdus illud ex utriusque animi sententia sanciri, alterque alteri opportunissimo auxilio esse potuisset, Oratoribus vestris, ex quo primum illi hoc apud nos egerunt, testatum reddidimus. Neque vero illi suo muneri defuerunt; sed quam cæteris in rebus consueverunt, eandem hac quoque in parte prudentiam ac diligentiam adhibuerunt. Verùm ea nos domi improborum civium perfidia exercuit qui in fidem sæpius recepti, res novas tamen moliri, & cum exulibus, etiam cum hostibus Hispanis discussa jam sæpe & profligata consilia repetere non desinunt; ut in propulsandis periculis propriis occupati, neque curam omnem, neque integras opes quod in votis erat, ad communem Religionis causam tuendam convertere hætenus potuerimus. Quod licuit tamen, quantumque in nobis situm erat, & antea studiose præstitimus, & siquid in posterum Majestatis vestrae rationibus conducere videbitur, id non velle solum, verùm etiam summâ ope vobiscum unâ agere per occasiones non desistemus. Interea Majestatis vestrae rebus prudentissimè fortissimèque gestis gratulamur atque ex animo lætamur: eundemque uti velit Deus felicitatis atque victoriæ cursum esse quam diuturnum ad sui numinis gloriam assiduis precibus exoptamus.

Westmonasterio ex Aula nostra, Junii die An. 1658.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi Lusitaniæ Regi.
S. P. D.

Serenissime Rex, Amice ac Fœderate,

OSTENDIT nobis per libellum supplicem Joannes Buffield Mercator Londinensis, se anno 1649, merces quasdam Antonio Joanni & Manuelli Ferdinando Castaneo Tamirensibus tradidisse, uti iis divenditis earum rationem mercatorum more sibi redderent: tum in Angliam dum navigaret, in piratas incidisse, spoliatumque ab iis damnum haud mediocre accepisse: hoc audito, Antonium & Manuelem eò quod hunc interfectum credebant, traditas sibi merces statim pro suis habuisse, adhuc etiam retinere, rationemque omnem de iis recusare; atque huic fraudi subsecutam paulo post Anglicarum mercium proscriptionem obtendere; coactum se demum superiore anno, hyeme mediâ in Lusitaniam redire, sua repetere; sed frustra; hos enim

neque bona neque rationem ut reddant adduci posse; & quod mirum sanè videatur, privatam illarum mercium possessionem proscriptione publicâ defendere: cùm videret se hominem longinquum deteriore conditione cum Tamirenſibus in ſua patria contendere, ad Maieſtatem Veſtram ſe confuſiſſe; Conſervatoris iudicium, qui iudicandis Anglorum cauſis conſtitutus eſt, ſupplicem popoſciſſe; à Maieſtate Veſtra rurfus ad forenſem illam cognitionem, unde confugerat, reſectum eſſe. Quod etſi per ſe iniquum non eſt, tamen cùm perſpicuum ſit Tamirenſes iſtos veſtro edicto publico ad ſuam privatam fraudem abuti, à Maieſtate Veſtra maiorem in modum petimus, ut cauſam huius multis caſibus afflicti, ad inopiamque redacti ad Conſervatorem potius iudicem proprium velit pro ſua clementia integram remittere: quo poſſit inops fortunarum ſuarum quod ſupereſt ab illorum hominum infida ſocietate recuperare: id, re cognitâ, quin Maieſtati veſtræ nobiſcum unâ maximè placeat non dubitamus.

Westmonaſterio ex Aula noſtra, die Auguſti An. 1658.

Sereniſſimo Principi LEOPOLDO Aſtriæ Archiduci, Provinciarum in Belgio ſub PHILIPPO Hiſpaniarum Regi Præſidi.

Sereniſſime Domine,

CAROLUS Harbordus, vir Equeſtris apud nos Ordinis, per libellum ſupplicem ad nos detulit, ſe bona quædam & ſuppellectilem cum ex Hollandiâ Brugas in ditionem veſtram aſportaffet, de iis, ne ſibi per vim atque injuriam eripiantur, inopinatò periclitari. Ea nempe, cum à Comite Suffolchiensî pro quo ſe grandi ære alieno obſtrinxerat, ex Angliâ An. 1643. miſſa ad ſe idcirco fuiſſent, ut haberet, quo ſibi ſatisfaceret, ſiquid pro illo diſſolvere cogeretur, à Richardo Grenvillo, qui & ipſe Equeſtris Ordinis eſſe fertur, occupari, & quo in loco cuſtodiebantur, effractis foribus atque articulis poſſideri: hoc ſolo titulo, deberi ſibi neſcio quid à Theophilo Suffolchiensî Comite defuncto, ex quodam noſtræ Curiæ Cancellariæ decreto, eaque proinde bona quaſi Theophili Comitis eſſent, eique decreto obnoxia, ſe referenda in tabulas curaffe: cùm ex noſtris legibus neque ipſe Comes, qui nunc eſt, & cujus hæc bona ſunt, eo decreto teneatur, neque bona ejus occupari aut retineri debeant: id quod ex ſententiâ ejuſdem Curiæ unâ cum hiſce literis ad vos miſſâ, declaratur, quas quidem literas ſupradictus Carolus Harbordus à nobis petiit, uti per eas Celſitudinem veſtram rogamus vellemus, ut bona illa & reſenſione omni, & iniquâ iſtâ Richardi Grenvilli actione, primo quoque tempore liberentur: cùm hoc contra morem juſque Gentium planè ſit, at cuiquam in aliena ditione eâ de re actio detur, quæ in ea regione, ubi cauſa actionis orta eſt, legitimè dari non poſſit. Hanc cauſam ut Celſitudini veſtræ commendaremus, & ipſa juſtitia ratio, & prædicata paſſim veſtra æquanimitas permovit. Quod ſiquo tempore uſus venerit, ut de jure aut commodis veſtrorum apud nos agatur, haud remiſſâ proſecto noſtra ſtudia, immo omni tempore propenſiſſima expecturos vos eſſe polliceor.

Westmonaſterio.

Celſitudinis Veſtræ Studioſiſſimus,
Oliverius, Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c.

Supremæ

Supremæ Curia Parlamenti Parisiensis..

NOS Commissarii Magni Sigilli Angliæ, &c. Supremam Curiam Parlamenti Parisiensis rogatam volumus curare velit. uti Miles, Gulielmus, & Maria Sandys defuncti nuper Gulielmi Sandys & Elisabethæ Soamæ Uxoris ejus liberi, natione Angli, ætate nondum adultâ, Parisiis, ubi nunc in supradictæ Curia tutela sunt, ad nos quamprimum redire possint; eosque liberos Jacobo Mowato Scoto, viro probo atque honesto velit committere, cui nos hanc curam delegavimus, ut eos & inde acciperet, & ad nos huc adduceret: recipimusque, occasione hujusmodi oblatâ, jus idem atque æquum subditis Gallia quibuscunque ab hac Curia redditum iri.

L I T E R Æ

RICHARDI PROTECTORIS

Nomine scriptæ.

RICHARDUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi
LUDOVICO Galliarum Regi.

Serenissime ac Potentissime Rex, Amice ac Fœderate,

CUM Serenissimus Pater meus gloriosæ memoriæ Oliverius Reip. Angliæ Protector, omnipotente Deo sic volente, supremum jam diem tertio Septembris obierit, Ego Successor ejus in hoc magistratu legitime declaratus, tametsi in summo mœrore ac luctu, non potui tamen quin de re tanta primo quoque tempore Majestatem Vestram per literas certiore facerem, quam & mei patris & hujus Reip. amicissimam hoc nuntio repentino haud lætaturam esse confido. Meum nunc est à Vestra Majestate petere, de me sic velit existimare, ut qui nihil deliberatius in animo habeam, quam societatem & amicitiam quæ gloriosissimo meo parenti vestra cum Majestate fuit, summâ fide atque constantiâ colere; ejusque fœdera, consilia, rationes vobiscum institutas eodem studio ac benevolentia observare ratasque habere: Legatum proinde apud vos nostrum eadem qua prius potestate præditum volo: quicquid id nostro nomine vobiscum egerit, ita accipere velitis rogo quasi à me ipso actum id esset. Vestræ denique Majestati comprecor fausta omnia.

Westmonasterio ex Aula Nostra. 5. Septemb. 1658.

Eminentissimo Domino Cardinali MAZARINO.

Eminentissime Domine;

QUânquam nihil mihi acerbius acciderè potuit, quàm de Serenissimi & præclarissimi Patris mei obitu scribere, tamen cum sciam quanti ille fecerit Eminentiam Vestram, quanti vos illum, neque dubitem quin Eminentia Vestra, cui summa Rei Gallicæ commissâ est, amici ac fœderati tam constantis tamque conjuncti mortem molestissime latura sit, permagni referre arbitratus sum, ut eam quoque, simul cum Rege, de hoc casu gravissimo per literas monerem; vobisque etiam, quoniam id æquum est, confirmarem, me ea omnia sanctissime præstiturum ad quæ præstanda vobis, rataque habenda Serenissimæ memoriæ Pater meus fœdere tenebatur: perficiamque ut illum, utpote vobis amicissimum omnique laude florentem, cum amissum meritò

meritò doletis, quàm minimè tamen quod ad servandam societatis fidem attinet, desideretis: cui etiam ad utriusque Gentis commune bonum vestra quoque ex parte servandæ Deus Eminentiam Vestram quàm diutissimè conservet.

Westmonasterio, Septemb. 1658.

RICHARDUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi
CAROLO GUSTAVO Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.

Serenissime Potentissimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate;

CUM videar mihi paternam virtutem vix satis posse imitari, nisi easdem quoque amicitias colam & retinere cupiam, quas ipse & virtute sibi quæsit, & sibi esse maxime colendas ac retinendas iudicio singulari duxit, non est quod dubitet Majestas Vestra quin eodem se prosequi studio ac benevolentia debeam quâ Pater meus memoriæ serenissimæ est prosecutus. Tametsi igitur in hoc magistratus ac dignitatis initio non eo loco res nostras reperiam ut in præsentia possim ad quædam capita respondere, quæ Oratores vestri in medium protulerunt, tamen & institutum à patre fœdus cum Majestate Vestra continuare & arctius etiam conjungere mihi quidem magnopere placeat; rerumque utrinque statum simulac plenius intellexero, ad ea transigenda quæ cum utriusque reip. commodis potissimum conjuncta esse videbuntur, ero equidem semper, ad me quod attinet, promptissimus. Deus interim Majestatem Vestram ad gloriam suam, & Orthodoxæ Ecclesiæ tutelam atque præsidium quam diutissimè conservet.

Westmonasterio ex Aula nostra. Octob. 1658.

RICHARDUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi
CAROLO GUSTAVO, Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, Magno Principi Finlandiæ, Duci Scaniæ, Esthoniæ, Careliæ, Bremæ, Verdæ, Ste-tini, Pomeraniæ, Cassubiæ & Vandalicæ, Principi Rugiæ, Domino Ingriæ, & Wismariæ, necnon Comiti Palatino Rheni, Bavariæ, Juliaci, Cliviæ & Montium Duci.

Serenissime, Potentissime Rex, Amice ac Fœderate;

Binas accepi à Majestate Vestra literas; alteras per nuncium suum, alteras Legato nostro D. Philippo Meadows, ad me transmissas. Ex quibus non solum dolorem suum de obitu Patris mei Serenissimi veris animi sensibus expressum, deque ipso Majestas Vestra quàm præclarè senserit, verum etiam de me quoque ejus in locum suspecto quantam spem ceperit cognovi. Et ad paternæ quidem laudis cumulum nihil posthac amplius aut illustrius tanto authore accedere potest, meis certe in capeffanda Repub. auspiciis nihil felicius tanto Gratulatore, ad virtutes denique patrias tanquam hereditatem optimam adeundas nihil quod accendat vehementius tanto hortatore potuit accidere. Ad rationes Majestatis Vestræ de communi Protestantium causa nobiscum initas quod spectat, sic velim existimet, me quidem ex quo ad hæc gubernacula accessi, quanquam eo loco res nostræ sunt, ut summam diligentiam, curam, vigilantiam domi potissimum requirant, nihil tamen antiquius aut deliberatius habuisse aut habere quam paterno fœderi cum Majestate Vestra percusso quantum in me erit non deesse.

Classen

Classẽ itaque in mare Balticum mittendam cum iis mandatis curavi quæ Internuncius noster quem ad hoc totum negotium amplissimè instruximus, Majestati Vestræ communicabit. Quam Deus Opt. Max. incolumem prosperisque rerum successibus fortunatissimam ad Orthodoxam fidem tutandam diutissime conservet.

Westmonasterio ex Aula nostra, die 13 Octob. 1658.

RICHARDUS Protector Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi CAROLO GUSTAVO, Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandolarumque Regi, &c.

Serenissime, Potentissimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate;

Mitto ad Majestatem Vestram, quo nihil dignius aut præstantius possum mittere, Virum verè egregium, vereque Nobilem Georgium Aiscoum, Equitem auratum, non solum belli, & navalis præsertim scientiâ multis ex rebus fortiter gestis cognitum jam sæpe atque spectatum, verum etiam probitate, modestiâ, ingenio, doctrinâ præditum, moribus suavissimis nemini non charum, &, quod nunc caput rei est, sub signis Majestatis Vestræ virtute bellicâ toto orbe terrarum florentissimæ jam diu mereri cupientem. Velimque sic habeat Majestas Vestra, quicquid huic Viro muneris commiserit, in quo fides, fortitudo, experientia constare vel etiam prælucere possit, neque fideliori neque fortiori, nec facile peritiori posse se quicquam committere. Quæ autem ego illi negotia dederò communicanda Vestræ Majestati, in iis expeditum aditum, aurem benignam velit rogo præbere, eamque fidem, quam nobismetipsis coràm fuisset habitura; eum denique honorem, quem tali viro & suis meritis & nostrâ commendatione ornatissimo convenire judicaverit. Deus res vestras ad gloriam suam & Orthodoxæ Ecclesiæ præsidium felici exitu fortunet.

Westmonasterio ex Aula nostra, die Octob. 1658.

RICHARDUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, &c. Serenissimo Potentissimoque Principi CAROLO GUSTAVO, Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.

Serenissime Potentissimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate Charissime;

Detulit ad nos per libellum supplicem Samuel Piggottus, Londinensis Mercator, se nuper naves duas (quarum alteri nomen Postæ, magister Tiddeus Jacobus; alteri The Water-Dog, magister Garbrand Peters) Londino in Galliam negotiandi causa misisse; eas inde sale onustas Amsterdamum petisse; Amsterdamo alteram faburrâ tantum, alteram halece impositas cujus cum Petro quodam Heinsbergo Societas erat in mare Balticum Stetinum usque Pomeraniæ, quæ in vestra ditione est, ad exponendam illic halecem navigasse; verum utrasque hæc naves accepisse se alicubi maris Baltici à copiis quibusdam vestris detineri; tametsi ut huic malo occurreret cum utraque nave syngrapham sigillo curiæ maritimæ obsignatam unâ curaverit mittendam, qua & navium harum & mercium, exceptâ halecis parte supradictâ, unum se esse ac legitimum dominum demonstraret. Cujus rei cum fidem apud nos plenam fecerit, peto magnopere à Majestate Vestra (quandoquidem duarum navium jactura sine summo hominis detrimento fortunatumque forte omnium naufragio vix posse accidere videtur) uti mandet suis atque imperet illarum navium liberam primo quoque tempore dimissionem.

dimissionem. Deus Majestatem Vestram ad gloriam suam, Ecclesiæque Orthodoxæ præsidium quàm diutissimè servet incolumem.

Westmonasterio ex Aula nostra, Jan. 27. An. 1658.

RICHARDUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Celsis & Potentibus Dominis OCCIDENTALIS FRISIÆ Potestatibus, S. D.

Celsi & Potentes Domini, Amici ac Fœderati Charissimi;

G Ravem ad me detulit querelam per libellum supplicem Maria Grindaria vidua, cum sibi à Thoma Killegræo vestro milite pecunia bene magna ante annos octodecim debeatur, se eum ne nullo modo adducere per Procuratorem posse, neque ut debitum solvat, neque ut de jure suo, si quid sit, velit lege experiri; id ne à procuratore viduæ cogi possit, petisse eum à Celsitudinibus vestris per libellum supplicem ne cui liceat eum lege persequi ullius pecuniæ ab se in Angliæ debitæ. Ego verò si Celsitudinibus vestris hoc tantum significavero, viduam esse, egenam esse, multorum matrem parvulorum, cujus iste omnes prope fortunas avertere conatur, non committam ut apud vos, quibus divina præcepta atque adeo de viduis pupillisque non opprimendis notissima esse confido, graviore ulla utendum cohortatione putem, ne hoc fraudandi privilegium petitioni istius concedere velitis: id quod nunquam concessuros vos esse mihi persuadeo.

Westmonast. ex Aula nostra, Jan. 27. 1658.

RICHARDUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Serenissimo Potentissimoque Principi LUDOVICO GALLIÆ Regi.

Serenissime Potentissimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate Augustissime;

A Ccepimus, idque non sine dolore, quasdam in Provincia Protestantæ Ecclesias ab homine quodam male feriato ita indignè fuisse in sacris concionibus interpellatas, ut ea res magistratibus, ad quos hujus causæ cognitio Gratianopoli ex lege pertinebat, gravi animadversione digna censeretur: sed Conventum Cleri, qui iis in locis proximè habebatur, à Majestate Vestra impetrasse, ut res integra Parisiis ad Concilium Regium revocaretur: A quo dum nihil hæcenus decernitur, Ecclesias illas & præsertim Aquariensem, convenire ad colendum Deum prohiberi. Vehementer itaque à Majestate Vestra etiam atque etiam peto, primùm, ut quorum preces ad DEUM pro salute sua rebusque Regni prosperis non interdicat, eorum coitus publicos ad precandum interdici ne velit: deinde ut in illum hominem rei divinæ interpellatorem ex sententia illorum judicum, quibus hujusmodi causarum legitima atque consueta cognitio Gratianopoli data est, animadvertatur. Deus Majestatem Vestram quàm diuturnam atque incolumem conservet; ut si hæc nostra vota vobis accepta sunt, Deoque grata esse existimatis, eadem ab illis etiam Protestantibus Ecclesiis quibus nunc interdicatur, pro vobis publice fieri, sublato illo interdicto, quàm primum velitis.

Westmonasterio, 18. Feb. An. 1658.

Eminen-

Eminentissimo Domino Cardinali MAZARINO.

Eminentissime Domine Cardinalis ;

Proficiscitur in Galliam, ibique ad tempus commorari cogitat Illustrissima Domina defuncti nuper Ducis Richmondiae Uxor cum Duce Filio Adolescentulo. Eminentiam itaque Vestram magnopere rogo, ut siquid acciderit in quo iis vestrâ authoritate, favore, patrocinio, utpote peregrinis, usus esse possit, ita eorum dignitatem tueri, vobisque haud vulgariter commendatam rebus omnibus habere velitis, ut ad vestram humanitatem erga omnes, præsertim tam illustri genere oriundos, eximiam, sentiant nostris literis quod accedere potuit cumuli accessisse: simul & hoc sibi persuadeat Eminentia Vestra commendationem suam, si quid à me hujusmodi postulabit, apud me non minus valituram.

Westmonasterio, 29 Feb. 1658.

RICHARDUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi
JOANNI PORTUGALLIÆ Regi.

Serenissime Potentissimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate;

TAmetsi multa sunt quæ ad Regem amicum & Reip. Nostræ conjunctissimum necessario scribam, nihil est tamen quod faciam libentius quàm quod nunc facio, ut Majestati Vestræ, Regnoque Portugalliæ insignem hanc proximam de communi hoste Hispano victoriam gratuler: qua non ad vestram tantummodo, verum etiam ad Europæ totius pacem ac respirationem, permagnum, atque in multos fortasse annos, allatum esse momentum nemo est quin intelligat. Alterum est in quo victoriarum certissimum pignus justitiam Majestatis Vestræ agnoscam, qua ex articulo fœderis 24. per arbitros Londini datos, mercatoribus nostris est satisfactum, quorum naves onerarias Brasiliensis Societas conduxit. Unus est Alexander Bencius, Mercator Londinensis, cui, cum navis ejus, quæ Tres Fratres vulgo nominatur, magistro Joanne Wilkio, duas navigationes conductæ onerataque navaverit, pactum stipendium persolvere Societas recusat: cum cæteris qui semel tantum navigarunt, jampridem persolutum sit. Quod cur sit factum non intelligo, nisi si eorum judicio mercede dignior est, qui semel quàm qui bis meruerit. Vehementer itaque peto à Majestate Vestra, ut huic uni Alexandro cui duplum debetur, debita navatæ operæ satisfactio ne defiat; velitque pro authoritate sua quàm brevissimum solationis diem damnique simul farciendi Sociis Brasiliensibus constituere: quorum dilationibus effectum est ut datum inde mercatori damnum mercedem ipsam jam pene superat. Deus Majestatem Vestram lætis rerum successibus contra hostem augere indies & fortunare pergat.

Westmonasterio ex Aula nostra, 23. Feb. An. 1658.

RICHARDUS Protector Reip. ANGLIÆ, &c. Eminentissimo Domino Cardinali
MAZARINO.

Eminentissime Domine;

PER literas ad Eminentiam Vestram octo circiter abhinc mensibus Jun. 13. datas, causam Petri Petti, viri & singulari probitate præditi & egregiis artibus in re navali nobis Reique publicæ utilissimi, commendavimus. Ejus nave Edwardo anno. 1646. à quo-

quodam Gallo, cui nomen Basconi, Thameſis in oſtio, ut ſcripſimus, captâ, & in portu Bononiënſi venditâ, quanquam Rex in Concilio Regio 4. Novemb. anno 1647. decreverat, ut quam cenſuiſſet Conſilium pecuniæ ſummam damni accepti loco dandam, ſatiſfactioni daretur, iſ tamen ex eo decreto nihildum ſe fructûs percepiffe oſtendit. Cùm autem dubium mihi non ſit, quin Eminentia Veſtra meo rogatu id omne mandaverit quod ad decretum illud primo quoque tempore exequendum pertineret, denuo nunc majoremque in modum peto, ut videre velit quid impedimento ſit, cujuſve negligentia aut contumacia factum, ut decreto Regio poſt annos jam decem non obtemperetur; velitque pro ſua authoritate inſtare, ut decreta illa pecunia, quam irrogatam jamdiu exiſtimamus, & exigatur quamprimum, & petitori noſtro ſolvatur. Ita rem juſtitia impriſis gratam Eminentia Veſtra fecerit, & à me ſingularem prætereà gratiam inierit.

Westmonaſterio, ex Aula noſtra, 22. Feb. 1658.

Duæ sequentes Literæ, RICHARDO abdicato, Restituti
Parlamenti nomine scripti sunt.

Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ serenissimo potentissimoque Principi CAROLO
GUSTAVO, Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Regi, &c.

Serenissime potentissimeque Rex, Amice charissime,

CUM visum sit Deo optimo atque omnipotenti, penes quem solum conversiones
omnes Regnorum, Rerumque publicarum sunt, Nos pristinæ auctoritati summæ-
que Rerum Anglicarum administrandæ restituere, & Majestatem Vestram eâ de re
certiorem esse faciendam imprimis duximus, & vobis porro significandum, nos cum
Majestatis vestræ utpote Protestantium Principis potentissimi tum pacis inter vos Da-
niæque Regem, & ipsum quoque Protestantium Principem præpotentem, non sine
nostra opera atque officio benevolentissimo reconciliandæ, quantum in nobis situm est,
esse studiosissimos. Volumus itaque ut Internuntio nostro extraordinario, Philippo
Meadowes, quo munere ab hac Repub. apud Majestatem Vestram hætenus fungitur,
idem omnino munus nostro nunc nomine prorogetur: eique adeo his nostris literis
potestatem proponendi, agendi, transigendi cum Majestate Vestra facimus planè ean-
dem quæ ei proximis literis commendatitiis facta est: quicquid ab eo transactum
nostro nomine atque conclusum erit, id omne ratum nos esse habituros, Deo bene ju-
vante, nostrâ fide spondemus. Deus ille Majestatem Vestram quam diutissime conser-
vet, rebus Protestantium columen atque præsidium.

Guil. Lenthall, Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.
Westmonasterio, Maii 15. An. 1659.

Parlamentum Reipub. Angliæ serenissimo Principi FREDERICO Daniæ Regi.

Serenissime Rex, Amice Charissime,

CUM voluntate ac nutu summi rerum omnium moderatoris Dei Opt. Max. factum
sit ut nos demùm restituti, pristinum locum atque munus in Republica gerenda
obtinemus, placuit imprimis ea de re nec Majestatem Vestram, utpote Vicinum nobis
& Amicum Regem, esse celandam, & quem ex adversis rebus vestris capiamus do-
lorem simul esse significandum: id quod ex eo studio eaque diligentia nostrâ facile
perspicietis quam ad pacem inter Majestatem Vestram Regemque Sueciæ reconcilian-
dam & adhibemus nunc, &, quoad opus erit, adhibebimus. Quapropter Internuntio
nostro ad Serenissimum Suecorum Regem Extraordinario Philippo Meadowes negotium
dedimus, ut Majestatem Vestram his de rebus nostro deinceps nomine adeat, ea com-
municet, proponat, agat atque transigat, quæ commissa sibi à nobis & mandata esse
ostendet. Quam ei fidem Majestas Vestra hoc in munere habuerit, eam nobismetipsis
habere se credat, rogamus. Deus Majestati Vestræ ex istis omnibus rerum suarum
difficultatibus, in quibus tamen forti & magno animo versatur, felicem lætumque
exitum primo quoque tempore concedat.

Guil. Lenthall, Prolocutor Parlamenti Reipub. Angliæ.
Westmonasterio, Maii 15. An. 1659.

S C R I P -

SCRIPTUM

DOM. PROTECTORIS Reipublicæ Angliæ,
Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c.

Ex consensu atque sententiâ Concilii sui Editum;

In quo hujus Reipublicæ Causa contra HISPANOS justa esse
demonstratur.

1655.

QUibus causis adducti, quasdam insulas in occidentali India, ab Hispanis jam antea occupatas, adorti nuper sumus, eas & justas esse & rationi quam maxime consentaneas nemo est quin facile intelligat, qui modò secum reputaverit, quemadmodum Rex ille, ejusque subditi erga gentem Anglicanam in illo tractu Americano semper se gesserint; non alium nempe ad modum nisi perpetuò planè hostilem; qui modus sese gerendi ab ipsis & initium habuit injustissimum, & ab eo tempore contra gentium commune jus, contra foederum peculiares inter Anglos atque Hispanos leges eadem est prorsus ratione continuatus.

Fatendum quidem est Anglos, his annis proximis, vel iniqua æquo animo ferè pertulisse, vel se duntaxat defendisse; unde forsitan potest fieri, ut nonnulli de illa nuper in occidentalem Indiam nostræ classis profectioe ita sentiant, quasi de bello à nobis ultrò incepto atque illato, non quasi de eo, quod re quidem verà ab Hispanis ipsis & primò ortum atque conflatum, & (quanquam hæc Respublica, quod in se erat, confirmandæ Pacis, & Commericii iis in locis habendi causâ nihil prætermisit) ab iisdem hætenus continuatum summoque studio gestum reperietur: Qui quoties oblata sibi occasio est, nullam omnino justam ob causam, nullâ injuriâ laceffiti, occidere, trucidare, imò sedatis nonnunquam animis obtruncare nostros illic homines, quos visum est, bonis etiam atque fortunis direptis, Coloniis habitationibusque deletis, navibus, si quas per illa maria offendunt, captis, hostium imò prædonum in numero habere non desinunt. Illius enim nominis opprobrio omnes cujuscunque gentis, præter se solos, afficiunt, qui illa maria navigare audeant. Neque hoc alio jure aut meliore se facere intelligunt, quam Papæ nescio quâ donatione nixi, & quod partes quasdam illius occidentalis plagæ ipsi primi omnium scrutati sunt: quo nomine ac titulo novi illius orbis jus omne, ac ditionem universam ad se solos pertinere contendunt: de quo titulo fane quàm absurdo copiosius dicendi locus erit, cùm ad expendendas eas causas veniemus, cur Hispani exercere omne genus hostilitatis in nostros illic homines usque eo licere sibi arbitrentur, ut qui illas in oras aut tempestate appulsi, aut naufragio ejecti, aliòve simili casu delati sunt, eos non ut captivos ad vincula solum, sed in servitutem etiam redigant, ipsi tamen ruptam sibi Pacem etiam in Europa,

& gravissimè violatam existiment, si Angli vicissim, paria reddendi, resque suas repetendi causâ, quicquam iis in locis contra eos moliantur.

Verum, etiamsi Hispaniæ regis apud nos legati, Hispanicâ factione, quæ semper in Consilio Regis proximi, Patrisque ejus plurimum potuit, confisi, siquid Angli hoc in genere fecissent, levissimis de causis querimonias & postulationes iniquas & ridiculas afferre non dubitarint; Illi tamen Reges, Hispanis licet nimium addicti, suorum subditorum constringi noluerunt manus, ubi Hispani suas esse solvendas existimarunt: imò vim vi propulsare, & Hispanos, qui ad Pacem iis in locis servandam perducere nullo modo potuerunt, in hostium numero habere suis permisissent. Adeo ut anno circiter millesimo sexcentesimo & quadragesimo cum hæc res in Concilio regis proximi agitata esset, postularetque Hispanorum legatus ut naves quædam in Americam profecturæ, & in ostio fluminis vela jam facere paratæ prohiberentur, propterea quòd hostilitatis in Hispanos illic exercendæ potestate essent instructæ, simulque ipse jus commercii in occidentali India habendi postulantibus per Consiliarios quosdam regis, ad eam rem constitutos, Anglis denegaret, placuit ut illæ naves institutum iter suum persequerentur, quod & factum est.

Hactenus prædicti Reges subditis suis, bellum iis in locis ob rationes suas privatim suscipientibus, non defuerunt: tametsi, propter potentiam Hispanicæ factionis prædictæ, publicè, pro eo ac debuerant, & existimatione gentis pristinâ dignum erat, causam eorum suscipere noluerunt. Et nobis certè contumeliosum æquè & indignum fuisset, quibus, largiente Deo, tot naves ad omnem maritimi belli usum ornatae atque instructæ in promptu erant, si eas carie potius corrumpi otiosas domi voluissemus, quam ad ulciscendum Anglorum, quidni etiam dicam, Indorum sanguinem, ab Hispanis tam injustè tam inhumanè totiesque fuscum, illis in locis usui esse. Quandoquidem “Deus fecit ex uno sanguine totam gentem hominum ut habitaret super universa superficie terræ, definitis præstitutis temporibus, & positis terminis habitationis eorum.” Et certè Deus, quocunque id tempore, cujuscunque id manu administrandum sit, tanti sanguinis innocentissimi, tantarum cædum, quibus tot millia Indorum ab Hispanis tam barbarè occisa sunt, tantarum denique injuriarum, quibus illæ gentes miserè sunt ab iisdem vexatæ atque oppressæ, certissimas aliquando pœnas repetiturus est.

Verum ad communem hominum inter se necessitudinem, quæ fraterna sanè est, quæque facit ut gravissimæ & atrocissimæ quorumvis mortalium injuriæ ad reliquos omnes pertinere quodammodò videantur, necesse non est ut recurramus: cum ipsorum hominum nostrorum factæ cædes ac spoliatioes satis causæ quamobrem a nobis illa nuper expeditio suscepta sit, satisque justam vindicandi materiam dederint: ut nequid prætereastrarum in præsentia rationum, ut ne in futurum etiam nostram ipsam sociorumque incolumitatem, eorum præsertim qui orthodoxam Religionem colunt, consideremus; ut alias denique causas, quæ illam nobis expeditionem suaserunt, quæque nunc sigillatim enumerare consilium non est, omittamus: cum non causæ singulæ, sed ipsius rei jus atque æquitas declaranda nobis proponatur. Quod ut clarius faciamus, & generatim dicta particulatim explicemus, ad præterita referre oculos paulisper oportebit: quæque inter Anglos atque Hispanos transacta sint, quo statu res eorum utrinque, ad se mutuò quod attinet, fuerint, ex quo & perlustrata primò occidentalis Indiæ ora, & reformata Religio est, strictim percurrere. Quæ duæ res maximæ, cum eodem ferè tempore accidissent, permagnas ubique conversiones orbis terrarum rebus attulere; ad Anglos præsertim & Hispanos quod spectat, qui diversam ab eo tempore & penè contrariam res suas agendi rationem secuti sunt. Tametsi enim Rex proximus, ejusque Pater, adversis fermè totius populi Anglicani studiis atque sententiis, duo fœdera cum Hispanis quoquo modo farserunt, diversi tamen illi utrumque sensus ac studia ex diversâ religione nata, perpetuæque in occidentali India controversiæ, & Hispanorum simul, dum suis illic thesauris metuunt, suspiciones de Anglis ab initio conceptæ, cum hujus Reipublicæ conatus in assequendâ æquis atque honestis

honestis conditionibus Pace inutiles nuper reddidere, tum præcipuas re verâ causas Philippo secundo præbuere, ut, regnante Elizabetha, antiquum illud diûque inviolatum fœdus, quod huic genti cum majoribus ejus, tam Burgundici quam Castellani generis intercesserat, rumperet, & illato illi Reginæ bello, nationem hanc totam subigendam sibi proponeret, idque ipsum anno supra millesimum quingentesimo octuagelimoque octavo (dum interea de Pace stabilienda agebatur) omni impetu aggrediretur: quod quidem in Anglorum animis necesse est adhuc altè residere, neque inde posse facillè evelli. Et quanquam postea pax quædam & commercium in Europa fuit (quamvis ejusmodi nunquam ut Anglorum quisquam suam profiteri Religionem in Hispanicâ ditione, aut Sacra Biblia habere domi, ne in navi quidem ausus fuerit) in occidentali tamen India. Hispanus nunquam ex eo tempore, aut pacem esse aut commercium est passus; etiamsi in illo fœdere Henrici octavi Regis Angliæ, cum Carolo quinto Imperatore anno millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo secundo de utraque illâ re disertis verbis convenisset; in quo fœdere nominatim pax atque liberum commercium inter utrôsq; & utrorûmq; populos per omnem alterutrius ditionem, portus, & territoria quæcunque sancitum est, sine ulla occidentalis Indiæ exceptione, quamvis illam tunc temporis Imperator ille obtineret.

Quod autem ad Articulum Pacis per universum terrarum orbem colendæ, is quidem articulus in omnibus Pacis fœderibus, quæ inter utramque gentem unquam extitere, dilucidè continetur, neque ulla de commercio ullo in fœdere exceptio habetur ante illud anni millesimi sexcentissimi quarti, cum quo fœdus illud postremum anni millesimi sexcentissimi trigessimi hac de re per omnia consentit. In quibus duobus proximis fœderibus, per omnes atque singulos utriusque imperii fines commercium convenit, “Quibus in locis ante bellum” inter Philippum secundum Hispaniæ Regem, & Elizabetham Angliæ Reginam “fuit commercium juxta & secundum usum & observantiam antiquorum fœderum & tractatum ante” id tempus initorum.

Hæc ipsa fœderum verba sunt; quæ rem dubiam relinquunt, atque ita Rex Jacobus pacem cum Hispanis quoquo modo conficere satis habuit, cum eandem de pace tractationem resumeret, quæ paulò antè mortem Elizabethæ inchoata fuerat; in qua etiam tractatione suis illa deputatis inter cætera mandaverat, ut de commercio libero in occidentali India habendo instantèr agerent.

Verum Rex Jacobus (qui pacis cum Hispanis faciendæ admodum erat cupidus) ita istam clausulam relinquere contentus erat, ut utrique parti eam suo modo interpretandi facultas esset; quanquam si illa verba “Ufus & observantia antiquorum fœderum, & tractatum,” sic intelligenda sunt (ut par est) juxta & secundum id quod jure fieri debuit, non juxta & secundum quod ex parte Hispanorum ad manifestissimam eorum violationem factum est, quæ Anglis querimoniarum, utrisque dissidiorum materia perpetua erat, ex ipsis antiquorum fœderum disertis verbis clarissimum est, per omnem Hispanorum ditionem, quæcunque illa esset, tam commercii quam pacis jus Anglis fuisse.

Cæterum si antiqua fœdera & pactiones servandi ratio ab eorum manifestâ violatione petenda est, habent Hispani obtentum aliquem sic interpretandi illam in postremis fœderibus clausulam, quasi commercium illis in locis exciperet. Et tamen ad dimidiam usque illius temporis partem quod inter supradictum fœdus 1542, & initium belli a Philippo secundo contra Elizabetham suscepti intercessit, quantum ipsis ex rebus gestis intelligi potest, haud minus permitti illis in locis quam prohiberi commercium apparet. At posteaquam Hispani commercium omnino recusarunt, à permutandis mercibus ad alternandos ictus ac vulnera deventum est, tam ante bellum inter Philippum & Elizabetham ortum, quam post pacem ab Jacobo Rege anno 1604 factam; alteramque ab ejus filio anno 1630, ita tamen ut hinc commercium per European non interPELLARETUR; tametsi nunc primum Hispaniæ Rex, post hanc nuper nostrarum rerum reten-

retentionem, eorum locorum controversias ad hæc etiam Europæ loca propagandas interpretatus est.

Verùm neque in fœderum interpretatione, neque in jure commercii ex illis fœderibus, aliave ratione habendi insistimus; quasi in iis fundamenta hujus dissidii jacienda necessariò sint, cum id clarissimis atque evidentissimis rationibus nitatur, quod statim planum faciemus. Sunt tamen ejusmodi nonnulla, quæ, etsi bellum iis fundari non ita necesse est, possunt, neque injuria, impedimenta esse faciendæ pacis, aut instaurandi saltem fœderis, in quo ea non conceduntur, vel quæ in prioribus pactis concessa sunt, vel non immeritò expectari queunt. Quod etiam pro responso esse potest ad id quod quæritur, quare, quandoquidem antiqua fœdera cum aliis omnibus populis re-integravimus, idem cum Hispaniæ Rege non fecimus; neque continuò nos in conditionibus fœderis dextrum ejus oculum, multòque minùs ambos (quod objicitur) ejus oculos postulasse, si crudelissimæ Inquisitioni obnoxii esse, ubi commercium permissum est, nolimus, dandùmque nobis commercium institimus, unde, neque per antiqua fœdera, neque communi jure excludendi sumus. Tametsi enim Rex Hispaniæ id sumpsit sibi ut nobis commercii leges finisque præscriberet, Romani pontificis lege quâdam fretus, quâ is omne commercium cum Turcis, Judæis, aliisque infidelibus vetat*, eoque nomine etiam pacis tempore naves ejus bellicæ aliis etiam in locis præterquam in India occidentali nostras naves ceperunt & expilarunt, & quanquam simili Papæ autoritate ejusque donationis titulo jus in Indos sibi vendicat, perinde quasi sibi jure essent subjecti, etiam illi, qui neque in potestate neque in fide ejus sunt, nos tamen auctoritatem ejusmodi nullam neque in Papa, neque in Hispaniæ Rege agnoscimus, ut possit vel Indis jus libertatis suæ, vel nobis concessum naturæ gentiumque legibus jus versandi cum illis, & commercium habendi adimere, cum iis præfertim, ut supra diximus, qui in potestate ac ditione Regis Hispaniæ non sunt.

Alterum impedimentum renovandi fœderis cum Hispanis manifestum est atque insigne, nec non ejusmodi, ut Legatis ac Ministris publicis in Hispanicam ditionem vel de amicitia vel de alio quovis inter utramque Rempublicam negotio missis, fiduciam omnem incolumitatis præcidat, ubi Rex opinionibus ejusmodi obstrictus est, ut per eas Legatis & Ministris publicis, ne in summo vitæ periculo versentur, incolumitatem a sicariis præstare non possit: quorum jus, ut principum Rerumque publicarum usus inter se, & amicitia conservetur, gentium jure semper inviolabile est existimatum, iisque asyulis multo sanctius, quorum privilegia (autoritate Pontificis & Romanæ Ecclesiæ fundata) adhibita hæcenus fuere ad eludendam vim legum atque justitiæ, quam exequendam subinde poposcimus in interfectores Dom. Antonii Aschami, qui idcirco missus ab hac Republica in Hispaniam fuit, ut usum & amicitiam inter utramque gentem procuraret ac stabiliret. Cujus barbaræ cædis nulla satisfactio, nullum supplicium neque sumptum est, neque impetrari unquam potuit, quamvis a † Parlamento postularetur ejusque nomine a Concilio statûs vehementer ac sæpius esset.

* Gulielmus Stephanus Bristolensis, alique Mercatores aliquot Londinenses anno 1606. & 1607, cum per eam Mauritaniam tribus cum navibus commercium cum illis populis haberent Hispaniæ Regis naves, quæ per illa litora prædabantur, eas nactæ in "Saphio" & "Sanctæ Crucis" statione, dum in anchoris ibi stabant, diripuerunt; hac solâ ratione redditâ, "Nolle Regem Dominum suum cum Infidelibus, commercium permittere:" quorum damna amplius duobus millibus librarum æstimata sunt.

† Hoc constat ex literis Parlamenti, Prolocutoris manu obsignatis, ad Hispaniæ Regem mensè Januario 1650, his verbis; "Majestatem tamen vestram rogatam volumus insistimusque, uti Justitiæ publicæ tandem satisfiat super cæde Antonii Ascham Residentis nostri flagitiosa, eo magis quod post istius modi facinoris auctores merito supplicio affectos, in aulam vestram Regiam Oratorem nostrum non dubitabimus delegare, ea exposituram quæ non minùs Majestati vestræ poterunt inservire, quam rei nostræ publicæ. Ex adverso, si no sanguinem illum tot circumstantiis insignitum inultum pateremur, coram Deo unico liberatore perennique misericordiarum nostrarum fonte, & coram natione Anglicanæ participes nos fore criminis necesse est; Præcipue, si aliam adhuc Anglum in illud velimus regnum mittere, ubi fas est impune trucidari. Nos vero tanti æstinamus Majestatem vestram, ut non facile sinus credituri potentiam vestram Regiam in ditionibus ipsi subjectis alienæ cuiuspiam potentie subiecta esse.

esset flagitatum. Quod quidem foederis inter utramque gentem renovandi continuatum haecenus impedimentum atque iustissimum fuit, immò verò (pro eo quod ab aliis nationibus factitatum est) iusta belli causa censeretur potuit.

Quod autem ad controversias in occidentali India exortas, cum tam in ipsa continente quam in insulis Coloniae nobis quoque sint Americanae, easque jure non deteriore, immo meliore possideamus quam Hispani suarum ullas obtineant, parique jure ea maria navigare nobis liberum sit, sine ulla tamen causa, nullâ prorsus injuriâ læsi (idque ubi de commercio controversia nulla versata est) tamen perpetuò Colonias nostras hostiliter invaserant, nostros homines interfecerunt, naves ceperunt, bona diripuerunt, ædificia stationesque vastarunt, nostros populares captivos in servitutem abduxerunt; atque hæc facere non destiterunt ad illud usque tempus in quo hanc nuper expeditionem contra eos suscepimus.

Ob quam causam, contra quam antehac in hujusmodi occasione fieri consuevit, ubique ferè ditionis Hispanicæ naves nostras negotiatoresque omnes retinuerunt, eorumque bona proscripserunt; adeo ut, sive ad Americam, sive ad Europam oculos convertamus, belli authores ipsi soli existimandi sunt, quæque ex eo cædes atque incommoda sequi poterunt iis omnibus causam ipsi præbuisse.

Exempla perpetuæ crudelissimæque hostilitatis in occidentali India, etiam pacis tempore ab Hispanis in Anglos edita, & ab anno 1604, cum ab Jacobo Rege coagmentata pax est, usque dum rursus bellum erupit, & ab ea pace quæ anno 1630, proximè facta est, ad hanc usque diem permulta sunt perque inhumana & cruenta: * pauca attulisse satis habebimus.

Post factam pacem anno 1605, Navis Maria dicta, Ambrosio Birch magistro, ad septentrionalem Hispaniolæ oram in occidentali India mercaturas faciebat; magister, cum a Sacerdote quodam patre Joanne, sic enim nominabatur, cum sex sociis, tuti & liberi commercii promissis allectus esset ut in terram videndarum mercium quarundam causâ egrederetur, & Hispani duodecim ad Anglicanas merces inspiciendas in navem ascenderent, dum Angli suas merces ostendunt nihil doli metuentes, dante signum ab litore Sacerdote, Hispani, eductâ quisque sicâ, omnes in navi Anglos jugularunt, præter duos duntaxat qui in Mare desiluerunt; cæteri in terra exquisitis cruciatibus necati sunt; magister ipse exutus vestibus & ad arborem alligatus, nudus muscarum moribus expositus est; ubi post horas viginti Nigrita quidam, audito hominis ejulatu, accedens, jam antè moribundum lanceâ transfixit: Navis hæc cum mercibus quinque millibus & quadringentis libris æstimata est.

Alia navis, cui nomen Arcuariæ, eodem anno ad Sanctum Dominicum capta est, nautæque omnes interfecti: hæc navis mille trecentis libris æstimata est.

Alia navis dicta Amicitia Londinensis, cum navigio suo a Lodovico Fajardo, classis Regiæ Hispaniensis Navarcho, capta est, navis cum bonis omnibus publicata, mercatores ac nautici in Mare demersi, præter unum puerum, qui ad serviendum est servatus: Hæc navis cum navigio quinquies mille & quingentis libris æstimata est.

Ex alia navi, cui nomen The Scorn, cum omnes nautæ, Hispanorum dejectionibus confisi, in terram egressi essent, omnes tamen alligati ad arbores & strangulati sunt. Ubi Mercatores & navem & bona omnia amiserunt, mille quingentis libris æstimata.

† Anno

* Navis quædam Ulyssis nomine insignita, cum per oram Guianæ Mercaturam faceret, & mercatores ac nautæ adducti fide ac jurejurando Berrei illius loci præfecti, in terram exissent, eorum tamen triginta capti & in custodiam traditi sunt: Scribit deinde ad mercatorem præfectus se quidem triginta ex suis nautis cepisse, ideo quod nonnulli exteri, qui mercandi causâ illuc appulerant, viginti millibus ducatis ipsum fraudaverant; quos nummos si sibi inisset, remissurum se ei omnes suos juravit, & commercii potestatem facturum. Mercator partim numeratò, partim mercium æstimatione optatam ei summam mittit: quam cum præfectus Berreus accepisset, alligatos ad arbores illos homines triginta strangulati iussit, excepto solo Chirurgo qui ad sanandum præfecti morbum asservatus est. Hæc redemptio aliis cum damnis ibi datis septem millibus librarum æstimata est.

† Anno 1606 navis, cui nomen Neptunus, ad Tortugam ab Hispanorum navibus prædatoriis capta est, quatuor millibus & trecentis libris æstimata.

Eodem anno navis alia, quæ Alauda nominata est, a Lodovico Fajardo capta, & cum toto onere publicata est; quæ quatuor millibus quingentis & septuaginta libris est æstimata.

* Navis alia, cui nomen Castor & Pollux, ab Hispanis ad Floridam capta est, qui & eam publicârunt nautasque omnes vel necaverunt, vel in servitute retinuerunt, nihil enim de iis postea est auditum: Hæc navis cum suo onere quindecim millē libris æstimata est.

Anno 1608, navis Plimouthensis Richarda nominata, cujus Præfectus erat Henricus Challins, Domini Pophami summi Angliæ Justiciarii Ferdinandi Gorges, ordinis equestris, aliorumque sumptibus instructa, ut Virginiam peteret, ad australem Canariarum insularum partem vi tempestatum delata, cum inde cursum ad destinatam oram tenuisset, sub latitudine 27 graduum in undecim naves Hispanicas ab Sancto Dominico redeuntē fortē incidit; quæ ipsam ceperunt, & quanquam præfectus navis diploma regium protulit, quo se expediret, tamen navis cum bonis publica facta est, ipse crudeliter habitus, & ad triremes missus. Unde amplius duo mille & quingentæ libræ sunt amissæ.

Simile quiddam navi alteri, cui nomen The Ayde, factum est a Lodovico Fajardo captæ, obtentu amicitiae; hæc item cum bonis publicata est, omnesque nautæ, ad triremes abducti; ubi nonnulli fustibus, ad necem pulsati sunt, quod remigium recusassent. Quæ navis & bona, Hispanis ipsis æstimantibus, septem millibus librarum æstimata sunt.

Eodem anno Navis alia, Anna Gallant appellata, magistro Gulielmo Curry, cum ad Hispaniolam mercaturas faceret, similiter & navis & bona publica facta sunt, omnesque nautæ suspendio necati, assutis unicuique ad ludibrium chartulis, in quibus erat scriptum, "Cur huc venistis?" Hæc navis cum onere octo millibus librarum æstimata est.

Hæc exempla satis ostendunt, cujusmodi nobis Pacem Hispani in occidentali India temporibus Jacobi ferverunt; qui Rex diligentissimè curavit vel potius pertimuit ne Pax cum iis dirimeretur. Ejusmodi hostilia plenè & cruenta vestigia, ab illa etiam proxima Pace, quæ anno 1630 confecta est, ad hanc usque diem, persequi licet.

De iis coloniis, quæ, ab hujus nationis nobilibus quibusdam viris, in insulam Cætelinam (ab his Providentiæ dictam) & in insulam Tortugam (ab iisdem Associationis dictam) deductæ sunt, primum dicemus. Hæ autem anno circiter 1629, cum essent incolarum & pecorum omnino vacuæ, indicto inter Anglos & Hispanos tunc temporis bello, ab Anglis occupatæ sunt atque possessæ. Sequentē anno Pace inter utramque gentem factâ, cum de iis insulis haudquaquam ab Hispanis in fœdere exciperetur, Carolus Rex, non impediri se hâc Pace arbitratus, suo diplomate, quod & magno sigillo Angliæ signatum erat, supradictam insulam Providentiæ, simul et alias vicinas ditionis esse suæ declaravit; easque nobilibus quibusdam viris eorumque hæredibus possidendas concessit; & sequente anno ad Tortugam usque insulam concessionem illam extendit.

Et quanquam supradicti Coloni, ejusdem Regis concessione in earum insularum possessionem venerant, eaque concessio jure optimo fundata erat, primum Naturæ, eod quod neque Hispani, neque alii quincunque in eorum locorum possessione essent, deinde
Belli,

† Joannes Davis duo navigia cum omnibus bonis amisit, interfectis eorum omnibus nautis, ad illius navigationis interitum, unde trium millium & quingentarum librarum jacturam fecit.

* Alia navis Mercatorum quorundam Londinensium, (cujus magister erat Joannes Lock) a classe Hispanorum ad insulam Tortugam capta est, propterea quod mercaturam fecisset, & arbores cecidisset, ob id navis est publicata, & nauticorum plerique morte multati, reliqui ad triremes damnati: Hic quinque millium & trecentarum librarum jactura facta est.

Belli, quandoquidem belli tempore occupatæ sunt, & in Pacis articulis nequaquam exceptæ, unde extingui jus Hispanorum (si quod illic juris habuissent) ipsorum assensu, ex secundo proximi fœderis articulo, sequitur, quanquam etiam neque supradicta Coloniarum Societas, nec suorum quisquam ullo suo facto justam offensionis causam vel Hispaniæ Regi, vel Hispanorum cuiquam præbuerat, donec priores ipsi naves nostras atque Colonias vi invasisent, & Anglorum haud paucos, incensis etiam eorum ædificiis ac sedibus, interfecissent, Hispani tamen, cum nullam iis in locis pacem servare statuissent, circa 22 Januarii 1632, nullâ injuriâ laceßiti, navem quandam societatis, cui nomen Flos Marinus, ab insula Providentiæ redeuntem, inter Tortugam & Floridæ caput hostiliter aggressi sunt, in qua pugna nonnullos in ea navi occiderunt, alios vulnerarunt.

Post hæc anno circiter 1634, Tortuga insula ab Hispanis cum quatuor navibus oppugnata est, cum ab Anglis nulla injuria exorta esset: in quâ oppugnatione sexaginta vel amplius occisi sunt, multi sauciati ac capti, sedes deletæ, domus incensæ, bona haud parvi pretii ab Hispanis asportata, Angli penitus ex ea insula dejecti, quorum alii suspendio sublatis, alii Havanam abducti in servitute miserrimâ retenti sunt; unus præ cæteris, cui nomen Grymes, qui in Tortuga Bombardarius fuerat, crudeliter est trucidatus; pars ad desertam quandam insulam confugiens, cui Sanctæ Crucis nomen est, ab Hispanis, qui eo etiam cum tribus navibus longis fugientes persequiebantur, oppugnata mense Martio 1636, quadraginta occisi, reliqui capti & crudelissimè accepti.

Anno 1635 Julii 24, Hispani duabus navibus magnis unâque longâ advecti in Providentiæ quoque insulam impetum fecerunt, compluriumque horarum spatio prælium ibi commiserunt; & tum quidem rejecti sunt, & ab incœpto desistere coacti; donec idem rursus tentantes circa annum 1640, cum duodecim navibus magnis & minoribus, quarum Prætorix Armadillo Carthaginensi nomen erat, ex majoribus Regiæ classis Argentariæ triremibus, cum magnum militum numerum in terram exposuissent, totius insulæ expugnationem polliciti sibi sunt, verùm, haud parvo accepto incommodo, repulsi denuò recesserunt. Alterâ tamen classe instructâ paulò post cum revertissent, Coloni diffidiis laborantes, non tam quâ se ratione defenderent, quam quibus conditionibus commodissimè se dederent, cogitarunt, quas tradita demum insulâ, faciliè impetraverunt. Sed insula hoc modo & Colonis erepta est, & Reipublicæ, illis octoginta amplius milliùm librarum damno dato, huic, detrimento & ignominiâ publicâ simul acceptâ. Ita in Hispanorum potestatem cum esset redacta, navis quædam, quæ vectores aliquot ab nova Anglia in eam insulam transmigrantes advexerat, intra ictum Bombardarum callidè perducta est (ignorabat enim eam insulam in Hispanorum potestate jam esse) nec sine permagno discrimine ac difficultate se extricavit, amisso etiam navis magistro, viro probissimo, quem ictus tormenti ab insula displosi transverberavit.

Nec contenti intra fines Americanos hostilitati suæ in illius Colonix socios modum statuere Hispani, in his etiam partibus Europæ eandem in eos exercuerunt: anno enim 1638 Decembris 25, Navis quædam ejusdem societatis, Providentiæ nomine insignita, cui Thomas Newman Præfectus erat a Promontorio Dengioleucis duabus in ipsa Angliæ ora a Sprengfeldio Dunkirkanæ navis prædatoriæ præfecto oppugnata atque capta est; Dunkirkam deinde aducta; ubi navis onera retenta sunt; (quæ multorum etiam illic æstimatione triginta milliùm librarum summam conficere existimabantur) Anglorum autem partim occisi, partim vulnerati, cæteri postquam in ipsa navi suâ barbare atque inhumanè essent habiti, Dunkirkam abrepti haud melius accepti sunt, donec rationem aliquam profugendi invenissent. Et quamvis supradicti socii satisfactionem omnibus modis postulassent, Rexque proximus per Residentem suum Dom. Balthasarum Gerberium, perque literas tam sua manu, qua a Secretario Coco scriptas, eorum nomine reparationem poposcisset, nullam tamen neque bonorum restitutionem, neque ob ea ut compensatio ulla fieret impetrare potuerunt.

Sunt & alia recentioris & acerbioris etiam memoriæ exempla, illud nempe Sanctæ Crucis ab Hispanis a Portorico provectis oppugnata anno circiter 1651, insulæ quidem

antea non habitata; illo autem tempore Colonia Anglorum, duce Nicolao Philips, eam tenuit; qui cum centum circiter Colonis ab Hispanis crudeliter occisus est; qui etiam naves in portu occuparunt, sedes diripuerunt, vastarunt, & funditus exciderunt. Cumque plures quos occiderent invenire non possent (cum incolarum pars alia in silvas profugisset) Hispani Portoricum reversi iis miseris & fame propemodum confectis reliquiis ad alias vicinas insulas recipiendi sese, illamque Sanctæ Crucis penitus deferendi, spatium dedere. Sed brevi post tempore Hispani ad pervestigandum & quasi venandum eos qui in silvas sese abdiderant, reverterunt: verum illi ex manibus eorum effugiendi, & in alias insulas dilabendi rationem aliquam invenerunt.

Eodem anno 1651, Navis quædam Joannis Turneri, cum esset in portum Cumana-gotæ vehementioribus ventis appulsa, ab illius loci præfecto occupata & cum omni onere in fiscum redacta est.

* Similiter factum est navi & bonis Capitanei Cranlei.

Et anno 1650 Navis quædam Samuelis Wilson, quæ Barbados insulas petebat, equis onusta, in alto capta & Havanam abducta est; navis & bona publicata, nautarum plerique in custodiam traditi, & mancipiorum more in munimentis operas dare coacti.

Similia experti sunt nautæ cujusdam navis Barnstapulensis, annis abhinc circiter duobus, quæ navis cum propè Hispaniolam, dum a Coloniis quibusdam nostris in insulis Caribis reverteret, rimas agere cœpisset undamque accipere, nautæ ejus in Scapha sibi consulere coacti ad littus evaserunt, ubi omnes captivi facti, mancipiorum ritu, in munimentis operas dare cogeantur.

His, aliisque permultis hujusmodi exemplis, quæ omnia recitare nimis longum esset, manifestissimum est Hispaniæ Regem eique Subjectos arbitrari se nulla Pacis conditione nobis præstandâ illis in regionibus obligari: cum & omne genus hostilitatis in nos exercere, immò graviora hostilitate, consueverint, eaque inhumanitas, quâ illic Anglos tractare solent, usque eò a Pacis legibus aliena sit, ut ne belli quidem legibus non internecini convenire videatur. In illo tamen Hispaniæ Regis Embargo, quo mercatorum nostrorum naves ac bona proscribi ac retineri imperat, in Anglos culpa omnis confertur; quasi "Foedifragos" nimirum "& Sacrosanctæ Pacis atque Commerciî liberi violatores tam Religiose" ut ipse ait "ab se servati; idque tam inopinata atque professâ hostilitate fecisse nos, ut urbem Sancti Dominici in Hispaniola insula oppugnare adoriremur." Quod solum causæ affertur, quamobrem Anglorum bona in Hispania proscribantur, negotiatoresque retineantur: quanquam & hoc prædicatâ ejus humanitate exaggeratum est, "Se nostras classes in † Portus suos, quoscunque ingredi aut attingere commodum nobis fuisset, amice recepisse; neque Ministros suos exegisse rigide a nobis illos Pacis articulos inter utramque Coronam sancitos, qui cum amplius sex vel octo navibus bellicis intrare portus utrinque vetant."

Verum quemadmodum ipse dum hæc dicit, classes nostras omni commissio ac foederis violatione illis in portibus absolvit, cum, siquid ejusmodi, quod objicitur, factum & condonatum sit, id ipsius & Ministrorum suorum permisso ac bonâ veniâ sit factum, & quemadmodum luce clarius est non eum gratuito tam facilem fuisse, si, quanta a classibus nostris momenta suis rationibus accesserint, secum cogitet, ita è contrario Rex ille ejusque Ministri, quas ipse commemorat pactiones minimè sanè observârunt; quarum Articulo vigesimo tertio tam disertè cautum est, "Si contingat ut displicentiæ" inter
utram-

* Similiter etiam factum fuerat eodem in portu navi cuidam Joannis Blandi, cui Præfectus erat Nicolaus Philippus.

† At vero Navarchus noster Swanleius in Sicilia non ita est amicè in Portu Drepani acceptus, ubi anno 1653, circa mensem Junium Navis ejus, cui nomen Henricus Bonaventura, unâ cum Hollandica Navi magna & opulentissima, cui nomen Petro, quam ceperat, proditione Hispanici præfecti, qui ei loco præerat, a septem navibus Hollandicis junioris Trampii ductu, in ipso portu, non longius a munimentis quam sclopi minoris ictus ferri potuit, oppressa est; unde mercatores, quorum illa navis fuit, plus sexaginta tribus millibus librarum amiserunt.

utramque Rempublicam “ oriantur, ut subditi hinc inde ita ea de re admoneantur; ut sex menses a tempore monitionis habeant ad transportandas merces suas, nulla interea arrestatione, interruptione, aut damno personarum aut mercium suarum faciendis vel dandis.” Quam in re Rex ille exiguam sanè pactio- num illarum, quas contra nos profert, in illa nuper nostrarum rerum proscriptione rationem habuit. Quod autem in eo edicto declarat, hostilitatem in occidentali India exortam, his in partibus violationem pacis liberique commercii habendam esse; nova, adeoque alia plane interpretatio est, atque hætenus ab utraque Republica in medium unquam allata est: tametsi hoc declarandi occasiones utrinque non defuere.

Verùm cum Hispaniæ Rex ipse & verbis & re ipsâ declaraverit pacis articulos intelligi sic debere, efficitur hinc ut tot contra Anglos iis in regionibus hostiliter factis & ab ipso primum exortis, & ab ipso tempore proximè percussi fœderis, ut supradictum est, huc usque continuatis, ab se primo soluta sacra amicitiae vincula ipse se coarguisse videatur. Quæ res tam clara per se & manifesta est, ut adversarios nostros certè ipsos puerit in hac controversia factum negare, de jure potius nobiscum disceptaturos; quemadmodum scilicet Hispaniæ Rex, inter titulos suos, Regis Indiarum titulum sibi sumpsit, ita universam Indiam, marèque Indicum tam Boreale quam Australe suam esse propriam ditionem, hostesque omnes & piratas esse qui ejus injussu illuc accesserint. Quod si ita esset, & nos & omnes cæteræ nationes, quicquid iis in locis possidemus, ei relinquere ac reddere, & reductis Coloniis nostris, injuriæ sibi factæ veniam petere deberemus. Verum si rationem ac veritatem illius tituli altius inspiciamus, tenui admodum atque infirmo eum niti fundamento comperiemus, quo tanta contentio- num ac belli moles superstruenda sit, quantam hanc verisimile est futuram.

Duplex titulus præfertur, Papam videlicet ea loca donasse, seque primos omnium perlustrasse: ad primum quod attinet, scimus Papam in donandis Regnis ac regionibus liberalissimum semper fuisse, illi interea dissimillimum cujus Vicarium se esse profiteretur, qui ne hoc quidem tantulum sibi sumere volebat, ut in dividendis hæreditatibus constitui se judicem pateretur, nedum ut suo arbitrio cuiquam donaret, quemadmodum Angliam, Hiberniam, aliaque Regna Papa largitus est. Verùm nos auctoritatem in eo istiusmodi nullam agnoscimus, neque gentem ullam usque adeo mentis inopem existimamus, ut in eo tantam auctoritatem inesse credat; vel Hispani ipsi ut credant, aut essent assensuri, si ab iis Papa tantum abjudicasset quantum largitus est. Quod si Galli atque alii, qui auctoritatem Papalem in Ecclesiasticis rebus agnoscunt, hunc Hispanorum titulum pro nihilo habent, nos ut de eo aliter sentiamus non est expectandum, adeoque hoc relinquimus, responso ampliore prorsus indignum.

Sed neque alter Titulus majoris est ponderis; quasi verò, si Hispani paucas quasdam Americæ partes primi perscrutati sunt, insulisque aliquot, fluminibus, ac Promontoriis nomina imposuere, idcirco novi illius orbis dominium jure sibi acquisivissent. Verùm imaginarius ejusmodi Titulus tali præscriptione nixus sine possessione jus aliquod verum aut legitimum creare non potest. Jus optimum tenendi Americanis in locis quod quisque habet, est Coloniarum deductio, & possessio vel ubi nulli omnino incolæ fuere, vel, sicubi fuere, eorum assensu, vel saltem in desertis quibusdam suarum regionum & incultis locis, quibus vel colendis vel habitandis ipsi non sufficiant; quandoquidem Deus terram hominum usibus creavit, præcepitque iis ut universam implerent.

Hoc si verum est, quemadmodum Hispani iniquissimo jure parta illic obtinere inveniuntur; cum omnia invitis incolis, & quasi ex ipsis eorum visceribus sibi acquisiverint, quorum sanguine suum imperium illic fundarunt, magnasque insulas & regiones totas non reperere quidem desertas sed reddidere, indigenis omnibus eradicatis, ita Angli, quæ illic habent, jure optimo possederint; easque nominatim insulas in quibus Hispani Colonias eorum oppugnarunt atque delerunt; quæ aut incolas omnino non habuere, aut si ab Hispanis interfectos, desertæ etiam ab iisdem & sine cultoribus relictæ sunt: adeo ut naturæ gentiumque jure occupantibus quibuscumque eas & possidentibus cedant; juxta illud

in legibus notissimum, “ Quæ nullius sunt & pro derelictis habentur, cedunt occupanti.” Quanquam si Hispanos expulsemus iis locis in quæ nostras colonias deduximus, unde ipsi prius incolas radicatus exturbaverant, nos tanquam occisionum & injuriarum illius populi ultores meliore jure regiones illas obtinuissimus, quam oppressores ejusdem & interfectores. Cum autem nostræ Coloniæ iis in locis fuerint, ubi neque Indigenæ neque Hispani possessionem ullam tenuerunt, neque habitationes ullas aut pecora post se reliquerant, aliāve rem, quæ possit ullo modo jus possessionis retinere, tanto evidentius jus nostrum iis in locis fuit & Hispanorum injuriæ nobis illatæ tantò apertiores; iis præfertim in locis quæ indicti utrinque belli tempore occupata sunt (quo in genere Providentiæ insula atque Tortugæ fuit) quas si Hispani suas esse ullo priore Titulo necdum prolato ostendere potuissent, tamen cum in pacis proximæ tractatione id non fecerint, per secundum ejus Articulum talem omnem prætextum ipsi sibi in posterum amputarunt, jusque ipsi suum, si quod erat, extinxerunt.

Hoc argumentum copiosius tractare nihil attinet; neque est quisquam rerum peritus quin facile perspiciat quàm inanes atque infirmæ sint istæ rationes quibus innixus Hispanus, tam immensi tractus imperium arrogare sibi soli non dubitat. Verùm id egimus ut obtentuum istorum debilitatem paucis aperiremus, quibus Hispani quicquid in nos indignè atque atrociter in occidentali India commiserunt, defendere conantur; mancipationes, suspensiones, demersiones, crutiatūsque nostrorum hominum ac necesse, navium ac bonorum spoliationes, Coloniarum summa in Pace depopulationes idque nullā prorsus injuriā affecti, ut Anglicana gens quoties hæc tam acerba atque atrocia in suum sanguinem, & ejusdem Orthodoxæ Fidei cultores perpetrata meminerit, non naves bellicas sed decus suum omne obsolescere & interire cogitet, si his indignissimis modis tractari sese diutius æquo animo patiatur; neque solum tanta ac tam opulenta orbis terrarum parte contra jus legēsque gentium communes ab omni libero commercio excludi, verùm etiam pro piratis atque prædonibus haberi, eodemque supplicio plecti, si illa maria navigare, si vel aspicere vel aspirare, si denique vel cum nostris ibi Coloniis usum aliquem aut commercium habere ausa fuerit.

De Inquisitione Hispanicâ sanguinariâ nihil dicimus, inimicitiarum causâ universis Protestantibus communi; neque de tot Seminariis Sacerdotum ac Jesuitarum Anglicorum sub Hispanico patrocinio nidulantium, offensionis causâ & periculi gravissimi huic Reipublicæ propriâ; cum propositum nobis potissimum sit controversiarum in occidentali India nostrarum causas & rationes exponere. Hoc verò æquioribus cunctis & incorruptis rerum æstimatoribus planum fecisse confidimus, Necessitatem, Existimationem, Justitiam ad hanc nuper susceptam Expeditionem nos evocasse; Necessitatem, bellandum enim necessariò est si per Hispanos Pacem colere non licet; Existimationem atque Justitiam, neutra enim harum nobis constare poterit, si injurias tam inhumanas atque intolerandas impunè civibus nostris, ac popularibus inferri desides patiemur, quales in occidentali India illatas iis esse demonstravimus.

Et certè parum vident, qui de consiliis ac rationibus Hispanicis conjecturam capiunt ex ea personâ ac specie quam in præsentia suarum rerum inclinatio induere versùs nos in his orbis terræ partibus coegit; quasi non nunc mens eadem, iidem sensus animorum ac rationum suarum sint, qui tum fuere, cum anno 1588, subjungere hanc totam insulam suamque sub imperium ac ditionem subungere affectabant, immò quasi ex hoc immutato apud nos rerum statu formaque Reipublicæ non accensa potius eorum in nos odia auctæque suspiciones sint. Quòd si hæc opportunitas, quæ, propter nunnulla quædam quæ nuper acciderunt, ineundi rationem aliquam, quâ ab hoc tam vetere & implacato Religionis nostræ, ac patriæ hoste nobismetipsis (Deo bene juvante) consulere possimus, occasionem fortè suppeditaverit, prætermittenda fuerit, fieri poterit ut eas vires facile sit recuperaturus (animus enim certè illi neque unquam deerit neque deesse poterit) ex quibus intolerandus æquè & formidabilis reddi possit atque antea fuerit. Nos interea si injurias tam immanes in occidentali India sine satisfactione ulla aut vindicta nostris fieri, si excludi

cludi nos omnes ab illa tam insigni orbis terrarum parte, si infestum atque inveteratum hostem nostrum (Pace præsertim cum Batavis jam factâ) ingentes illos ab occidentali India thesauros, quibus præsentia incommoda sarcire possit, nostrâ pace domum deportare, resque suas in eum rursus locum restituere patiemur, quò eandem iterum possit de liberationem fuscipere, quam anno 1588 habuit, “ Utrum fuisset consultius ad recuperandas Belgii fœderatas Provincias initium facere ab Anglia, an ab illis ad subigendam Angliam,” proculdubiò non minus multas immò plures causas excogitabit, cur potius ab Anglia initium sit faciendum : Quem finem ut assequantur ullo tempore ea consilia, si Deus permitteret, expectare meritò possemus ut in nos primos, in omnes denique ubicunque Protestantes exerceatur quod restat occidionis illius immanissimæ, quam fratres nostri in Alpinis vallibus passi nuper sunt : quæ, si illorum miserorum editis querimoniis Orthodoxorum credendum sit, per illos fraterculos, Missionarios quos vocant, Hispanicæ aulæ consiliis intimis informata primitus ac designata erat.

His omnibus animadversis, speramus quidem fore, ut omnes Angli, præsertim sincere, privatas adversus se mutuò inimicitias deposituri sint, suisque propriis commodis potius renunciaturi quàm propter cupiditatem lucri, haud ita multi, ex mercaturis illis faciendi (quod non nisi inhonestis conditionibus & quodammodo improbis parari, & aliundè etiam suppeditari poterit) multorum adolescentiam negotiatorum animas, ex iis conditionibus quibus nunc in Hispania negotiantur & degunt, summo periculo, sicuti faciunt, objecturi, vitamque & fortunas multorum in America fratrum Christianorum, hujus denique nationis totius agi existimationem passuri ; quodque gravissimum est, oblatis sibi a Deo ad gloriam ipsius, regnumque Christi amplificandum opportunitates præclarissimas ex manibus dimissuri. Quæ quidem non dubitamus quin, remotis quæ veritati penitus inspiciendæ officiunt, expeditionis nuper nostræ in occidentalem Indiam contra Hispanos susceptæ potissimum fuisse finem appareat.

Auctoris.

Autoris

EPISTOLARUM FAMILIARIUM
LIBER UNUS:

Quibus accesserunt

Ejusdem, jam olim in Collegio Adolescentis,
Prolusiones quædam Oratoriæ.

THOMÆ JUNIO Præceptori suo.

1. **Q**uanquam statueram apud me (Præceptor optime) Epistolium quoddam numeris metricis elucubratum ad te dare, non satis tamen habuisse me existimaui, nisi aliud insuper soluto stylo exarassẽm; incredibillis enim illa & singularis animi mei gratitudo, quam tua ex debito vendicant in me merita, non constricto illo, & certis pedibus ac syllabis angustato dicendi genere exprimenda fuit, sed Oratione liberâ, immò potius, si fieri posset, Asiaticâ verborum exuberantiâ. Quamvis quidem satis exprimere quantum tibi debeam, opus sit meis viribus longè majus, etiam si omnes quoscunque Aristoteles, quoscunque Parisiensis ille Dialecticus congeffit argumentorum τόποις exinanirem, etiam si omnes elocutionis fonticulos exhaurirem. Quereris tu vero (quòd merito potes) literas meas raras admodum & perbreves ad te delatas esse; ego vero non tam doleo me adeo jucundo, adeoque expetendo defuisse officio, quam gaudeo & pene exulto eum me in amicitia tua tenere locum, qui possit crebras à me Epistolas efflagitare. Quod autem hoc plusquam triennio nunquam ad te scripserim, quæso ut ne in pejus trahas, sed pro mirifica ista tua facilitate & candore, in mitiorem partem interpretari digneris. Deum enim testor quam te instar Patris colam, quam singulari etiam observantiâ te semper prosecutus sim, quamque veritus chartis meis tibi obstrepere. Curo nempe cum primis, cum Tabellas meas nihil aliud commendet, ut commendet raritas. Deinde, cum ex vehementissimo, quo tui afficior desiderio, adesse te semper cogitem, teque tanquam præsentem alloquar & intuear, dolorique meo (quod in amore fere fit) vanâ quâdam præsentiae tuæ imaginatione adblandiar; vereor profecto, simulac literas ad te mittendas meditarer, ne in mentem mihi subito veniret, quam longinquo à me distes terrarum intervallo; atque ita recrudesceret dolor absentiae tuæ jam prope consopitus, somniûmque dulce discuteret. Biblia Hebræa, pergratum sane munus tuum, jam pridem accepi. Hæc scripsi Londini inter urbana diverticula, non Libris, ut soleo, circumseptus: Si quid igitur in hac Epistola minus arriserit, tuamque frustrabitur expectationem, pensabitur aliâ magis elaboratâ, ubi primum ad Musarum spatia rediero.

Londino, Martii 26, 1625.

Alexandro

ALEXANDRO GILLO.

2. **A** Ccepi literas tuas, & quæ me mirifice oblectavere, carmina fane grandia, & Majestatem vere Poeticam, Virgilianumque ubique ingenium redolentia. Sciebam equidem quam tibi tuoque genio impossibile futurum esset, à rebus Poeticis avocare animum, & furores illos coelitus instinctos, sacrumque & æthereum ignem intimo pectore eluere, cum tua (quod de seipso Claudianus) ————“ Totum spirent Præcordia Phoebum.” Itaque si tua tibi ipse promissa sefelleris, laudo hîc tuam (quod ais) inconstantiam, laudo, siqua est, improbitatem; me autem tam præclari Poematis arbitrum à te factum esse, non minus glorior, & honori mihi duco, quam si certantes ipsi Dii Mufici ad meum venissent judicium; quod Tmolus Lydii montis Deo populari olim contigisse fabulantur. Nescio fane an Henrico Nassovio plus gratuler de urbe capta, an de tuis Carminibus: nihil enim existimo victoriam hanc peperisse Poematio hoc tuo illustrius, aut celebrius. Te vero, cum prosperos sociorum successus tam sonorâ triumphalique tubâ canere audiamus, quantum vatem sperabimus, si forte res nostræ demum feliciores tuas Musas poscant Gratulatrices. Vale vir erudite, summasque à me tibi gratias Carminum tuorum nomine haberi scias.

Londino, Maii 20, 1628.

Eidem.

3. **P** Riori illâ Epistola meâ non tam rescripsi tibi, quam rescribendi vices deprecatus sum, alteram itaque brevi secuturam tacite promisi, in qua tibi me amicissime provocanti latius aliquanto responderem; verum ut id non essem pollicitus, hanc utcunque summo jure deberi tibi fatendum est, quandoquidem singulas ego literas tuas non nisi meis binis pensari posse existimem, aut si exactius agatur, ne centenis quidem meis. Nogotium illud de quo scripsi subobscurius, ecce Tabellis hisce involutum, in quo ego, cum tua ad me pervenit Epistola, districtus temporis angustia magno tum primum opere desudabam: quidam enim Ædium nostrarum Socius, qui Comitibus his Academicis in Disputatione Philosophicâ responsurus erat, Carmina super quæstionibus pro more annuo componenda, prætervectus ipse jamdiu leviculas illiusmodi nugas, & rebus feriis intentior, forte meâ Puerilitati commisit. Hæc quidem Typis donata ad te misi, utpote quem norim rerum Poeticarum judicem acerrimum, & mearum candidissimum. Quod si tua mihi vicissim communicare dignaberis, certè non erit qui magis iis delectetur, erit, fateor, qui rectius pro eorum dignitate judicet. Equidem quoties recolo apud me tua mecum assidua pene colloquia (quæ vel ipsis Athenis, ipsa in Academia, quæro, desiderioque) cogito statim nec sine dolore, quanto fructu me mea fraudarit absentia, qui nunquam à te discessi sine manifesta Literarum accessione, & *ἐπιδοσσει*, planè quasi ad Emporium quoddam Eruditionis profectus. Sane apud nos, quod sciam, vix unus atque alter est, qui non Philologiæ, pariter & Philosophiæ, prope rudis & profanus, ad Theologiam devolet implumis; eam quoque leviter admôdum attingere contentus, quantum forte sufficiat conciunculæ quoquo modo conglutinandæ, & tanquam tritis aliunde pannis consuendæ: adeo ut verendum sit ne sensim ingruat in Clerum nostrum sacerdotalis illa superioris sæculi Ignorantia. Atque ego profecto cum nullos fere studiorum consortes hic reperiam, Londinum rectâ respicerem, nisi per justitium hoc æstivum in otium alte Literarium recedere cogitarem, & quasi Claustris Musarum delitescere. Quod cum jam tu indies facias, nefas esse propemodum existimo diutius in præsentia tibi interestrepere. Vale.

Cantabrigia, Julii 2, 1628.

THOMÆ

THOMÆ JUNIO.

4. **I**nspectis Literis tuis (Preceptor optime) unicum hoc mihi supervacaneum occurrebat, quòd tardæ scriptionis excusationem attuleris; tametsi enim Literis tuis nihil mihi queat optabilius accedere, qui possim tamen, aut debeam sperare, otii tibi tantum à rebus feriis, & sanctioribus esse, ut mihi semper respondere vacet; præsertim cum illud humanitatis omnino sit, officii minime. Te vero oblitum esse mei ut suspicer, tam multa tua de me recens merita nequaquam sinunt. Neque enim video quorsum tantis onustum beneficiis ad oblivionem dimitteres. Rus tuum accersitus, simul ac ver adoleverit, libenter adveniam, ad capeffendas anni, tuique non minus colloquii, delicias; & ab urbano strepitu subducam me paulisper. Stoam tuam Icenorum, tanquam ad celeberrimam illam Zenonis porticum, aut Ciceronis Tusculanum, ubi tu in re modica regio fane animo veluti Serranus aliquis aut Curius in agello tuo placide regnas, deque ipsis divitiis, ambitione, pompâ, luxuriâ, & quicquid vulgus hominum miratur & stupet, quasi triumphum agis fortunæ contemptor. Cæterum qui tarditatis culpam deprecatus es, hanc mihi vicissim, ut spero, præcipitantiam indulgebis; cum enim Epistolam hanc in extremum distulissem, malui pauca, eaque rudiuscule scribere, quam nihil. Vale Vir Observande.

Cantabrigia, Julii 21, 1628.

ALEXANDRO GILLIO.

5. **S**I mihi Aurum, aut cælata pretiose vasa, aut quicquid istiusmodi mirantur Mortales, dono dedisses, puderet certe non vicissim, quantum ex meis facultatibus suppetet, te aliquando remunerasse. Cum vero tam lepidum nobis, & venustum Hendecasyllabon nudiustertius donaveris, quanto charius quidem Auro illud est merito, tanto nos reddidisti magis sollicitos, quâ re conquistâ tam jucundi beneficii gratiam rependeremus; erant quidem ad manum nostra hoc in genere nonnulla, sed quæ tuis in certamen muneris æquale nullo modo mittenda censerem. Mitto itaque quod non plane meum est, sed & vatis etiam illius vere divini, cujus hanc Oden alterâ ætatis septimanâ, nullo certe animi proposito, sed subito nescio quo impetu ante lucis exortum, ad Græci carminis Heroici legem in lectulo fere concinnabam: ut hoc scilicet innixus adjutore quî te non minus argumento superat, quam tu me artificio vincis, haberem aliquid, quod ad æquilibrium compensationis accedere videatur; si quid occurrit, quòd tuæ de nostris, ut soles, opinioni minus satisfecerit, scias, ex quo ludum vestrum reliquerim hoc me unicum atque primum græce composuisse, in Latinis, ut nosti, Anglicisque libentius versatum. Quandoquidem qui Græcis componendis hoc sæculo studium atque operam impendit, periculum est, ne plerumque furdo canat. Vale, meque Die Lunæ Londini (si Deus voluerit) inter Bibliopolas expecta. Interim si quid apud illum Doctorem, annum Collegii præsidem, quâ vales amicitia, nostrum poteris negotium promovere; cura quæso, ut meâ causâ quam cito adeas; iterum Vale.

E nostro Suburbano, Decemb. 4. 1634.

CAROLO

CAROLO DIODATO.

JAM isthuc demum plane video te agere, ut obstinato silentio nos aliquando pervincas; quod si ita est, euge habe tibi istam gloriolam, en scribimus priores: quanquam certe si unquam hæc res in contentionem veniret, cur neuter alteri *ἔγω διὰ χρόνον* scripserit, cave putes quin sim ego multis partibus excusator futurus: *δὴλον ὅτι ὡς ἑραδὺς καὶ ὀκνηρὸς τις ὢν φύσει πρὸς τὸ γράφειν*, ut probe nosti, cum tu contra sive naturâ, sive consuetudine, ad hujusmodi Literarias *προσφωνήσεις* haud ægre perducere soleas. Simul & illud pro me facit, quod tuam studendi rationem ita institutam cognovi, ut crebro interspires, ad amicos visas, multâ scribas, nonnunquam iter facias; meum sic est ingenium, nulla ut mora, nulla quies, nulla ferme illius rei cura, aut cogitatio distineat, quoad pervadam quo feror, & grandem aliquam studiorum meorum quasi periodum conficiam. Atque hinc omnino, nec aliundè, sodes, est factum, uti ad officia quidem ultro deferenda spissius accedam, ad respondendum tamen, O noster Theodote non sum adeo cessator; neque enim commisi ut tuam Epistolam unquam ullam debitâ vice nostra alia ne clauserit. Quid! quod tu, ut audio, Literas ad Bibliopolam, ad Fratrem etiam sæpiuscule; quorum utervis propter vicinitatem satis eommode præstitisset, mihi, si quæ essent, reddendas. Illud vero queror, te, cum esses pollicitus ad nos fore ut diverteres cum ex urbe discederes, promissis non stetisse: quæ promissa abs te præterita si vel semel cogitasses, non defuisset prope necessarium scribendi argumentum. Atque hæc habui quæ in te merito, ut mihi videor, declamitarem. Tu quæ ad hæc contra parabis ipse videris. Verum interim quid est quæso? rectène vales? ecquinam iis in locis erudituli sunt quibuscum libenter esse, & garrire possis, ut nos consuevimus? quando redis? quamdiu tibi in animo est apud istos *ὑπερβορείας* commorari? tu velim ad hæc mihi singula respondeas: sed enim ne nescias non nunc demum res tuæ cordi mihi sunt, nam sic habeto me ineunte autumnio ex itinere ad fratrem tuum eo consilio deflexisse, ut quid ageres, scirem. Nuper etiam cum mihi temere Londini perlatum esset à nescio quo te in urbe esse, confestim & quasi *αὐτοβόει* proripui me ad cellam tuam, at illud *σκίᾱς ὄναρ*, nusquam enim compares. Quare quod sine tuo incommodo fiat, advola ocyus & aliquo in loco te siste, qui locus mitiorem spem præbeat, posse quoquo modo fieri ut aliquoties inter nos saltem visamus, quod utinam nobis non aliter esses vicinus, rusticanus atque es urbicus, *ἀλλὰ τῷτο ὥσπερ Θεῷ φίλον*. Plura vellem & de nobis, & de studiis nostris, sed malle coram; & jam cras sumus rus illud nostrum redituri, urgetque iter, ut vix hæc propere in chartam conjecerim. Vale.

Londino, Septemb. 2. 1637.

Eidem.

7. **Q**UOD cæteri in Literis suis plerunque faciunt amici, ut unicam tantum salutem dicere sât habeant, tu illud jam video quid sit quod toties impertias; ad ea enim quæ tute prius, & alii adhuc sola afferre possunt vota, jam nunc artem insuper tuam, vimque omnem medicam quasi cumulum accedere vis me scilicet intelligere. Jubes enim salvere sexcenties, quantum volo, quantum possum, vel etiam amplius. Næ ipsum te nuper Salutis condum promum esse factum oportet, ita totum

salubritatis penum dilapidas, aut ipsa proculdubio sanitas jam tua Parasita esse debet, sic pro Rege te geris atque imperas ut dicto sit audiens; itaque gratulor tibi, & duplici proinde nomine gratias tibi agam. necesse est, cum amicitiae tum artis eximia. Literas quidem tuas, quoniam ita convenerat, diu expectabam; verum acceptis neque dum ullis, si quid mihi credis, non idcirco veterem meam ergo te benevolentiam tantillum refrigerare sum passus; immo vero quâ tarditatis excusatione usus Literarum initio es, ipsam illam te allaturum esse jam animo praesenseram, idque recte, nostraeque necessitudini convenienter. Non enim in Epistolarum ac Salutationum momentis veram verti amicitiam volo, quæ omnia ficta esse possunt; sed altis animi radicibus niti utrinque & sustinere se; coeptamque sinceris, & sanctis rationibus, etiamsi mutua cessarent officia, per omnem tamen vitam suspicione & culpa vacare: ad quam fovendam non tam scripto sit opus, quam vivâ invicem virtutum recordatione. Nec continuo, ut tu non scripseris, non erit quo illud suppleri officium possit, scribit vicem tuam apud me tua probitas, verasque literas intimis sensibus meis exarat, scribit morum simplicitas, & recti amor; scribit ingenium etiam tuum, haudquaquam quotidianum, & majorem in modum te mihi commendat. Quare noli mihi, arcem illam Medicinæ tyrannicam nactus, terrores istos ostentare, ac si salutes tuas sexcentas velles, subductâ minutim ratiunculâ, ad unum omnes à me reposcere, si forte ego, quod ne siverit unquam Deus, amicitiae desertor fierem; atque amove terribile illud ἐπιτευχισμα quod cervicibus nostris videris imposuisse, ut sine tua bona venia ne liceat ægrotare. Ego enim ne nimis minitèrè, tui similes impossibile est quin amem, nam de cætero quidem quid de me statuerit Deus nescio, illud certe; δεινόν μοι ἔρωτα, εἰπέρ τι ἄλλω, τὴ καλὴ ἐνέσχε. Nec tanto Ceres labore, ut in fabulis est, Liberam fertur quæsisisse filiam, quanto ego hanc τὴ καλὴ ἰδέαν, veluti pulcherrimam quandam imaginem, per omnes rerum formas & facies: (πολλαὶ γὰρ μορφαὶ τῶν Δαιμονίων) dies noctesque indagare soleo, & quasi certis quibusdam vestigiis ducentem sector. Unde fit, ut qui, spretis quæ vulgus pravâ rerum æstimatione opinatur, id sentire & loqui & esse audeat; quod summa per omne ævum sapientia optimum esse docuit, illi me protinus, sicubi reperiam, necessitate quadam adjungam. Quod si ego sive naturâ, sive meo fato ita sum comparatus, ut nullâ contentione, & laboribus meis ad tale decus & fastigium laudis ipse valeam emergere; tamen quo minus qui eam gloriam assecuti sunt, aut eo feliciter aspirant, illos semper colam, & suspiciam, nec Disputo, nec homines prohibuerint. Cæterum jam curiositati tuæ vis esse satisfactum scio. Multa solícite quæris, etiam quid cogitem. Audi, Theodote, verum in aurem ut ne rubeam, & finito paulisper apud te grandia loquar; quid cogitem quæris? ita me bonus Deus, immortalitatem. Quid agam vero? πτεροφύω, & volare meditor: sed tenellis admodum adhuc pennis evehit se noster Pegasus, humile sapiamus. Dicam jam nunc serio quid cogitem, in hospitium Juridicorum aliquod immigrare, sicubi amoena & umbrosa ambulatio est, quod & inter aliquot sodales, commodior illic habitatio, si domi manere, & ὀρμητήριον εὐπρεπέστερον quocunque libitum erit excurrere; ubi nunc sum, ut nosti, obscure, & anguste sum; de studiis etiam nostris fies certior. Græcorum res continuatâ lectione deduximus usquequo illi Græci esse sunt desiti: Italorum in obscura re diu versati sumus sub Longobardis, & Francis & Germanis, ad illud tempus quo illis ab Rodolpho Germaniæ Rege concessa libertas est; exinde quid quæque Civitas suo Marte gesserit, separatim legere præstabit. Tu vero quid? quousque rebus domesticis filius familias imminebis urbanarum sodalitatum oblitus? quod, nisi bellum hoc novercale, vel Dacico, vel Sarmatico infestius sit, debebis profecto maturare, ut ad nos saltem in hyberna concedas. Interim, quod sine tua molestia fiat, Justinianum mihi Venetorum Historicum rogo mittas; ego meâ fide aut in
adventum

adventum tuum probe asservatum curabo; aut, si mavis, haud ita multo post ad te remissum. Vale.

Londinò, Septemb. 23. 1637.

BENEDICTO BONMATTHÆO Florentino.

8. **Q**UOD novas patriæ linguæ Institutiones adornas (Benedicte Bonmatthæe) jam operi fastigium impositurus, & commune tu quidem cum summis quibusdam ingeniis iter ad laudem ingrederis, & eam spem, quod video, eamque de te opinionem apud Cives tuos concitasti, ut qui ab aliis quæ tradita jam sunt, iis aut lucem, aut copiam, aut certe limam, atque ordinem tuo Marte facile sis allaturus. Quo nomine profecto populares tuos quam non vulgarem in modum tibi devinxeris, ingrati nempe sint ipsi, si non perspexerint. Nam qui in civitate mores hominum sapienter nôrit formare, domique & belli præclaris institutis regere, illum ego præ cæteris omni honore apprime dignum esse existimem. Proximum huic tamen, qui loquendi scribendique rationem & normam probo gentis sæculo receptam, præceptis regulisque sancire adnititur, & veluti quodam vallo circummunire; quod quidem ne quis transire ausit, tantum non Romulea lege sit cautum. Utriusque enim horum utilitatem conferre si libet, justum utrique & sanctum Civium convictum alter ille solus efficere potest; hic vero solus liberalem, & splendidum, & luculentum, quod proxime in votis est. Ille in hostem fines invadentem, ardorem credo excelsum, & intrepida consilia suppeditat; Hic Barbariem animos hominum late incurfantem, foedam & intestinam ingeniorum perduellem, doctâ aurium censurâ, Authorumque bonorum expeditâ manu, explodendam sibi, & debellandam suscipit. Neque enim qui sermo, purusne an corruptus, quæve loquendi proprietas quotidiana populo sit, parvi interesse arbitrandum est, quæ res Athenis non semel saluti fuit: immo vero, quod Platonis sententia est, immutato vestiendi more habituque graves in Republica motus, mutationesque portendi, equidem potius collabente in vitium atque errorem loquendi usu, occasum ejus urbis, remque humilem & obscuram subsequi crediderim: verba enim partim inscita & putida, partim mendosa, & perperam prolata; quid nisi ignavos & oscitantes, & ad servile quidvis jam olim paratos incolarum animos haud levi indicio declarant? Contra, nullum unquam audivimus imperium, nullam civitatem non mediocriter saltem floruisse, quamdiu Linguæ suæ gratia, suusque cultus constitit. Tu itaque, Benedicte, hanc operam Reipublicæ tuæ navare modo, ut pergas, quam pulchram, quamque solidam à civibus tuis necessario gratiam initurus sis, vel hinc liquido specta. Quæ à me eo dicta sunt, non quod ego te quidquam horum ignorare censeam, sed quod mihi persuadeam, in hoc te magis multo intentum esse, quid tute patriæ tuæ possis persolvere, quam quid illa tibi jure optimo sit debitura. De exteris jam nunc dicam, quorum demerendi, si tibi id cordi est, persane ampla in præsens oblata est occasio; ut enim est apud eos ingenio quis forte floridior, aut moribus amœnis & elegantibus, Linguam Hetruscam in deliciis habet præcipuis, quin & in solida etiam parte eruditionis esse sibi ponendam ducit, præsertim si Græca aut Latina; vel nullo, vel modico tinctu imbiberit. Ego certe istis utrisque Linguis non extremis tantummodo labris madidus; sed si quis alius, quantum per annos licuit, poculis majoribus prolutus, possum tamen nonnunquam ad illum Dantem, & Petrarcham aliosque vestros complusculos, libenter & cupide commessatum ire: nec me tam ipsæ Athenæ Atticæ cum illo suo pellucido Ilisso, nec illa vetus Roma suâ Tiberis ripâ retinere valuêrunt; quin sæpe Arnum vestrum, & Fæstulanos illos colles invisere amem. Jam vide,

obsecro, numquid satis causæ fuerit, quæ me vobis ultimum ab Oceano hospitem per hosce aliquot dies dederit, vestræque Nationis ita amantem, ut non ullius, opinor, magis. Quo magis merito potes meminisse, quid ego tanto opere abs te contendere soleam; uti jam inchoatis, majori etiam ex parte absolutis, velles, quantâ maxima facilitate res ipsa tulerit, in nostram exterorum gratiam, de recta linguæ pronuntiatione adhuc paululum quiddam adjicere. Cæteris enim sermonis vestri consultis in hanc usque diem id animi videtur fuisse, suis tantum ut satisfacerent, de nobis nihil solliciti. Quanquam ille meo quidem judicio, & famæ suæ, & Italici sermonis gloriæ, haud paulo certius consulissent, si præcepta ita tradidissent, ac si omnium mortalium referret ejus linguæ scientiam appetere: verum per illos non stetit quo minus nobis videremini vos Itali, intra Alpium duntaxat pomeria sapere voluisse. Hæc igitur laus prælibata nemini, tota erit tua, tibi intactam & integram hucusque se servat; nec illa minus, si in tanta Scriptorum turba commonstrare separatim non gravabere, quis post illos decantatos Florentinæ linguæ auctores poterit secundas haud injuriâ sibi asserere: quis Tragœdia insignis, quis in Comœdia festivus & lepidus; quis scriptis Epistolis aut Dialogis, argutus aut gravis; quis in Historia nobilis: ita & studioso potiore, quemque eligere volenti non erit difficile, & erit, quoties vagari latius libebit, ubi pedem intrepide possit figere. Quâ quidem in re, inter Antiquos Ciceronem & Fabium habebis, quos imiteris; vestrorum autem hominum haud scio an ullum. Atque hæc ego tametsi videor mihi abs te (nisi me animus fallit) jam primo impetrasse, quoties in istius rei mentionem incidimus, quæ tua comitas est, & benignum ingenium; nolo tamen id tibi fraudi sit, quo minus exquiste, ut ita dicam, atque elaborate exorandum te mihi esse putem. Nam quod tua virtus, tuusque candor, minimum rebus tuis pretium, minimamque æstimationem addicit; iis ego, justam volo, & exactam, cum rei dignitas, tum adeo mea observantia imponat; & certe hoc æquum est ubique, quanto quis petenti faciliorem se præbet, tanto minus concedentis honori deesse oportebit. De cætero, si forte cur in hoc argumento, Latinâ potius quam vestrâ Lingua utar, miraris; id factum eâ gratiâ est ut intelligas quam ego Linguam abs te mihi præceptis exornandam cupio, ejus me plane meam imperitiam, & inopiam Latine confiteri; & hæc ipsâ ratione plus mevaliturum apud te speravi simul & illud, si canam; & venerandam è Latio matrem, in filiæ causâ suæ mecum adjutricem adduxissem, credidi fore ejus authoritati, & reverentiæ, augustæque per tot sæcula Majestati; nihil ut denegares. Vale.

Florentiæ, Septemb. 10. 1638.

LUCE HOLSTENIO Romæ in Vaticano.

9. **T**Ametsi multa in hoc meo Italiæ transcurfu multorum in me humaniter & peramice facta, & possum, & sæpe soleo recordari; tamen pro tam brevi notitia, haud scio an jure dicam ullius majora extitisse in me benevolentiae indicia quam ea quæ mihi abs te profecta sunt. Cum enim tui conveniendi causâ in Vaticanum ascenderem, ignotum prorsus, nisi si quid forte ab Alexandro Cherubino dictum de me prius fuerat, summâ cum humanitate recepisti; mox in Musæum comiter admissus, & exquisitissimam Librorum supellectilem, & permultos insuper Manuscriptos Aucthores Græcos, tuis Lucubrationibus exornatos, adspicere licuit: quorum partim nostro sæculo nondum visi, quasi in procinctu, velut illæ apud Maronem,

—penitus convalle virenti
Inclusæ animæ superumque ad limen ituræ.

expeditas modo Typographi manus, & *μαευτικὴν* poscere videbantur; partim tuâ operâ etiamnum editi, passim ab eruditis avide accipiuntur; quorum & unius etiam duplici dono abs te auctus dimittor. Tum nec aliter crediderim, quam quæ tu de me verba feceris ad præstantissimum Cardin. Franc. Barberinum, iis factum esse, ut cum ille paucis post diebus *ἀκρόμα* illud Musicum magnificentiâ vere Romana publice exhiberet, ipse me tanta in turba quæsitum ad fores expectans, & pene manu prehensum persane honorifice intro admiserit. Quâ ego gratiâ cum illum postridie salutatum accessissem, tute idem rursus is eras, qui & aditum mihi fecisti, & colloquendi copiam; quæ quidem cum tanto viro, quo etiam in summo dignitatis fastigio nihil benignius, nihil humanius, pro loci & temporis ratione largiuscula profecto potius erat, quam nimis parca. Atque ego (Doctissime Holsteni) utrum ipse sim solus tam me amicum, & hospitem expertus, an omnes Anglos, id spectans scilicet quod triennium Oxoniæ Literis operam dederis, istiusmodi officiis etiam quoscunque profectui studium sit, certe nescio. Si hoc est, pulchre tu quidem Angliæ nostræ, ex parte etiam tuæ, *διδασκάλια* persolvīs; privatōque nostrū cuiusque nomine, & patriæ publico, parem utrobique gratiam promereris. Sin est illud, eximium me tibi præ cæteris habitum, dignumque adeo visum quicum velis *ξενίαν ποιεῖσθαι*, & mihi gratulor de tuo iudicio, & tuum simul candorem præ meo merito pono. Jam illud vero quod mihi negotium dedisse videbare, de inspiciendo codice Mediceo, sedulo ad amicos retuli, qui quidem ejus rei efficiendæ spem perexiguam in presens ostendunt. In illa Bibliotheca, nisi impetratâ prius venia, nihil posse exscribi, ne stylum quidem scriptorium admovisse tabulis permissum; esse tamen aiunt. Romæ Joannem Baptistam Donium, is ad legendas publice Græcas Literas Florentiam vocatus indies expectatur, per eum ut consequi possis quæ velis facile esse; quanquam id sane mihi pergratum accidisset, si res tam præsertim optanda quæ sit, meâ potius opellâ saltem aliquando plus promovisset, cum sit indignum tam tibi honesta & præclara fuscipienti, non omnes undecunque homines, & rationes, & res favere. De cætero, novo beneficio devinxeris, si Eminentissimum Cardinalem quantâ potest observantiâ meo nomine salutes, cujus magnæ virtutes, rectique studium, ad provehendas item omnes Artes Liberales egregie comparatum, semper mihi ob oculos versantur; tum illa mitis, & ut ita dicam, summissa animi celsitudo, quæ sola se deprimendo attollere didicit; de quâ vere dici potest, quod de Cerere apud Callimachum est, diversâ tamen sententiâ, *ἰθὺατα μὲν χέρω κεφαλὰ δὲ οἱ ἄπ[ε]ρ ὀλύμπω*. Quod cæteris fere Principibus documento esse potest, triste illud supercilium, & aulici fastus, quam longè à vera magnanimitate discrepantes & alieni sint. Nec puto fore, dum ille vivit, Estenses, Farnesios, aut Mediceos, olim doctorum hominum fautores, ut quis amplius desideret. Vale, Doctissime Holsteni, & si quis tui, tuorumque studiorum amantior est illi me quoque, si id esse tanti existimas, ubicunque sim gentium futurus, velim annumeres.

Florentiæ, Martii 30. 1639.

CAROLO DATO Patricio Florentino.

10. **P** Erlatis inopinatò Literis ad me tuis, mi Carole, quantâ, & quam novâ sim voluptate perfusus, quandoquidem non est ut pro re satis queam dicere, volo ex dolore saltem, sine quo vix ulla magna hominibus delectatio concessa est, id aliquantum intelligas. Dum enim illa tua prima percurro, in quibus elegantia cum amicitia pulchre sane contendit, merum illud quidem gaudium esse dixerim, præsertim cum uti vincat amicitia, operam te dare videam. Statim vero cum incido in illud quod scribis,

ternas

ternas te jam olim ad me dedisse, quas ego periisse scio, tum primum sincera illa infici, tristisque desiderio conturbari, cœpta est lætitia; mox etiam gravius quiddam subit, in quo vicem meam dolere persæpe soleo, quos forte vicinæ, aut aliqua nullius usus necessitudo mecum, sive casu, sive lege conglutinavit, illos nullâ re aliâ commendabiles assidere quotidie, obtundere, etiam enecare mehercule quoties collibitum erit; quos, mores, ingenium, studia, tam belle conciliaverant, illos jam pene omnes, aut morte, aut iniquissimâ locorum distantia invideri mihi, & ita confestim è conspectu plerumque abripi, ut in perpetua fere solitudine versari mihi necesse sit. Te, quod ais, ex quo Florentiâ discessi, meâ de salute sollicitum, semperque mei memorem fuisse, gratulor mihi sane, par illud utrique & mutuam accidisse, quod ego me solum sensisse meo fortasse merito arbitrabar. Gravis admodum, ne te celem, discessus ille & mihi quoque fuit, eosque meo animo aculeos infixit, qui etiam nunc altius inhærent, quoties mecum cogito tot simul sodales atque amicos tam bonos, tamque commodos unâ in urbe, longinquâ illâ quidem, sed tamen charissimâ, invitum me, & plane divulsum reliquisse. Testor illum mihi semper sacrum & solenne futurum Damonis tumultum; in cujus funere ornando cum luctu & mœrore oppressus, ad ea quæ potui solatia confugere, & respirare paulisper cupiebam, non aliud mihi quicquam jucundius occurrit, quam vestrum omnium gratissimam mihi memoriam, tuique nominatim in mentem revocasse. Id quod ipse jamdiu legisse debes, siquidem ad vos carmen illud pervenit, quod ex te nunc primum audio. Mittendum ego sane sedulo curaveram, ut esset ingenii quantumcumque, amoris autem adversum vos mei, vel illis paucis versiculis, emblematis ad morem incluis, testimonium haudquaquam obscurum. Existimabam etiam fore hoc modo, ut vel te vel alium ad scribendum allicerem; mihi enim si prior scriberem, necesse erat, ut vel ad omnes, vel si quem aliis prætulissem, verebar ne in cæterorum, qui id rescissent, offensionem incurrerem; cum permultos adhuc superesse istic sperem, qui hoc à me officium vindicare certe potuerint. Nunc tu omnium primus, & hâc amicissimâ Literarum provocatione, & scribendi officio ter jam repetito debitas tibi à me jampridem respondendi vires reliquorum expostulatione liberaisti. Quanquam fateor accessisse ad illam silentii causam, turbulentissimus iste, ex quo domum reversus sum, Britannia nostræ status, qui animum meum paulo post ab studiis excolendis, ad vitam & fortunas quoque modo tuendas necessario convertit. Ecquem tu inter tot Civium commissa prælia, cædes, fugas, bonorum direptiones, recessum otio Literario tutum dari putes posse? Nos tamen etiam inter hæc mala, quoniam de studiis meis certior fieri postulas, sermone patrio haud pauca in lucem dedimus; quæ nisi essent Anglice scripta, libens ad vos mitterem, quorum judiciis plurimum tribuo. Poematum quidem quæ pars Latina est, quoniam expetis, brevi mittam; atque id sponte jamdudum fecissem, nisi quod, propter ea quæ in Pontificem Romanum aliquot paginis asperius dicta sunt, suspicabar vestris auribus fore minus grata. Nunc abs te peto, ut quam veniam, non dico Aligerio, & Petrarchæ vestro eadem in causa, sed meæ, ut scis, olim apud vos loquendi libertati, singulari cum humanitate, dare consuevistis, eandem impetres (nam de te mihi persuasum est) ab cæteris amicis, quoties de vestris ritibus nostro more loquendum erit. Exequias Ludovici Regis à te descriptas libenter lego, in quibus Mercurium tuum, non compitalem illum & mercimoniis addictum, quem te nuper colere jocularis, sed facundum illum, Musis acceptum, & Mercurialium virorum præsidem, agnosco. Restat ut de ratione aliqua & modo inter nos constet, quo literæ deinceps nostræ certo itinere utrinque commeare possint. Quod non admodum difficile videtur, cum tot nostri Mercatores negotia apud vos, & multa, & ampla habeant, quorum Tabellarii singulis hebdomadis ultro citroque cursitant; quorum & navigia haud multo rarius hinc illinc solvunt. Hanc ego curam Jacobo Bibliopolæ, vel ejus hero mihi familiarissimo, recte, ut spero, committam. Tu interim, mi Carole, valebis, & Cultellino, Francino, Frescobaldo, Malatestæ, Clementillo minori, & si quem alium nostri

amanti-

amantiores novisti; totī denique Gaddianæ Academiæ, salutem meo nomine plurimam dices. Interim vale.

Londino, Aprilis 21. 1647.

HERMANNO MILLIO, Comit̃s Oldenburgici Oratori.

11. **A**D Literas tuas, Nobilissime Hermanne, 17 Decemb. ad me datas, antequam respondeam; ne me silentii tam diutini reum fortassis apud te peragas, primum omnium oportet exponam, cur non responderem prius. Primum igitur ne nescias, moram attulit, quæ perpetua jam fere Adversatrix mihi est, adversa valetudo; deinde valetudinis causa, necessaria quædam & subita in ædes alias migratio, quam eo die forte inceperam, quo tuæ ad me Literæ perferebantur; postremo certe pudor, non habuisse me quicquam de tuo negotio quod gratum fore tibi iudicabam. Nam cum postridie in Dominum Frostium casu incidissem, exque eo diligenter quærerem, ecquod tibi responsum etiamnum decerneretur? (ipse enim à Concilio valetudinarius sæpe aberam) respondit, & commotior quidem, nihil dum decerni, seque in expedienda re ista nihil proficere. Satius itaque duxi ad tempus silere, quam id quod molestum tibi sciebam fore, extemplo scribere, donec, quod ipse vellem, tuque tantopere expetebas, libentissime possem scribere; quod & hodie, uti spero, perfeci; nam cum in Concilio Præsidentem de tuo negotio semel atque iterum commonefecissem, statim ille retulit, adeoque in crastinum diem de responso quamprimum tibi dando constituta deliberatio est. Hac de re si primus ipse, quod conabar, certiores te facerem, & tibi iucundissimum, & mei in te studii indicium aliquod fore existimabam.

Westmonasterio.

Clarissimo Viro LEONARDO PHILARÆ Atheniensi, Ducis Parmensis ad Regem Galliarum Legato.

12. **B**Enevolentiam erga me tuam, Ornatissime Leonarde Philara, nec non etiam præclarum de nostra pro P. A. * defensione iudicium, ex Literis tuis ad Dominum Augerium, Virum apud nos, in obeundis ab hac Republica Legationibus, fide eximiâ illustrem, partim eâ de re scriptis cognovi: missam deinde salutem cum effigie, atque Elogio tuis sane virtutibus dignissimo: Literas denique abs te humanissimas per eundem accepi. Atque ego quidem cum nec Germanorum ingenia, ne Cymbrorum quidem, aut Suecorum aspernari soleo, tum certe tuum, qui & Athenis Atticis natus, & Literarum studiis apud Italos foeliciter peractis magno rerum usu Honores amplissimos es consecutus, iudicium de me non possum quin plurimi faciam. Cum enim Alexander ille magnus in terris ultimis bellum gerens, tantos se Militiæ labores pertulisse testatus sit, τῆς παρ' Ἀθηναίων ἐνδοξίας ἕνεκα; quidni ego mihi gratuler, meque ornari quam maxime putem, ejus Viri laudibus, in quo jam uno priscorum Atheniensium Artes, atque Virtutes illæ celebratissimæ, renasci tam longo intervallo, & reflorescere videntur. Quâ ex urbe cum tot Viri Disertissimi prodierint, eorum potissimum scriptis ab adolescentia pervolvendis, didicisse me libens fateor quicquid ego in Literis profeci. Quod si mihi tanta vis dicendi accepta ab illis & quasi transfusa inesset, ut exercitus nostros & classes ad liberandam ab Ottomannico tyranno Greciam, Eloquentiæ patriam, excitare possem, ad quod facinus egregium nostras opes pene implorare videris, facerem profecto id quo nihil mihi antiquius aut in votis prius esset. Quid enim vel fortissi-

mi

* Populi Anglicani defensio;

mi olim Viri, vel eloquentissimi gloriosius aut se dignius esse duxerunt, quam vel suadendo vel fortiter faciendo ἐλευθερὸς καὶ αὐτόνομος ποιῆσθαι τὰς Ἑλλήνας? Verum & aliud quiddam præterea tentandum est, meâ quidem sententia longe maximum, ut quis antiquam in animis Græcorum virtutem, industriam, laborum tolerantiam, antiqua illa studia dicendo, fuscitare atque accendere possit. Hoc si quis effecêrit, quod à nemine potius quam abs te, pro tua illa insigni erga patriam pietate, cum summa prudentia, reique militaris peritia, summo denique recuperandæ libertatis pristinæ studio conjunctâ, expectare debemus; neque ipsos sibi Græcos neque ullam Gentem Græcis defuturam esse confido. Vale.

Londino, Jun. 1652.

RICHARDO HETHO.

13. **S**I quam ego operam, Amice Spectatissime, vel in studiis tuis promovendis, vel in eorum subsidio comparando, unquam potui conferre, quæ sâne aut nulla plane, aut perexigua fuit; tamen eam in bona indole, quamvis serius cognitâ, tam bene tamque fœliciter collocatam, haud uno profecto nomine gaudeo; eam etiam adeo frugiferam fuisse, ut & Ecclesiæ Pastorem probum, Patriæ bonum Civem, mihi denique Amicum gratissimum pepererit. Quod equidem, cum ex cætera vita tua atque ex eo, quod de Religione & simul de Republica præclare sentis, tum præcipue ex singulari animi tui gratitudine, quæ nulla absentia, nullo ætatis decursu, extinguere aut minui potest, facile intelligo. Neque enim potest fieri, nisi in virtute ac pietate, rerumque optimarum studiis, progressus plusquam mediocres fecisses, ut in eos, qui tibi ad ea acquirenda vel minimum adjumentum attulere, tam grato animo esses. Quapropter, mi alumne, hoc enim nomine in te utor libenter, si finis; sic velim existimes, te cum primis à me diligere, nec mihi quicquam optatius fore, quam, si tua commoda rationesque ferrent, quod & tibi etiam in votis esse video, ut possis prope me alicubi degere, quo frequentior inter nos atque jucundior, & vitæ usus & studiorum esset. Verum de eo, prout Numini visum erit, tibi quoque expederit. Quod scripseris deinceps, poteris, si placet, nostro sermone scribere (quanquam tu quidem Latinis haud parum profecisti) nequando scriptionis labor alterutrum nostrum segniorem forte ad scribendum reddiderit, utque sensus animi noster inter nos, nullis exteri sermonis vinculis constrictus, eo liberius expromere se possit. Literas autem tuas cuivis, credo, ex ejus famulatio, cujus mentionem fecisti, rectissime committes. Vale.

Westmonasterio, Decemb. 13. 1652.

HENRICO OLDENBURGO Bremensium ad Sen. A. Oratori.

14. **P**Riores Literæ tuæ, Vir Ornatissime, tum mihi sunt datæ, cum Tabellarius vester diceretur jamjam rediturus: quo factum est, ut rescribendi eo tempore facultas nulla esset: id vero quamprimum facere cogitantem inopinatæ quædam occupationes excepere; quæ nisi accidissent, Librum profecto, defensionis licet titulo munitum, non ita nudum ad te sine excusatione misissem; cum ecce tuæ ad me alteræ, in quibus pro muneris tenuitate satis superque gratiarum sunt actæ. Et erat quidem haud semel in animo, Latinis tuis nostra reponere; ut qui sermonem nostrum exteris omnibus, quos ego quidem novi accuratius ac fœlicius addidiceris, ne quam occasionem eundem quoque scribendi, quod æque te arbitror accurate posse, amitteres. Verum id prout
dehinc

dehinc impetus tulerit, tua perinde optio sit. De argumento quod scribis, plane mecum sentis, clamorem istiusmodi ad cœlum sensus omnes humanos fugere: quo impudentior sit is, necesse est, qui audisse se eum tam audacter affirmaverit. Is autem quis sit, scrupulum injecisti: atqui dudum, cum aliquoties hâc de re effemus inter nos locuti, tuque recens ex Hollandia huc venisses, nulla tibi de Authore dubitatio subesse videbatur; quin is Morus fuisset: eam nimirum iis in locis famam obtinuisse, neminem præterea nominari. Si quid igitur hac de re certius nunc demum habes, me rogo certiores facias. De argumenti tractatione vellem equidem (quid enim dissimulem) abs te non dissentire; id pene ut audeam quid est quod persuadere facilius possit, quam virorum, qualis tu es, cordatorum sincerum iudicium, omnisque expers adulationis laudatio? Ad alia ut me parem, nescio fane an nobiliora aut utiliora (quid enim in rebus humanis asserendâ libertate nobilius aut utilius esse possit?) siquidem per valetudinem & hanc luminum orbitatem, omni senectute graviolem, si denique per huiusmodi Rabularum clamores licuerit, facile induci potero: neque enim iners otium unquam mihi placuit, & hoc cum libertatis adversariis inopinatum certamen, diversis longe, & amœnioribus omnino me studiis intentum, ad se rapuit invitum; ita tamen ut rei gestæ, quando id necesse erat, nequaquam pœniteat: nam in vanis operam consumpsisse me, quod innuere videris, longe abest, ut putem. Verum de his alias; tu tandem, Vir Doctissime, ne te prolixius detineam, vale; meque in tuis numera.

Westmonasterio, Julii 6. 1654.

LEONARDO PHILARÆ Atheniensi.

15. CUM sim à pueritia totius Græci nominis, tuarumque in primis Athenarum cultor, si quis alius, tum una hoc semper mihi persuasissimum habebam, fore ut illa urbs præclaram aliquando redditura vicem esset benevolentiae erga se meæ. Neque defuit sane tuæ Patriæ Nobilissimæ antiquus ille genius augurio meo; deditque te nobis & germanum Atticum & nostri amantissimum: Qui me, scriptis duntaxat notum, & locis ipse disjunctus, humanissime per Literas compellaveris, & Londinum postea inopinatus adveniens, visensque non videntem, etiam in ea calamitate, propter quam conspectior nemini, despectior multis fortasse sim, eadem benevolentia profsequaris. Cum itaque author mihi sis, ut visus recuperandi spem omnem ne abjiciam, habere te amicum ac necessarium tuum Parisiis Tevenotum Medicum, in curandis præsertim oculis præstantissimum, quem sis de meis luminibus consulturus, si modo acceperis à me unde is causas morbi & symptomata possit intelligere; faciam equidem quod hortaris, ne oblatam undecunque divinitus fortassis opem repudiare videar. Decennium, opinor, plus minus est, ex quo debilitari atque habescere visum sensi, eodemque tempore lienem, visceraque omnia gravari, flatibusque vexari: & mane quidem, siquid pro more legere cœpissim, oculi statim penitus dolere, lectionemque refugere, post mediocrem deinde corporis exercitationem recreari; quam aspexissim lucernam, Iris quædam visa est redimere: haud ita multò post sinistrâ in parte oculi sinistri (is enim oculus aliquot annis prius altera nubilavit) caligo oborta, quæ ad latus illud sita erant, omnia eripiebat. Anteriora quoque, si dexterum forte oculum clausissim, minora visa sunt. Deficiente per hoc fere triennium sensum atque paulatim altero quoque lumine, aliquot ante mensibus quam visus omnis aboleretur, quæ immotus ipse cernerem, visa sunt omnia nunc dextrorsum, nunc sinistrorsum natare; frontem totam atque tempora inveterati quidem vapores videntur insedisse; qui somnolentâ quadam gravitate oculos, à cibo præsertim usque ad vespèram, plerunque urgent atque deprimunt; ut mihi haud raro veniat in mentem Salmydessii Vatis Phinei in Argonauticis,

——— κάρῳ δὲ μιν ἀμφεκάλυψεν
 πορφύρεῳ· γαίαν δὲ περίξ' ἐδόκησε φερεσθαι
 νειόθεν, ἀβληχρῶ δ' ἐπὶ κώματι κέκλι' ἀναυδῶ.

Sed neque illud omiserim, dum adhuc visûs aliquantum supererat, ut primum in lecto decubuissem, meque in alterutrum latus reclinassem, consuevisse copiosum lumen clausis oculis emicare; deinde, imminuto indies visu, colores perinde obscuriores cum impetu & fragore quodam intimo exilire; nunc autem, quasi extincto lucido, merus nigror, aut cineraceo distinctus, & quasi intextus solet se affundere: Caligo tamen quæ perpetuo obversatur, tam noctu, quam interdiu albenti semper quam nigricanti propior videtur, & volvente se oculo aliquantillum lucis quasi per rimulam admittit. Ex quo tametsi Medico tantundem quoque spei possit elucere, tamen ut in re plane insanabili, ita me paro atque compono; illudque sæpe cogito, cum destinati cuique dies tenebrarum, quod monet Sapiens multi sint, meas adhuc tenebras, singulari Numinis benignitate, inter otium & studia, vocêsque amicorum, & salutationes, illis lethalibus multo esse mitiores. Quod si, ut scriptum est, non solo pane vivet homo, sed omni verbo prodeunte per os Dei, quid est, cur quis in hoc itidem non acquiescat, non solis se oculis, sed Dei ductu an providentia satis oculatum esse. Sane dummodo ipse mihi prospicit, ipse mihi providet, quod facit, meque per omnem vitam quasi manu ducit atque deducit, ne ego meos oculos, quandoquidem ipsi sic visum est, libens ferari jussero. Teque, mi Philara, quocunque res ceciderit, non minus forti & confirmato animo, quam si Lynceus essem, valere jubeo.

Westmonasterio, Septemb. 28. 1654.

LEONI AB AIZEMA.

16. **P**Ergratum est eandem adhuc memoriam retinere te mei, quam antea benevolentiam, dum apud nos eras, me semel atque iterum invisendo, perhumaniter significasti. Ad Librum quod attinet de divortiis, quem dedisse te cuidem Hollandice vertendum scribis, malletm equidem Latine vertendum dedisses: Nam vulgus opiniones nondum vulgares, quemadmodum excipere soleat, in iis libris expertus jam sum. Tres enim ea de re tractatus olim scripsi: Primum duobus Libris, quibus Doctrina & Disciplina divortii, is enim libro titulus est, diffuse continetur: Alterum qui Tetrachordon inscribitur, & in quo quatuor præcipua loca Scripturæ supra ea doctrina quæ sunt, explicantur: Tertium, Colasterion, in quo cuidam Sciolo respondetur. Quem horum Tractatum vertendum dederis, quamve editionem, nescio; nam eorum primus bis editus est, & posteriori editione multo auctius. Qua de re nisi certior jam factus sis, aut si quid à me aliud velle te intellexero, ut vel Editionem correctiorem, vel reliquos Tractatus tibi mittam, faciam sedulo & libenter. Nam mutatum in iis quicquam aut additum non est in præsentia quod velim. Itaque si in tua sententia præstiteris, fidum ego mihi Interpretem, tibi fausta omnia exopto.

Westmonasterio, Feb. 5. 1654.

EZECHIELI

EZECHIELI SPANHEMIO Genevensi.

17. **N**escio quo casu acciderit, ut Literæ tuæ post paulo minus tres menses mihi sint redditæ, quam abs te datæ: meis profecto expeditiore prorsus ad te commeatu plane est opus; quas dum de die in diem scribere constituebam, occupationibus quibusdam continuis impeditus, in alterum fere trimestre spatium procrastinasse me sentio. Tu vero ex hac mea tarditate rescribendi velim intelligas, benevolentia erga me tuæ non refrixisse gratiam, sed eo altius infedisse memoriam, quo sæpius atque diutius de officio meo vicissim tibi reddendo indies cogitabam. Habet hoc saltem officii tarda solutio quo se excuset, dum clarius confitetur deberi, quod tanto post tempore, quam quod statim persolvitur. Illa te imprimis Literarum initio non fefellit de me opinio; non mirari si à peregrino homine salutor: neque enim rectius de me senseris, quam si sic existimes, neminem me verum bonum in peregrini aut ignoti numero habere. Talem te esse facile mihi persuadetur, cum quod Patris doctissimi atque sanctissimi es filius, tum quod à Viris bonis bonus existimaris, tum denique quod odisti malos. Cum quibus, quandoquidem mihi quoque bellum esse contigit, fecit pro humanitate sua Calandrinus, deque mea sententia, ut significaret tibi, pergratum mihi fore, si contra communem adversarium tua subsidia mecum communicasses. Id quod his ipsis Literis perhumaniter fecisti, quarum partem, tacito Authoris nomine, tuo erga me studio confusus, in defensionem meam pro testimonio inferere non dubitavi. Quem ego Librum, ut primum in lucem prodierit, si quis erit cui recte possim committere, mittendum ad te curabo. Tu interim quas ad me Literas destinaveris, Turretino Genevensi Londini commoranti, cujus illic fratrem nosti, haud frustra, puto, inscripseris: per quem ut ad vos hæ nostræ, ita ad nos vestræ, commodissime pervenerint. De cætero scias velim, & te plurimi tuo merito à me fieri, meque uti porro abs te diligar, imprimis velle.

Westmonasterio, Martii 24. 1654.

HENRICO OLDENBURGO Bremensium ad Sen. A. Oratori.

18. **O**ccupatiorem repererunt me tuæ Literæ quas Adolescens Ranaleius attulit, unde cogor esse brevior quam vellem: tu vero quas abiens promiseras, eas ita probe reddidisti, ut æs alienum nemo sanctius ad Calendas, credo, persolvisset. Secessum istum tibi, quamvis mihi fraudi sit, tamen quoniam tibi esse voluptati, gratulor; tum illam quoque felicitatem animi tui, quem ab urbano vel ambitione vel otio ad sublimium rerum contemplationem tam facile potes attollere. Quid autem secessus ille conferat, præter Librorum copiam, nescio: & quos illic nactus es Studiorum socios, eos suoapte ingenio potius quam disciplina loci tales esse existinem; nisi forte ob desiderium tui iniquior sum isti loco quia te detinet. Ipse interim recte animadvertis, nimis illic multos esse qui suis inanissimis argutiis tam divina quam humana contaminant, ne plane nihil agere videantur dignum tot stipendiis, quibus pessimo publico aluntur. Sed tu ista melius per te sapis. Tam vetusti à diluvio usque Sinensium fasti, quos ab Jesuita Martinio promissos esse scribis, propter rerum novitatem avidissime proculdubio expectantur: verum auctoritatis, aut firmamenti, ad Mosaicos Libros adjungere quid possint non video. Salutem tibi reddit Cyriacus noster quem salutatum volebas. Vale.

Westmonasterio, Junii 25. 1656.

Nobilissimo Adolescenti RICHARDO JONESIO.

19. **P**Arantem me semel atque iterum ad proximas tuas Literas rescribere, subita quædam negotia, cujusmodi mea sunt, ut nosti, præverterunt : postea excucurrisse te in vicina quædam loca audiveram ; nunc discedens in Hyberniam mater tua præstantissima, cujus discessu uterque nostrum dolere haud mediocriter debemus, nam & mihi omnium necessitudinum loco fuit, has ad te Literas ipsa perfert. Tu vero quod de meo erga te studio persuasus es, recte facis ; tibi que tanto plus indies persuadeas velim, quanto plus bonæ indolis, bonæque frugis in te esse, facis ut intelligam. Id quod Deo dante, non solum in te recipis, sed quasi ego te sponsione laceffissem, facturum te fatisdas atque vadaris ; & velut judicium pati & judicatum solvere ni facias, non recusas : delector sane hâc tuâ de temetipso tam bonâ spe ; cui nunc deesse non potes ; quin simul non promissis modo tuis non stetisse, verum etiam vadimonium ipse tuum defuisse videre. Quod scribis non displicere tibi Oxonium, ex eo profecisse te quicquam aut sapientiore esse factum, non adducis ut credam : id mihi longe aliis rebus ostendere debebis. Victorias Principum quas laudibus tollis, & res ejusmodi in quibus vis plurimum potest, nolim te Philosophos jam audientem nimis admirari. Quid enim magnopere mirandum est, si vervecum in Patria valida nascantur cornua, quæ urbes & oppida arietare valentissime possint ? Tu magna exempla non ex vi & robore, sed ex justitia & temperantia ab ineunte ætate ponderare jam disce atque cognoscere, Vale ; meoque fac nomine, salutem Ornatissimo Viro Henrico Oldenburgo tuo Contubernali plurimam dicas.

Westm. Sept. 21. 1656.

Ornatissimo Adolescenti PETRO HEIMBACHIO.

20. **P**Romissa tua, mi Heimbachi, cæteraque omnia, quæ tua virtus præ se fert, cumulate implevisti, præterquam desiderium meum reditus tui quem intra duos ad summum menses fore pollicebaris ; nunc, nisi me temporis ratio tui cupidum fallit, trimestris pene abes. De Atlante, quod abs te petebam, abunde præstitisti ; non ut mihi comparares, sed tantummodo ut pretium Libri minimum indagares : centum & triginta Florenos postulari scribis ; montem illum opinor Mauritanum, non Librum Atlantem, dicis tam immani pretio coemendum. Ea nunc etiam Typographorum in excudendis Libris luxuries est, ut Bibliothecæ non minus quam Villæ sumptuosa supellex jam facta videatur. Mihi certe cum pictæ Tabulæ ob cæcitatem usui esse vix possint, dum orbem terræ frustra cæcis oculis perlustro, quanti illum Librum emisssem, vereor ne tanti videar lugere potius orbitatem meam. Tu hanc insuper impendas mihi operam, rogo, ut cum reversus eris, certiore me facere queas, quot sint integri operis illius volumina, & duarum Editionum, Blavianæ videlicet & Jansenianæ, utra sit auctior & accuratior : id quod ex teipso jam brevi redituro potius quam ex alteris Literis, coram auditurum me esse spero. Interim vale, reque nobis quamprimum redde.

Westm. Novemb. 8. 1656.

Orna-

Ornatissimo Viro EMERICO BIGOTIO.

21. **Q**UOD in Angliam trajicienti tibi dignus sum visus, quem præter cæteros visendum duceres & salutandum, fuit sane mihi & meritò quidem gratum; quod per Literas tanto etiam intervallo nunc denuo salutas, id aliquanto fuit gratius. Poteras enim primò aliorum fortassis opinione ductus ad me venisse, per Literas nunc redire, nisi proprio judicio vel saltem benevolentia reductus, vix poteras. Unde est sane, ut posse videar jure mihi gratulari: multi enim scriptis editis florere, quorum viva vox & consuetudo quotidiana nihil fere prætulit non demissum atque vulgare: ego si id assequi possum, ut si qua commode scripsi, iis par animo ac moribus esse videar; & pondus ipse scriptis addidero, & laudem vicissim, quantulacunque ea est, eo tamen majorem ab ipsis retulero: cum rectum & laudabile quod est, id non magis ab Authoribus præstantissimis accepisse, quam ab intimo sensu mentis atque animi depromissey purum atque sincerum videbor. De mea igitur animi tranquillitate in hoc tanto luminis detrimento, deque mea in excipiendis exteris hominibus comitate ac studio, persuasum tibi esse gaudeo. Orbitatem certe luminis quidni leniter feram, quod non tam amissum quam revocatum intus atque retractum, ad acuendam potius mentis aciem quam ad hebetandam, sperem. Quo fit, ut neque Literis irascar, nec earum studio penitus intermittam, etiamsi me tam male multaverint: tam enim morosus ne sim, Myforum Regis. Telephi saltem exemplum erudiit; qui eo telo, quo vulneratus est, sanari postea non recusavit. Quod ad illum Librum de modo tenendi Parlamenta quem apud te habes, ejus designata loca ex Codice Clarissimi Viri Domini Bradsciavi, nec non ex Codice Cottoniano, vel emendanda, vel dubia si erant, confirmanda curavi; ut ex reddita hic tibi tua chartula perspicias. Quod autem scire cupis, num etiam in arce Londinensi Autographum hujus Libri extet, misi qui id quæreret ex seciali, cui Actorum custodia mandata est, & quo ipse utor familiariter: respondit is, nullum exemplar illius Libri iis in monumentis extare. Tu vicissim quam mihi operam defers in re libraria procuranda, pergratum habeo: desunt mihi ex Byzantinis Historiis, Theophanis Chronographia Græc. Lat. fol. Constant. Manassis Breviarium Historicum, & Codini Excerpta de Antiquit. C. P. Græc. Lat. fol. Anastasii Bibliothecarii Hist. & Vitæ Rom. Pontific. fol. quibus Michaellem Glycam, & Joannem Sinnamum, Annæ Commenæ Continuatore ex eadem Typographia, si modo prodierunt, rogo adjicias: quàm queas minimo non addo; cum quòd, id ut te moneam hominem frugalissimum, non est opus, tum quòd pretium eorum Librorum certum esse aiunt, & omnibus notum: nummos D. Stuppius numeratò se tibi curaturum recepit, nec non etiam de Vectura, quæ sit commodissima, provisurum. Ego vero quæ tu vis, quæque optas, cupio tibi omnia. Vale.

Westmonasterio, Martii 24. 1656.

Nobili Adolescenti RICHARDO JONESIO.

22. **T**ARDIUS multò accepi Literas tuas quam abs te datæ sunt, post quindecim putò dies quam sepositæ alicubi apud matrem delituisse. Ex quibus tandem studium erga me tuum gratique animi sensum libentissime cognovi: mea certe erga te benevolentia monitaque fidissima, neque optimæ matris tuæ de me opinioni atque fiduciæ, neque indoli tuæ unquam defuere. Est quidem, ut scribis, amœnitatis atque salubritatis eo in loco, quo nunc recessisti, est & Librorum quod Academiæ satis esse possit; si ad ingenium incolarum tantum conferret ista soli amœnitas, quantum ad delicias confert,

fert, ad foelicitatem illius loci nihi deesse videretur. Et Bibliotheca etiam illic instructissima est; verum nisi studiosorum mentes Disciplinis optimis instructiores inde reddantur, Apothecam Librorum illam quam Bibliothecam rectius dixeris. Oportere itaque ad hæc omnia discendi animum atque industriam accedere percommode sane agnoscis. Tu ex ista sententia, nequando tecum agere necesse habeam, etiam atque etiam vide; id facillimo negotio evitabis, si Ornatissimi Viri Henrici Oldenburgi qui tibi præsto est, gravissimis atque amicissimis præceptis diligenter parueris. Vale mi Richarde dilectissime, & ad Virtutem ac Pietatem, Matris præstantissimæ Fœminæ exemplo, veluti Timotheum alterum, finito te adhorter atque accendam.

Westmonasterio.

Illustrissimo Domino HENRICO DE BRASS.

23. **V** Ideo te, Domine, id quod perpauci ex hodierna juventute faciunt, qui oras exteras perlustrant, non juvenilium studiorum sed amplioris undique comparandæ eruditionis causâ, veterum exemplo Philosophorum, recte & sapienter peregrinari. Quanquam ea quæ scribis quoties intueor, ad eruditionem non tam aliunde capiendam, quam aliis impertiendam, ad commutandas potius, quam ad coemendas bonas merces, accessisse ad externos videris. Atque utinam mihi tam facile esset, ista tua præclara studia rebus omnibus adjuvare ac promovere, quam est jucundum sane & pergratum tuam egregiam indolem id à me petere. Quod scribis tamen statuisse te ut ad me scriberes, meaque responsa peteres ad eas difficultates enucleandas, circa quas à multis sæculis Historiarum Scriptores videntur caligasse, nihil equidem hujusmodi neque unquam mihi sumpsi, neque ausim sumere. De Sallustio quod scribis, dicam libere, quoniam ita vis plane ut dicam quod sentio, Sallustium cuivis Latino Historico me quidem anteferre; quæ etiam constans fere Antiquorum sententia fuit. Habet suas laudes tuus Tacitus; sed eas meo quidem judicio maximas, quod Sallustium nervis omnibus sit imitatus. Cum hæc tecum coram differerem, perfecisse videor, quantum ex eo quod scribis conjicio, ut de illo cordatissimo Scriptore ipse jam idem prope sentias: adeoque ex me quæris, cum is in exordio Belli Catilinarii perdifficile esse dixerit Historiam scribere, propterea quod facta dictis exæquanda sunt, qua potissimum ratione id assequi Historiarum scriptorem posse existimem. Ego vero sic existimo; qui gestas res dignas digne scripserit, eum animo non minus magnò rerumque usu præditum scribere oportere, quam is qui eas gesserit: ut vel maximas pari animo comprehendere atque metiri possit, & comprehensas sermone puro atque casto distincte graviterque narrare: nam ut ornate, non admodum laboro; Historicum enim, non Oratorem requiro. Crebras etiam sententias, & judicia de rebus gestis interjecta prolixè nollem, ne, interruptâ rerum serie, quod Politici Scriptoris munus est Historicus invadat; qui si in consiliis explicandis, factisque enarrandis, non suum ingenium aut conjecturam, sed veritatem potissimum sequitur, suarum profecto partium satagit. Addiderim & illud Sallustianum, qua in re ipse Catonem maxime laudavit, posse multa paucis absolvere; id quod sine acerrimo judicio, atque etiam temperantiâ quâdam neminem posse arbitror. Sunt multi in quibus vel sermonis elegantiam, vel congestarum rerum copiam non desideres, qui breviter cum copia junxerit, id est, qui multa paucis absolverit, princeps mea judicio Latinorum est Sallustius. Has ego virtutes Historico inesse putem oportere, qui facta dictis exæquaturum se speret. Verum quid ego tibi ista? ad quæ tu ipse, quo es ingenio, per te sufficis; quique eam ingressus es viam, in qua si pergis, neminem te ipso doctiorem poteris brevi consulere: & uti pergas, quanquam tibi hortatu non opus est
cujus-

cujusquam, ne omnino tamen nihil pro expectatione tua respondisse videar, quantum valere me auctoritate apud te finis, hortor magnopere atque auctor sum. Vale, tuâque virtute & sapientiæ acquirendæ studio macte esto.

Westmonasterio, Idibus Quintil. 1657.

HENRICO OLDENBURGO.

24. **Q**uod Salmurium peregrinationis vestræ, ut puto, sedem incolumes pervenistis, gaudeo : hoc enim te non fefellit, id mihi imprimis gratissimum fore ; ut qui & te merito tuo diligam, & suscepti itineris causam tam esse honestam atque laudabilem sciam. Quod autem audisti accersitum Ecclesiæ tam illustri erudienti Antistitem tam infamem, id mallet quivis alius in Charontis, quam tu in Charentonis cymba audisses : verendum enim est valde, ne toto cœlo devius frustretur, quisquis tam fœdo auspice perventurum se unquam ad superos putat. Væ illi Ecclesiæ (Deus modo avertat omen) ubi tales Ministri aurium causâ potissimum placent, quos Ecclesia, si reformatâ vere vult dici, ejiceret rectius quam cooptaret. Quod Scripta nostra nemini nisi poscenti impertisti, recte tu quidem & eleganter, neque ex mea solum, sed etiam ex Horatiana Sententia fecisti ;

Ne studio nostri pecces, odiumque libellis.
Sedulus importes operâ vehemente. ———

Commorabatur vir doctus quidam, familiaris meus, superiore ætate Salmurii ; is ad me scripsit, librum illum iis in locis expeti : unum exemplar duntaxat misi ; rescripsit, placitum esse aliquot doctis, quibuscum communicaverat, ut nihil supra. Nisi iis rem gratam facturum me fuisse existimassem, parvissem utiq ; & tuo oneri & sumptui meo. Verum,

Si te forte meæ gravis uret sarcina chartæ,
Abjicito potius, quam, quo perferre juberis,
Clitellas ferus impingas, ———

Laurentio nostro, ut jussisti, salutem nomine tuo dixi : de cætero, nihil est quod abs te prius agi, priusve curare velim, quam ut tu atque alumnus tuus recte valeatis, votorumque compotes ad nos quamprimum redeatis.

Westmonasterio, Calend. Sextil. 1657.

Nobili Adolescenti RICHARDO JONESIO.

25. **C**onfecisse te sine incommodo tam longum iter, & spretis Lutetiarum illecebris, tanta celeritate eò contendisse, ubi literato otio, doctorumq ; consuetudine frui possis, & magnopere lætor, & te tuæ indolis laudo. Illic quoad te continebis in portu eris ; Syrtes & Scopulos, & Sirenum cantus alias tibi cavendum. Quin & vindemiam, quâ oblectare te cogitas, Salmuriensem nimium sitire te nolim, nisi in animo quoque sit, mustum illud Liberi liberiore Musarum latice quinta plus parte diluere. Verum ad hæc, me etiam tacente, hortatorem habes eximium, quem si audis, tibimet profecto

perfecto optime consulueris, & præstantissimam parentem tuam summo gaudio, & crescente indies amore tui affeceris. Quod uti facere possis, à Deo Opt. Max. petere quotidie debes. Vale, & ad nos quam optimus, bonisque artibus quam cultissimus, fac redeas: id mihi præter cæteros jucundissimum erit.

Westm. Calend. Sextil. 1657.

Illustrissimo Domino HENRICO DE BRASS.

26. **I**mpeditus per hosce dies occupationibus quibusdam, Illustrissime Domine, serius rescribo quam volebam. Volebam enim eo citius, quod Literas tuas multâ jam nunc eruditione plenas, non tam præcipendi tibi quicquam (id quod à me honoris credo mei, non usus tui causâ postulas) quam gratulandi duntaxat, reliquisse mihi locum videbam. Gratulor autem & mihi imprimis foelicitatem meam, qui Sallustii sententiam ita commode explicasse videar, & tibi tam assiduam illius auctoris sapientissimi tanto cum fructu lectionem. De quo idem tibi ausim confirmare quod de Cicerone Quintilianus, sciat se haud parum in re Historica profecisse cui placeat Sallustius. Illud autem Aristotelis præceptum ex Rhetoricorum tertio quod explicatum cupis, Sententiis utendum est in narratione & in fide, moratum enim est; non video quid habeat magnopere explicandum, modo ut narratio & fides, quæ & probatio dici solet, ea hic intelligatur, quâ Rhetor, non quâ Historicus utitur: diversæ enim sunt partes Rhetoris & Historici, sive narrant, sive probant; quemadmodum & Artes ipsæ inter se diversæ sunt. Quid autem conveniat Historico, ex Auctoribus antiquis Polybio, Halicarnessæo Diodoro, Cicerone, Luciano, aliisque multis, qui ea de re præcepta quædam sparsim tradidere, rectius didiceris. Ego vero & studiis tuis & itineribus secunda omnia atque tuta exopto, dignosque successus eò animo ac diligentia, quam rebus quibusque optimis adhibere te video. Vale.

Westm. Decemb. 16. 1657.

Ornatissimo Viro PETRO HEIMBACHIO.

27. **L**iteras tuas Hagâ Comitum dat. 18. Dec. accepi: ad quas, quoniam id tuis rationibus expedire video, eodem die, quo mihi sunt redditæ, rescribendum putavi. In iis post gratias actas ob beneficia nescio quæ mea, quæ vellem fane non essent nulla, ut qui tua causa quidvis cupiam, petis ut te per D. Laurentium Oratori nostro in Hollandiam designato commendarem: quod quidem doleo in me situm non esse; cum propter paucissimas familiaritates meas cum gratiosis, qui domi fere, idque libenter me contineo; tum quod is credo, è portu jam solvit, jamque adventat, secumque habet in comitatu quem sibi ab epistolis vult esse, quod tu munus apud eum petis. Verum in ipso discessu jam Tabellarius est. Vale.

Westmonasterio, Decemb. 18. 1657.

JOANNI BADIÆO Pastori Araufionensi.

28. **Q**uod tardius ad te rescribo, Vir clarissime & reverende, non recusabit, credo, noster Duræus, quo minus tardioris culpam rescriptionis à me in ipsum transferam. Postea enim quam schedulæ illius, quam mihi recitatam volebas, de iis quæ Evangelii causâ egisses atque perpeffus esses, copiam mihi fecit, non distuli parare
has

has ad te literas ut ei darem Tabellario, qui primus discessisset, sollicitus quam in partem silentium meum tam diuturnum interpretarere. Maximam interim habeo gratiam Molinæo vestro Nemaufensi, qui suis de me sermonibus & amicissima prædicatione, tot per ea loca bonorum virorum me in gratiam immisit. Et sane quanquam non sum nescius, me vel eo quod cum adversario tanti nominis publice iussus certamen non detrectaverim, vel propter argumenti celebritatem, vel denique scribendi genus longe latèque satis innotuisse; sic tamen existimo, me tantundem duntaxat habere famæ, quantum habeo bonæ existimationis apud bonos. Atque in eadem te quoque esse sententia, plane video; qui Veritatis Christianæ studio atque amore accensus, tot labores pertuleris, tot hostes sustinueris; eaque quotidie fortiter facias, quibus tantum abest, ut ullam ab improbis famam tibi quæras, ut eorum certissima odia & maledicta in te concitare non verearis. O te beatum! quem Deus unum ex tot millibus virorum, alioqui sapientum atque doctorum, ex ipsis inferorum portis ac faucibus ereptum, ad tam insignem atque intrepidam Evangelii sui professionem evocavit. Et habeo nunc quidem cur putem Dei voluntate singulari factum, ut ad te citius non rescriberim: cum enim intelligerem ex Literis tuis, te ab infestis undique hostibus petitem atque obsessum, circumspicere, & meritò quidem, quo te posses in extremo discrimine, si ita res tulisset, recipere, & Angliam tibi in primis placuisse, gaudebam equidem non uno nomine, te id consilii cepisse; cum tui potiundi spe, tum te de mea patria tam præclare sentire: illud dolebam, non tum vidisse me unde tibi hic apud nos præsertim Anglice nescienti, pro eo ac deceret prospectum esset posset. Nunc vero peropportune accidit ut Minister quidam Gallicus ætate confectus, ante paucos dies è vita migraverit. In ista Ecclesia qui plurimum possunt, teque illis in locis non satis tutò versari intelligunt (non hoc incertis rumoribus collectum, sed ex ipsis auditum refero) cooptatum te illius Ministri in locum summopere cupiunt, immo invitant; sumptusque itineris suppeditandos tibi decreverunt; atque ita tibi de re familiari provisum iri pollicentur, ut Ministrorum apud nos Gallicorum nemini melius; nec tibi quicquam defore, quod ad munus Evangelicum apud se libenter obeundum possit conducere. Quare advola quamprimum, si me audis, Vir Reverende, ad cupidissimos tui, messem hic messurus, etsi commodorum hujus mundi fortasse non ita uberem, tamen, quam tui similis potissimum exoptant, animarum, ut spero, numerosam: tibi que persuadeas, te viris bonis omnibus expectatissimum esse venturum; & quanto citius, tanto gratiorem. Vale.

Westmonasterio, April. 21. 1659.

HENRICO OLDENBURGO.

29. **S**ilentii, quam petis veniam tui, dabis potius mei; cujus erant, si memini, respondendi vices. Me certe non imminuta erga te voluntas, hoc enim persuasissimum tibi esse velim, sed vel studia, vel curæ domesticæ impediverant, vel ipsa fortasse ad scribendum pigritia, intermissi officii reum facit. Quod scire cupis, valeo equidem, Deo juvante, ut soleo: ab historia nostrorum motuum concinnanda, quod hortari videris, longe abssum; sunt enim silentio digniores quam præconio: nec nobis qui motuum historiam concinnare, sed qui motus ipsos componere feliciter possit, est opus: tecum enim vereor ne libertatis ac religionis hostibus nunc nuper sociatis, nimis opportuni inter has nostras Civiles discordias vel potius insanias, videamur; verum non illi gravius, quam nosmetipsi jamdiu flagitiis nostris, religioni vulnus intulerint. Sed Deus, uti spero, propter se Gloriamque suam, quæ nunc agitur, consilia impetuique hostium ex ipsorum sententia succedere non sinet, quicquid Reges & Cardinales turbarum meditentur aut struant. Synodo interea Protestantium Laodunensi, propediem, ut

scribis, convocandæ, precor id, quod nulli adhuc Synodo contigit, fœlicem exitum, non Nazianzenicum; fœlicem autem huic nunc fatis futurum, si nihil aliud decreverit, quam ejiciendum esse Morum. De adversario Posthumio simul ac prodierit, fac me, rogo, primo quoque tempore certiolem. Vale.

Westmon. Decemb. 20. 1659.

Nobili Adolescenti RICHARDO JONESIO.

30. **Q**UOD longo intervallo ad me scribis, modestissime tu quidem te excusas, qui possis ejusdem delicti me rectius accusare: ut haud sciam profecto utrum non deliquisse te, an sic excusasse, maluerim. Illud tibi in mentem cave veniat; me gratitudinem tuam, si qua mihi abs te debetur, Literarum assiduitate metiri: tum te gratissimum adversus me esse sensero, cum mea erga te quæ prædicas merita, non tam in Literis crebris, quam in optimis perpetuo studiis tuis ac laudibus apparebunt. Viam virtutis quidem, in illo orbis terrarum Gymnasio quod es ingressus, recte fecisti; sed viam scito illam virtutis ac vitii communem; illuc progrediendum, ubi via in bivium se scindit. Teque sic comparare jam nunc mature debes, ut relictâ hâc communi, amœnâ ac floridâ, illam arduam ac difficilem, qui solius virtutis clivus est, tuâ sponte libentius, etiam cum labore ac periculo, possis ascendere. Id tu præ aliis multo facilius, mihi crede, poteris, qui tam fidum ac peritum nactus es itineris Ducem. Vale.

Westm. Decemb. 20. 1659.

Ornatissimo Viro PETRO HEIMBACHIO, Electoris Brandenburgici
Consiliario.

31. **S**I inter tot Funera Popularem meorum, anno tam gravi ac pestilenti, abreptum me quoque, ut scribis, ex rumore præsertim aliquo credidisti, mirum non est; atque ille rumor apud vestros, ut videtur, homines, si ex eo quod de salute mea solliciti essent, increbuit, non displicet; indicium enim suæ erga me benevolentiae fuisse existimo. Sed Dei benignitate, qui tutum mihi receptum in agris paraverat, & vivo adhuc & valeo; utinam ne inutilis, quicquid muneris in hac vita restat mihi peragendum. Tibi vero tam longo intervallo venisse in mentem mei, pergratum est; quamquam, prout rem verbis exornas, præbere aliquem suspicionem videris, oblitum mei te potius esse, qui tot virtutum diversarum conjugium in me, ut scribis, admirere. Ego certe ex tot conjugis numerosam nimis prolem expavescerem, nisi constaret in re arcta, rebusque duris, virtutes ali maxime & vigere: tametsi earum una non ita belle charitatem hospitii mihi reddidit: quam enim Politicam tu vocas, ego Pietatem in Patriam dictam abs te mallet, ea me pulchro nomine delinitum prope, ut ita dicam, expatriavit. Reliquarum tamen chorus clare concinit. Patria est, ubicunque est bene. Finem faciam, si hoc prius abs te impetravero, ut, si quid mendose descriptum aut non interpunctum repereris, id puero, qui hæc excepit, Latine prorsus nescienti velis imputare; cui singulas plane Literulas annumerare non sine miseria dictans cogebar. Tua interim Viri merita, quem ego adolescentem spei eximiæ cognovi, ad tam honestum in Principis gratia provexisse te locum, gaudeo, cæteraque fausta omnia & cupio tibi, & spero. Vale.

Londini, Aug. 15. 1666.

JOANNIS

JOANNIS MILTONII

Prolusiones quædam Oratoriæ.

In Collegio, &c.

Utrum Dies an Nox præstantior sit?

Scriptum post se reliquere passim Nobilissimi quique Rhetoricæ Magistri, quod nec vos præteriit, Academici, in unoquoque dicendi genere, sive demonstrativo, sive deliberativo, sive judiciali, ab aucupanda Auditorum gratia exordium duci oportere; alioqui nec permoveri posse Auditorum animos, nec causam ex sententia succedere. Quod si res ita est, quam sane, ne vera dissimulem, Eruditorum omnium consensu fixum ratumque novi, miserum me! ad quantas ego hodie redactus sum angustias! qui in ipso Orationis Limine vereor ne aliquid prolaturus sim minime Oratorium, & ab officio Oratoris primo & præcipuo necesse habeam abscedere. Etenim quî possim ego vestram sperare benevolentiam, cum in hoc tanto concursu, quot oculis intueor tot ferme aspiciam infesta in me capita; adeo ut Orator venisse videar ad non exorabiles. Tantum potest ad simultates etiam in Scholis æmulatio, vel diversa Studia, vel in eisdem studiis diversa judicia sequentium; ego vero sollicitus non sum,

Ne mihi Polydamas & Troïades Labeonem Prætulerint; Nugæ.

Veruntamen ne penitus despondeam animum, sperari video, ni fallor, qui mihi ipso aspectu tacito, quam bene velint, haud obscure significant; à quibus etiam quantumvis paucis, equidem probari malo quam ab innumeris imperitorum Centuriis, in quibus nihil mentis, nihil rectæ rationis, nihil sani judicii inest, ebullienti quadam & plane ridendâ verborum spumâ sese venditantibus; à quibus si emendicatos ab novitiis Authoribus centones dempseris, Deum Immortalem! quanto nudiores Leberide conspexeris, & exhaustâ inani vocabulorum & sententiuncularum supellectile, μηδὲ γὰρ φθέγγεσθαι, perinde mutos ac ranuncula Seriphia. At ô quam ægre temperaret à risu vel ipse, si in vivis esset, Heraclitus, si forte hosce cerneret, si Diis placet, Oratorculos, quos paulo ante audiverit cothurnato Euripidis Oreste, aut furibundo sub mortem Hercule grandiora eructantes, exhausto tandem vocularum quarundam tenuissimo penu, posito incedere supercilio, aut retractis introrsum Cornibus, velut animalcula quædam abrepere. Sed recipio me paululum digressus. Si quis igitur est qui, spreta pacis conditione, ἄσπονδον πολέμον mihi indixerit, eum ego quidem in præsentia non dedignabor orare & rogare, ut semotâ paulisper simultate, æquabilis adsit certaminis hujus arbiter; neve Oratoris culpa, si qua est, Causam quam optimam & præclarissimam in invidiam vocet. Quod si mordaciora paulo hæc & aceto perfusa nimio putaveritis, id ipsum de industria fecisse me profiteor: volo enim ut initium Orationis meæ primulum imitetur diluculum, ex quo subnubilo serenissima fere nascitur dies. Quæ an nocte præstantior sit, haud vulgaris utique agitur Controversia, quam quidem mearum nunc est partium, Audi-

tores, pensique huius matutini, accurate & radicitus excutere; quamvis & hæc Prolusioni Poeticæ, quam Decertationi Oratoriæ, magis videatur idonea: At at noctemne dixi cum die struxisse lites? Quid hoc rei est? quænam hæc molitio? numnam antiquum Titanes redintegrant bellum, Phlegræi prælii instaurantes reliquias? an terra novam in superos Deos enixa est portentosæ magnitudinis prolem? an vero Typhœus injectam Ætnæ Montis eluctatus est molem? an denique, decepto Cerbero, catenis adamantinis subduxit se Briareus? quid est aliquando tandem, quod Deos manes ad Cœlestis imperii spem jam tertiò erexerit? adeone contemnendum Jovis fulmen? adeon' pro nihilo putanda Palladis invicta virtus, quâ tantam olim inter Terrigenas fratres edidit Stragem? Exciditne animo insignis ille per Cœli Tempia Liberi patris ex profligatis Gigantibus triumphus? Neutiquam sanè: meminit illa probe, nec sine lachrymis, consternatos plerosque à Jove Fratres superstitesque cæteros usque ad penitissimos Inferorum recessus in fugam actos; & certe jam nihil minus quam bellum adornat trepida, querelam potius & lites instruit, atque pro more Mulierum post rem unguibus & pugnibus fortiter gestam ad colloquium seu verius ad rixam venit, periclitatura, opinor, linguâne plus an armis valeat. At vero quam inconsulto, quam arroganter, quamque debili causæ titulo præ die summam rerum ambiat, expedire festino. Video siquidem & ipsam diem Galli cantu expergefactam, cursu solito citiori adproperasse ad suas laudes exaudiendas. Et quoniam unusquisque hoc imprimis ad honores & decus conferre arbitratur, si ab generosis Natalibus & prisco Regum vel Deorum sanguine oriundum se comperit. Videndum primo utra genere sit clarior, mox quænam antiquitate honoratior; dein hæc an illa humanis usibus accommodatius inserviat. Apud vetustissimos itaque Mythologiæ scriptores memoriæ datum reperio, Demogorgonem Deorum omnium Atavum (quem eundem & Chaos ab antiquis nuncupatum hariolor) inter alios Liberos, quos sustulerat plurimos, Terram genuisse; hæc, incerto patre noctem fuisse prognatam; quamvis paulo aliter Hesiodus eam Chaogenitam velit hoc Monasticho.

Ἐξ χάεος δ' Ἐρεβόσε μέλαινα τε νύξ ἐγένοντο.

Hanc, quocunque natam, cum adoleverat ad ætatem nuptiis maturam, poscit sibi uxorem Phanes Pastor; annuente Matre, refragatur illa, negatque se ignoti viri & nusquam visi, moribusque insuper tam longe diversis concubitum inituram. Repulsam Phanes ægre ferens, verso in odium amore, nigellam hanc Telluris filiam per omnes orbis Terrarum tractus ad necem sequitur indignabundus. Illa vero quem amantem sprexit, eum hostem non minus tremit; propterea ne apud ultimas quidem Nationes, & disjuncta quam maxime loca, immo ne in ipso sinu parentis satis se tutam rata, ad incestos Erebi fratris amplexus furtim & clanculum se corripit; timore simul gravi soluta, maritumque nacta proculdubio sui similem. Hoc itaque tam venusto conjugum pari Æther & Dies perhibentur editi, ut Author est idem, cujus supra mentionem fecimus, Hesiodus.

Νυκτὸς δ' ἀντ' αἰθήρτε καὶ ἡμέρα ἐξεγένοντο,
οὓς τεκευσσα μένη Ἐρέβει φιλότῃτι μιγεῖσα.

At enim vetant humaniores Musæ, ipsa etiam prohibet Philosophia Diis proxima, ne minus Poetis Deorum figulis, præsertim Græcanicis, omni ex parte habeamus fidem; nec quisquam iis hoc probro datum putet, quod in re tanti momenti Authores videantur vix satis locupletes. Si quis enim eorum aliquantillum deflexerit à vero, id non tam ingeniis eorum assignandum, quibus nihil divinius, quam pravæ & cæcutienti ejus ætatis ignorantix, quæ tunc tempestatis pervadebat omnia. Abunde sane laudis hinc sibi adepti sunt, affatim gloriæ, quod homines in sylvis atque montibus dispalatos belluarum ad instar, in unum compulerint locum, & Civitates constituerint, quodque omnes Disciplinas quotquot hodie traduntur, lepidis fabellarum

involucris obvestitas pleni Deo primi docuerint; eritque hoc solum iisdem ad affequendam nominis immortalitatem non ignobile sane subsidium, quod Artium scientiam feliciter inchoatam posteris absolvendam reliquerint.

Noli igitur, quisquis es, arrogantia me temere damnare, quasi ego jam veterum omnium Poetarum decreta, nullâ nixus autoritate, perfregerim aut immutaverim; neque enim id mihi sumo, sed ea tantummodo ad normam rationis revocare conor, exploraturus hoc pacto num rigidæ possint veritatis examen pati. Quocirca primò noctem Tellure ortam erudite quidem & eleganter fabulata est Antiquitas; quid enim aliud mundo noctem obducit quam densa & impervia terra, Solis lumini nostroque Horizonti interposita? quòd eam deinde nunc patrimam, fuisse negant Mythologi, nunc matrimam, id quoque festiviter fictum; inde siquidem recte colligitur spuriam fuisse aut subdititiam, aut demum parentes prolem tam famosam & illiberalem præ pudore non agnovisse. At vero cur existimarent Phanetem illum mirificâ supramodum humanum facie, noctem Æthiopissam & monogrammam etiam in Matrimonium adamasse, arduum impense negotium videtur è vestigio divinare, nisi quod foeminarum insignis admodum id temporis paucitas delectum suppeditaret nullum. Atqui presse agamus & cominus. Phanetem interpretantur Veteres Solem sive Diem; quem dum commemorant Noctis conjugium primo petiisse, deinde in ultionem sprete conubii insecutum, nihil aliud quam Dierum & Noctium vices ostendere volunt. Ad hoc autem quid opus erat introduxisse Phanetem Noctis nuptias ambientem, cum perpetua illa eorum successio & mutuus quasi impulsus innato & æterno odio melius adsignificetur; quippe constat sudum & tenebras ab ipso rerum principio acerrimis inter se dissedisse inimicitiiis. Atque ego sane noctem credo, *εὐφρόνης* cognomen hinc solum accepisse, quod Phanetis connubio permiscere se caute recusarit, nec non cogitate; etenim si illum semel in suos admisisset thalamos, extra dubium radiis ejus & impatibili fulgore absumpta vel in nihilum interiisset, vel penitus conflagrasset, sicuti olim invito Jove Amasio arsisse ferunt Semelem. Quapropter huic, non improvida salutis suæ, Erebum prætulit. Unde scitum illud Martialis & perurbanum.

Uxor pessima, pessimus Maritus,
Non miror bene convenire vobis.

Nec tacendum existimo, quam formosâ & se digna virum auxerit prole, nimirum Ærumna, Invidiâ, Timore, Dolo, Fraude, Pertinaciâ, Paupertate, Miseriâ, Fame, Querelâ, Morbo, Senectute, Pallore, Caligine, Somno, Morte, Charonte, qui ultimo natus est partu; adeo ut hic apprime quadret quod in Proverbii consuetudinem venit, *κακὴ κόρα καὶ κακὸν ὦν*. Cæterum nec desunt qui etiam Ætherem & Diem itidem Erebo suo Noctem peperisse tradunt. At enim quotusquisque est, non impos mentis, qui sic Philosophantem non explodat ac rejiciat tanquam Democritica Commenta aut Nutricularum Fabulas proferentem? Ecquam enim veri speciem præ se fert, posse obscuram & fuscam noctem tam venustulum, tam amabilem, tam omnibus gratum acceptumque reddere partum? Qui etiam ut primum conceptus esset, præmaturo impetu erumpens utro matrem enecasset, ipsumque Erebum patrem abegisset protinus, vetulumque coegisset Charontem, ut sub imo Styge nocturnos abderet oculos, & si qua sub Inferis latibula sunt, ut eo se remigio & velis reciperet. Nec solum apud Orcum non est natus dies, sed ne unquam quidem ibi comparuit; neque potest illuc nisi factorum ingratis vel per minimam intromitti rimulam; quid! quod etiam diem nocte antiquiorem audeo dicere, eamque mundum recens emersum è Chao diffuso lumine collustrasse, priusquam nox suas egisset vices; nisi crassam illam & immundam caliginem noctem vel ipsi Demogorgoni equævam velimus perperam nominare. Ideoque Diem Urani filiam natu maximam arbitror, vel filii potius dixeris,

ris, quem ille in solatium humanæ gentis & terrorem Infernalium Deorum procreasse dicitur; ne scilicet, occupante tyrannidem nocte, nulloque inter Terras & Tartara discrimine posito, Manes & Furiaæ atque omne illud infame Monstrorum genus ad terras usque, desertâ Barathri sede, se proreperent, misellique homines densis obvoluti umbris, & quaquaversum occlusi, defunctarum animarum pœnas etiam vivi experirentur. Hactenus, Academici, obscuram noctis propaginem atris & profundissimis eruiamus tenebris; habebitis ilicet ut se dignam præbuerit Natalibus suis, sed si prius Diei laudibus impensam dederim opellam meam, quamvis & illa sane omnium laudatorum Eloquentiam anteeat. Et certe primo quam omnium animantium stirpi grata sit & desiderabilis, quid opere est vobis exponere; cum vel ipsæ volucres nequeant suum celare gaudium, quin egressæ nidulis, ubi primum diluculavit, aut in verticibus Arborum concentu suavissimo deliniant omnia, aut sursum librantes se, & quam possunt prope solem volitent, redeunti gratulaturæ luci. At primus omnium adventantem Solem triumphat insomnis Gallus, & quasi præco quivis, monere videtur Homines, ut excusso somno prodeant, atque obviam effundant se novam salutatum auroram; tripudiant in agris capellæ, totumque genus quadrupedum gestit & exultat lætitiâ. Quinetiam & mœsta Clysiæ totam fere noctem, converso in Orientem vultu, Phœbum præstolata suum, jam arridet & adblanditur appropinquanti Amatori. Caltha quoque & Rosa, ne nihil addant communi gaudio, aperientes sinum, Odores suos Soli tantum servatos profusè spirant, quibus noctem dedignantur impertiri, claudentes se folliculis suis simulatque vesper appetat; cæterique flores inclinata paulum, & rore languidula erigentes capita quasi præbent se Soli, & tacite rogant ut suis osculis abstergat Lacrymulas, quas ejus absentia dederant. Ipsa quoque Tellus in adventum Solis cultiori se induit vestitu, nubescque juxta variis Chlamydatae coloribus, pompâ solenni, longoque ordine videntur ancillari surgenti Deo. Ad summam, nequid deesset ad ejus dilatandas laudes, huic Persæ, huic Libyes, divinos Honores decrevere; Rhodienfes pariter celeberrimum illum stupendæ magnitudinis Colossus, Charetis Lyndii miro extructum artificio, huic sacrârunt; huic itidem hodie Occidentalis India Populi thure cæteroque apparatu sacrificare accepimus. Vos testor, Academici, quam jucundum, quam optatum diuque expectatum vobis illucescat mane, utpote quod vos ad mansuetiores Musas revocet, à quibus insaturabiles & sitibundos dimiserat ingrata nox. Testor ultimo Saturnum Cœlo deturbatum in Tartara, quam lubens vellet, si modo per Jovem liceret, ab exosis tenebris ad auras reverti; Quòd demum Lux vel ipsi Plutoni suâ caligine longe sit potior, id quidem in confesso est, quando cœleste regnum toties affectavit, unde scite & verissime Orpheus in hymno ad Auroram.

Ἡ χαίρει θνητῶν μερόπων γένος ἔδ' εἰς τὴν,
Ὅς φεύγει τὴν σὴν ὅψιν καδυπέριον, ἔσαν
Ἠνίκα, τον γλύκυν ὕπνον ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἀποσεΐσης.
Πᾶς δ' ἐβρόχός γηθεῖ, πᾶν ἐρπετόν, ἀλλάτε φῦλα
Τετραπόδων, πτηνῶν τε, καὶ ἐνναλίω πολυθνήων.

Nec mirum utique cum Dies non minus utilitatis adferat quam delectationis, & sola negotiis obeundis accommodata sit; quis enim mortalium lata & immensa maria trajicere sustineret, si desperaret affuturum diem; immo non aliter Oceanum navigarent quam Lethen & Acherontem Manes, horrendis nimirum undiquaque tenebris obfiti. Unusquisque etiam in suo se contineret gurgustio, haud unquam ausus foras prorepere; adeo ut necesse esset diffui statim humanam societatem. Frustra Venerem exeuntem è mari inchoasset Apelles; frustra Zeuxis Helenam pinxisset, si nox cæca & obnubila res tam visendas oculis nostris adimeret; tum quoque frustra tellus serpentes multiplici & erratico lapsu vites, frustra decentissimæ proceritatis arbores profunderet,

deret, incassum denique gemmis & floribus tanquam stellulis interpoliret se, cœlum exprimere conata; tum demum nobilissimus ille videndi sensus nullis animalibus usui foret; ita prorsus, extincto mundi oculo, deflorescerent omnia & penitus emorerentur; nec sane huic cladi diu superessent ipsi homines, qui tenebricosam incolerent terram, cum nihil suppeteret unde victitarent, nihil denique obstaret, quò minus in antiquum Chaos ruerent omnia. Hisce quidem possit quispiam inexhausto stylo plura adjicere; verum non permetteret ipsa verecunda dies ut singula persequatur, & proclivi cursu ad occasum præcipitans, nullò modo pateretur immodice laudantem. Jam igitur declinat in vespere dies, & nocti statim cedit, ne adultâ hieme solstitialem contigisse diem facete dicatis. Tantum pace vestra liceat adjungere pauca quæ non possum commode præterire. Meritò igitur Poetæ noctem Inferis exurgere scriptitarunt; cum impossibile plane sit aliunde tot tantaque mala nisi ex eo loco mortalibus invehiri. Obortâ enim nocte fordescunt & obfuscantur omnia, nec quicquam tunc profecto interest inter Helenam & Canidiam, nihil inter pretiosissimos & viles Lapillos, nisi quod gemmarum nonnullæ etiam noctis obscuritatem vincant: Huc accedit, quod amœnissima quæque loca tunc quidem horrorem incutiant, qui etiam alto & tristi quodam augetur silentio; siquidem quicquid uspiam est in agris, aut hominum aut ferarum, vel domum, vel ad antra raptim se conferunt; ubi stratis immersi ad aspectus noctis terribiles claudunt oculos. Nullum foris conspicias præterquam Fures & Laverniones Lucifugos, qui cædem anhelantes & rapinas, insidiantur bonis Civium, & noctu solum vagantur, ne detegantur interdiu; quippe dies nullum non indagare solet nefas, haud passura lucem suam istiusmodi flagitiis inquinari; nullum habebis obvium nisi Lemures & Larvas, & Empusas quas secum nox comites è locis asportat subterraneis, quæque totâ nocte terras in sua ditione esse, sibi que cum hominibus communes vendicant. Ideoque opinor noctem auditum nostrum reddidisse solertiorum, ut umbrarum gemitus, bubonum & strygmum ululatus, ac rugitus Leonum, quos fames evocat; eò citius perfringerent aures, animosque; graviori metu percellerent. Hinc liquidò constat, quam sit ille falsus animi qui noctu homines à timore otiosos esse, noctemque curas sopire omnes autumnat; namque hanc vanam esse & nugatoriam opinionem infœlici nôrunt experientia, quicumque sceleris cuiuspiam conscii sibi fuere; quos tunc Sphinges & Harpyiæ, quos tunc Gorgones & Chimææræ intentatis facibus insequuntur; nôrunt miseri, qui cum nullus adsit qui subveniat iis & opituletur, nullus qui dulcibus alloquiis dolores leniat, ad bruta saxa irritas jaciunt querelas, subinde exoptantes oriturum diluculum. Idcirco Ovidius Poetarum elegantissimus noctem jure optimo curarum maximam nutricem appellavit. Quod autem eo potissimum tempore fracta & defatigata laboribus diurnis corpora recreemus somno & refocillemus, id numinis beneficium est non noctis munus; sed esto, non est tanti somnus ut ejus ergo noctem in honore habeamus, enimvero cum proficiscimur dormitum, revera tacite fatemur nos imbelles & miseros homines, qui minuta hæc corpuscula ne ad exiguum tempus sine requie sustentare valeamus. Et certe quid aliud est somnus quam mortis imago & simulachrum? hinc Homero Mors & Somnus Gemelli sunt, uno generati conceptu, uno partu editi. Postremò, quod Luna cæteraque Sydera nocti suas præferant faces, id quoque Soli debetur; neque enim habent illa quod transfundant lumen nisi quod ab illo accipiant mutuum. Quis igitur, si non tenebrio, si non effractor, si non aleator, si non inter Scortorum greges noctem pernoctare perpetem integrosque dies ronchos efflare solitus, quis inquam nisi talis tam inhonestam, tamque invidiosam causam in se suscepit defendendam? Atque demiror ego ut aspicere audeat Solem hunc, & etiam cum communi luce impune frui, quam ingratus vituperat, dignus profecto quem adversis radiorum ictibus veluti Pythonem novum interimat Sol; dignus qui Cimæriis oclusus tenebris longam & perosam vitam transigat; dignus denique cujus Oratio somnum moveat auditoribus, ita ut quicquid dixerit non majorem somnio quovis fidem faciat; Quique ipse etiam somno-

somnolentus, nutantes atque stertentes Auditores annuere sibi & plaudere peroranti deceptus putet. Sed nigra video Noctis supercilia, & sentio atras insurgere tenebras; recedendum est, ne me nox improvisum opprimat. Vos igitur, Auditores, posteaquam Nox nihil aliud sit quam obitus, & quasi mors Diei, nolite committere ut Mors Vitæ præponatur; sed causam dignemini meam vestris ornare suffragiis, ita studia vestra fortunent Musæ; exaudiatque Aurora Musis amica, exaudiat & Phæbus qui cuncta videt auditque quos habeat in hoc cœtu Laudis ejus Fautores. Dixi.

In Scholis Publicis.

De Sphærarum Concentu.

SI quis meæ tenuitati locus Academici, post tot hodie, tantosque exauditos Oratores, conabor etiam ego jam pro meo modulo exprimere, quam bene velim solenni hujus lucis celebritati, & tanquam procul sequar hodiernum hunc Eloquentiæ triumphum. Dum itaque trita illa, & pervulgata dicendi argumenta refugio penitus, & reformido, ad novam aliquam materiem ardue tentandam accendit animum, & statim erigit hujus diei cogitatio, horumque simul quos digna die loquuturos haud injuriâ suspicabar; quæ duo vel tardo cuivis, & obtuso cæteroquin ingenio stimulos, aut acumen addidisse poterant. Hinc idcirco subiit pauca saltem super illo cœlesti concentu, dilatatâ (quod aiunt) manu, & ubertate Oratoriâ præfari, de quo mox quasi contracto pugno disceptandum est; habitâ tamen ratione temporis, quod me jam urget & coarctat. Hæc tamen perinde accipiat velim Auditores, quasi per lulum dicta. Quis enim sanus existimaverit Pythagoram Deum illum Philosophorum, cujus ad nomen omnes ejus sæculi mortales non sine persancta veneratione assurgebant, quis, inquam, eum existimaverit tam lubrice fundatam opinionem unquam protulisse in medium. Sanè si quam ille Sphærarum docuit harmoniam, & circumactos ad modulaminis dulcedinem cœlos, per id sapienter innuere voluit, amicissimos orbium complexus, æquabilesque in æternum ad fixam fati legem conversiones: in hoc certe vel Poetas, vel quod idem pene est, divina imitatus oracula, à quibus nihil sacri reconditque mysterii exhibetur in vulgus, nisi aliquo involutum tegumento & vestitu. Hunc secutus est ille Naturæ Matris optimus interpretes Plato, dum singulis Cœli orbibus Sirenas quasdam insidere tradidit, quæ mellitissimo cantu Deos Hominesque mirabundos capiant. Atque hanc deinceps conspiracy rerum universam, & consensum amabilem, quem Pythagoras per Harmoniam Poetico ritu subinduxit, Homerus etiam per auream illam Jovis catenam de Cœlo suspensam insigniter, appositèque adumbravit. Hinc autem Aristoteles, Pythagoræ, & Platonis æmulus & perpetuus Calumniator, ex labefactatis tantorum virorum sententiis viam sternere ad gloriam, cupiens inauditam hanc Cœlorum symphoniam, Sphærarumque modulos affinxit Pythagoræ. Quod si sic tulisset sive fatum, sive fors, ut tua in me, Pythagora Pater, transvolâset anima, haud utique deesset qui te facile assereret, quantumvis gravi jamdiu laborantem infamiâ. At vero quidni corpora cœlestia, inter perennes illos circuitus, Musicos efficiant sonos? Annon æquum tibi videtur Aristoteles? næ ego vix credam intelligentias tuas sedentarium illum rotandi Cœli laborem potuisse tot sæculis perpeti, nisi ineffabile illud Astrorum melos detinuisset abituras, & modulationes delinimento suafisset moram. Quam si tu Cœlo adimas sane mentes illas pulchellas,

pulchellas, & ministros Deos plane in Pistrinum dedis, & ad molas trufatiles damnas. Quinetiam ipse Atlas ruituro statim Cœlo jampridem subduxisset humeros, nisi dulcis illa concentus anhelantem, & tanto sub onere sudabundum lætissimâ voluptate permulisset. Ad hæc, pertæsus Astra Delphinus jamdiu cœlo sua præoptâisset maria, nisi probe calluisset, vocales Cœli Orbes Lyram Arioniam suavitate longe superare. Quid! quod credibile est ipsam alaudam primâ luce rectâ in nubes evolare, & Lusciniâ totam noctis solitudinem cantu transfigere, ut ad Harmonicam cœli rationem, quam attente auscultant, suos corrigant modulos. Hinc quoque Musarum circa Jovis Altaria dies noctesque saltantium ab ultima rerum origine increbuit fabula; hinc Phœbo lyræ peritia ab longinqua vetustate attributa est. Hinc Harmoniam Jovis, & Electræ fuisse filiam reverenda credidit Antiquitas, quæ cum Cadmo nuptui data esset, totus Cœli chorus concinuisse dicitur. Quid si nullus unquam in terris audiverit hanc astrorum Symphoniam? Ergone omnia supra Lunæ Sphæram muta prorsus erunt, torpidoque silentio consopita? Quinimo aures nostras incusamus debiles, quæ cantus & tam dulces sonos excipere aut non possunt, aut non dignæ sunt. Sed nec plane inaudita est hæc cœli melodia; quis enim tuas Aristoteles in media æris plaga tripudiantes capras putaverit, nisi quod præcinentes cœlos ob vicinitatem clare cum audiant, non possint sibi temperare quo minus agant choreas. At solus inter Mortales concentum hunc audisse fertur Pythagoras; nisi & ille bonus quispiam genius, & cœli indigena fuerit, qui forte Superum jussu delapsus est ad animos hominum sacrâ eruditione imbuendos, & ad bonam frugem revocandos: ad minimum certe vir erat, qui omnes virtutum numeros in se continebat, quique dignus erat cum Diis ipsis sui similibus sermones miscere, & cœlestium perfrui consortio: ideoque nihil miror, si Dii ejus amantissimi abditissimis eum Naturæ secretis interesse permiserint. Quod autem nos hanc minime audiamus Harmoniam sanè in causa videtur esse furacis Promethei audacia, quæ tot mala hominibus invexit, & simul hanc fœlicitatem nobis abstulit quâ nec unquam frui licebit, dum sceleribus cooperti belluinis cupiditatibus obrutescimus; qui enim possumus cœlestis illius soni capaces fieri, quorum animæ (quod ait Persius) in terras curvæ sunt, & cœlestium prorsus inanes. At si pura, si casta, si nivea gestaremus pectora, ut olim Pythagoras, tum quidem suavissimâ illâ stellarum circumeuntium musicâ personarent aures nostræ, & opplerentur; atque dein cuncta illico tanquam in aureum illud sæculum redirent; nosque tum demum miseriarum immunes, beatum & vel Diis invidendum degeremus otium. Hic autem me veluti medio in itinere tempus interfecat, idque persane opportune vereor enim ne incondito minimèque numero stylo, huic quam prædico harmoniæ, toto hoc tempore obstreperim; fuerimque ipse impedimento, quo minus illam audiveritis; Itaque Dixi.

In Scholis Publicis.

Contra Philosophiam Scholasticam.

QUærebam nuper obnixè, Academici, nec in postremis hoc mihi curæ erat quopotissimum verborum apparatu vos Auditores meos exciperem, cum subito mihi in mentem venit id quod Marcus Tullius (à quo, non sine fausto omine exorditur Oratio mea) toties commisit Literis; in hoc scilicet partes Rhetoris sitas esse, ac positas, ut doceat, delectet, & denique permoveat. Proinde istuc mihi tantummodo proposui negotium, ut ab hoc triplici Oratoris munere quam minime discedam.

At quoniam docere vos consummatos undique homines non est quod ego mihi sumam, nec quod vos sustineatis, liceat saltem (quod proximum est) monere aliquid fortasse non omnino abs re futurum; delectare interim, quod sane perquam vereor, ut sit exilitatis meæ, erit tamen desiderii summa, quam si attigero, certe parum erit, quin & permoveam. Permovebo autem in præsens abunde, ex animi sententia, si vos Auditores inducere potero, ut immania illa, & prope monstrosa subtilium, quod aiunt, doctorum volumina rariori manu evolvatis, utque verrucosis Sophistarum controversiis paulo remissius indulgeatis. At vero ut palam fiat omnibus quam sit æquum atque honestum quod suadeo, strictim ostendam, & pro mea semihorula hisce studiis nec oblectari animum, nec erudiri, nec denique commune bonum quicquam promoveri. Et certe in primis ad vos provoco, Academici, si qua fieri potest ex mea vestri ingenii conjectura, quid, quæso, voluptatis inesse potest in festivis hisce tetricorum senum altercationibus, quæ si non in Trophonii antro, certe in Monachorum specubus natæ olent, atque spirant scriptorum suorum torvam severitatem, & paternas rugas præ se ferunt, quæque inter succinctam brevitem plus nimio prolixæ tædium creant, & nauseam; at si quando productiores leguntur, tum quidem averfationem pene naturalem, & si quid ultra est innati odii pariunt Lectoribus. Sæpius ego, Auditores, cum mihi fortè aliquoties imponeretur necessitas investigandi paulisper has argutiolas post retusam diutinâ lectione & animi & oculorum aciem, sæpius inquam ad interspirandum restiti, & subinde pensum oculis emensus quæsi mihi miserum tædii solatium; cum vero plus semper viderem superesse, quàm quod legendo absolveram, equidem inculcatis hisce ineptiis quoties præoptavi mihi repurgandum Augeæ Bubile, foelicemque prædicavi Herculem, cui facilis Juno hujusmodi ærumnam nunquam imperaverat exantlandam. Nec materiam hanc enervem, languidam, & humi serpentem erigit, aut attollit floridior stylus, sed jejunos & exuccos rei tenuitatem adeo conjunctissime comitatur, ut ego utique facile crediderim sub tristi Saturno scriptam fuisse, nisi quod innocua tunc temporis simplicitas ignoraret prorsus officias istas, & diverticula, quorum hi Libri scatent ubique. Mihi credite, Juvenes Ornatissimi, dum ego inanes hæc quæstiunculas nonnunquam invitus percurro, videor mihi per confragosa tesqua, & salebras, perque vastas solitudines, & præruptas montium angustias iter conficere; propterea nec verisimile est venustulas, & elegantes Musas pannosis hisce, & squalidis præesse studiis, aut deliros horum Sectatores in suum vindicare patrocinium; immo existimo nullum unquam fuisse iis in Parnasso locum, nisi aliquem forte in imo colle angulum incultum, inamœnum, dumis & spinis asperum, atque horridum, carduis, & densâ urticâ coopertum, à choro & frequentia Dearum remotissimum, qui nec emittat Lauros nec fundat Flores, quò denique Phœbeæ Citharæ nunquam pervenerit sonus. Divina certe Poesis eâ, quâ cœlitus impertita est, virtute obrutam terrenâ sæce animam in sublime exuscitans, inter cœli templa locat, & quasi Nectareo halitu afflans, totamque perfundens Ambrosia, cœlestem quodammodo instillat beatitudinem, & quoddam immortale gaudium infusurrat. Rhetorica sic animos capit hominum, adeoque suaviter in vincula pellectos post se trahit, ut nunc ad misericordiam permovere valeat, nunc in odium rapere, nunc ad virtutem bellicam accendere, nunc ad contemptum mortis evehere. Historia pulchre concinnata nunc inquietos animi tumultus sedat & componit, nunc delibutum gaudio reddit, mox evocat lachrymas, sed mites eas & pacatas, & quæ mœstæ nescio quid voluptatis secum afferant. At vero futiles hæc, nec non strigosæ controversiæ, verborumque velitationes in commovendis animi affectibus, certe nullum habent imperium; stuporem duntaxat & torpedinem accerfunt ingenio; proinde neminem oblectant, nisi qui agrestis, & hirsuti plane pectoris est, quique ex arcano quodam impetu ad lites & diffidia proclivis, & insuper impendio loquax à recta & sana sapientia abhorret semper atque avertitur. Amandetur itaque cum suis captiunculis sane, vel in montem Caucasum, aut sicubi terrarum cæca dominatur Barbaries, ibique subtilitatum suarum & præstigiarum ponat

officinam, & pro libitu de rebus nihili torqueat & angat se, usque dum nimia sollicitudo, veluti Prometheus ille vultur cor exederit, penitusque absumserit. Sed nec minus infrugifera sunt, quam injucunda hæc studia, & quæ ad rerum cognitionem nihil prorsus adjutant. Ponamus enim ob oculos omnes illos turmatim cucullatos verulos, harum præcipue captionum figulos, quotusquisque est qui ullo beneficio locupletaverit rem literariam? Citra dubium profecto cultam & nitidam, & mansuetiorem Philosophiam asperitate impexâ deformem pene reddidit, & veluti malus genius, humana pectora spinis & sentibus implevit, & perpetuam in Scholas intulit discordiam; quæ quidem foelices discentium progressus mirum in modum remorata est. Quid enim? ultrò citròque argutantur versipelles Philosophastri? hic suam undique sententiam graviter firmat, ille contra magnâ mole labefactare adnititur, & quod inexpugnabili argumento munitum existimes, id statim adversarius haud multo negotio amolitur. Hæret interea Lector, tanquam in bivio, quò divertat, quò inclinet anceps, & incertus consilii, dum tot utrinque confertim vibrantur tela, ut ipsam lucem adimant, rebusque profundam afferant caliginem, adeo ut jam lectori tandem opus sit, ut diuturnos Cereris imitatus labores, per universum terrarum orbem accensâ face quærat veritatem, & nusquam inveniat: eousque demum insanix redactus est, ut se misere cæcutire putet, ubi nihil est, quod videat. Ad hæc non rareret usu venit, ut, qui harum disputationum fuligini addicunt se totos & devovent, si forte aliud quidvis aggrediantur à suis deliramentis alienum, mire prodant inscitiam suam, & deridiculum infantiam. Novissime, summus hic tam serio navatæ operæ fructus erit, ut stultus evadas accuratior, & nugarum artifex, utque tibi accedat quasi peritior ignorantia, nec mirum; quandoquidem hæc omnia, de quibus adeo afflictim & anxie laboratum est, in natura rerum nullibi existunt, sed leves quædam imagines, & simulachra tenuia turbidas oberrant mentes, & rectioris sapientiæ vacuas. Cæterum ad integritatem vitæ, & mores excolendos (quod multo maximum est) quam minime conducant hæc nugæ, etiamsi ego taceam, abunde vobis perspicuum est. Atque vel hinc liquido evincitur quod mihi postremo dicendum proposui, scilicet importunam hanc *λογομαχίαν* nec in publicum cedere commodum, nec ullo modo Patriæ vel Honori esse, vel Utilitali, quod tamen in scientiis omnes antiquissimum esse ducunt. Siquidem his maxime duobus auctam atque exornatam præcipue patriam animadverti; vel præclare dicendo, vel fortiter agendo; atque litigiosa hæc discrepantium opinionum digladiatio, nec ad eloquentiam instruere, nec ad prudentiam instituere, nec ad fortia facinora incitare posse videtur. Abeant igitur cum suis formalitatibus argutiores versuti; quibus post obitum hanc par erit irrogari pœnam, ut cum Ocno illo apud inferos torqueant funiculos. At quanto satius esset, Academici, quantòque dignius vestro nomine nunc descriptas chartulâ terras universas quasi oculis perambulare, & calcata vetustis Heroibus inspectare loca, bellis, triumphis, & etiam illustrium Poetarum fabulis nobilitatas Regiones percurrere, nunc æstuantem transmittere Adriam, nunc ad Ætnam flammigerantem impune accedere, dein mores hominum speculari, & ordinatas pulchre gentium respublicas; hinc omnium animantium naturas persequi, & explorare, ab his in arcanas Lapidum & Herbarum vires animum demittere. Nec dubitatis, Auditores, etiam in cœlos evolare, ibique illa multiformia nubium spectra, nivisque coacervatam vim, & unde illæ matutinæ lachrymæ contemplantur, grandinisque exinde loculos introspicite, & armenta fulminum perscrutemini; nec vos clam sit quid sibi velit aut Jupiter aut Natura, cum dirus atque ingens Cometa cœlo sæpe minitatur incendium, nec vos vel minutissimæ lateant stellulæ, quotquot inter polos utrosque sparsæ sunt, & dispalata: immo Solem peregrinantem sequamini comites, & ipsum tempus ad calculos vocate, æternique ejus itineris exigite rationem. Sed nec iisdem, quibus orbis, limitibus contineri & circumscribi se patiatur vestra mens, sed etiam extra mundi pomœria divagetur; perdiscatque ultimò (quod adhuc altissimum est) seipsam cognoscere, simulque sanctas illas mentes, & intelligentias quibuscum

Post hæc sempiternum initura est sodalitium. Quid multa nimis? vobis ad hæc omnia Disciplinæ sit ille, qui tantopere in deliciis est, Aristoteles, qui quidem hæc prope cuncta scienter & conquisite scripta nobis reliquit addiscenda. Cujus ego ad nomen jam subito permoveri sentio vos, Academici, atque in hanc sententiam duci pedetentim, & quasi eo invitante proclivius ferri. Quod si ita sit, sane ejus rei laudem, cuiusquemodi est, illi debebitis & gratiam: Quod interim ad me attinet, ego certe satis habeo, si veniam prolixitatis meæ pro vestra humanitate impetravero. Dixi.

In Collegio, &c.

T H E S I S.

In Rei cujuslibet interitu non datur resolutio ad Materiam Primam.

ERror an è Pandoræ pixide, an ex penitissimo eruperit Styge, an denique unus ex Terræ filiis in cœlites conjuraverit, non est hujus loci accuratius disquirere. Hoc autem vel non scrutanti facile innotescat, eum ex infimis incrementis, veluti olim Typhon, aut Neptuno genitus Ephialtes in tam portentosam crevisse magnitudinem, ut ipsi quidem veritati ab illo metuum. Video enim cum ipsâ Divâ ἀληθεία haud rarò æquo Marte pugnantem, video post damna factum ditiozem, post vulnera virescentem, victumque victoribus exultantem. Quod de Antæo Lybico fabulata est Antiquitas. Adeo ut hinc sane non levi de causa carmen istud Ovidianum possit quispiam in dubium vocare; an scilicet ultima cœlestium terras reliquerit Astræa; vereor etenim ne Pax & Veritas multis post eam sæculis invisos etiam mortales deseruerint. Nam certe si illa adhuc in terris diversaretur, quis inducatur ut credat, luscum & cæcutientem errorem veritatem Solis æmulam posse intueri, quin plane vincatur oculorum acies, quin & ipse rursus abigatur ad inferos, unde primum emerfus est? At vero citra dubium aufugit in cœlum, patriam suam misellis hominibus nunquam reditura; & jam totis in Scholis dominatur immundus error, & quasi rerum potitus est, non instrenuos utique & non paucos nactus assertores. Quarum accessione virium, ultra quam ferri potest inflatus, quænam est ulla Physiologiæ particula vel minutula, in quam non impetiverit, quam non profanis violaverit unguibus, quemadmodum Harpias Phinei Regis Arcadum mensas conspurcasse accepimus? unde sane eò res deducta est, ut lautissima Philosophiæ cuspedia, ipsis quibus Superi vescuntur Dapibus non minus opipara, nunc suis conviviiis nauseam faciant. Contingit enim sæpenumero ingentia Philosophorum volumina evolventi, & diurnis nocturnisque manibus obterenti, ut dimittatur incertior quam fuerit pridem. Quicquid enim affirmat hic, & satis valido se putat statuminare argumento, refellit alter nullo negotio aut saltem refellere videtur, atque ita pene in infinitum semper habet hic quod opponat, semper ille quod respondeat; dum miser interim Lector hinc atque inde tanquam inter duas belluas diu divulsus ac discerptus, tediòque prope enectus, tandem veluti in bivio relinquitur, huc an illuc inclinet plane anceps animi: ab utro autem stet veritas, fortasse (ne vera dissimulem) non est operæ pretium eâ, quâ expedit, industriâ explorare: quippe sæpius de re perquam minimi momenti maxima inter Centurias philosophantium agitur controversia. Cæterum videor mihi inaudire submussitantes quosdam, quò nunc se proripit ille? dum in errorem invehitur, ipse toto errat Cœlo: equidem agnosco erratum; neque hoc fecissem, nisi de vestro candore magna mihi pollicitus. Jam igitur tandem accingamur ad institutum opus: & his tantis difficultatibus Dea Lua (quod ait Lipsius) me foeliciter expediat. Quæstio quæ nobis hodie proponitur enucleanda hæc est, an interitu cujuslibet rei detur resolutio usque ad materiam primam? Quod aliis verbis sic proferre solent, an ulla accidentia quæ suere

in corrupto maneant etiam in genito? hoc est, an intereunte formâ omnia intereant accidentia quæ in composito præextiterant? Magna quidem est inter multos haudquaquam obscuri nominis Philosophos hac de re sententiarum discrepantia; hi dari ejusmodi resolutionem contendunt acerrimè, illi neutiquam dare posse mordicus defendunt; hos ut sequar inclinât animus, ab illis ut longe latèque dissentiam tum ratione adductus, uti opinor, tum etiam tantorum virorum autoritate: hoc autem quo pacto probari queat, reliquum est ut paulisper experiamur; idque succincte quoad poterimus, atque primo hunc in modum. Si fiat resolutio ad Materiam primam subinfertur inde essentiale istud effatum, nempe eam nunquam reperiri nudam, materiæ primæ perperam attribui; occurrent adversarii, hoc dicitur respectu formæ, verum sic habento Scioli isti formas substantiales nullibi gentium reperiri citra formas accidentarias: sed hoc leve, nec causæ admodum jugulum petit; firmiora his adhibenda sunt. Atque imprimis videamus equos habeamus veterum Philosophorum nostrarum partium fautores; inquirentibus ecce ultro se nobis offert Aristoteles, cumque lectissima manu suorum interpretum se nobis agglomerat; quippe velim intelligatis Auditores, ipso duce & hortatore Aristotele initum hoc prælium, & bonis avibus, uti spero, auspdatum. Qui quidem id ipsum quod nos arbitramur, innuere videtur, Metaph. 7. Text. 8. ubi ait quantitatem primò inesse materiæ; huic perinde sententiæ quicumque refragabitur, possum illi dicam hærefeas ex lege omnium sapientium audacter scribere. Quinimo alibi plane vult quantitatem materiæ primæ proprietatem, quod idem asserunt plerique ejus sectatores; proprium autem à suo subjecto avellentem quis ferat ipsâ vel edititii judicis sententiâ: Verum age, comminus agamus, & quod suadeat ratio perpendamus. Assertio itaque probatur primo hinc, quod materia habet propriam entitatem actualem ex suâ propriâ existentia, ergo potest sustentare quantitatem, eam saltem quæ dicitur interminata. Quid? quod nonnulli confidenter affirmant formam non nisi mediante quantitate in materiam recipi. Secundo, Si accidens corrumpitur, necesse habet ut his tantum modis corrumpatur, vel per introductionem contrarii, vel per disitionem termini, vel per absentiam alterius causæ conservantis, vel denique ex defectu proprii subjecti cui inhæreat, priori modo nequit corrumpi quantitas, posteaquam contrarium non habeat; & quantumvis habeat qualitas hic tamen introduci non est supponendum: Secundus modus huc non spectat, utpote qui sit relatorum proprius; Nec per absentiam causæ conservantis, ea enim, quam assignant adversarii, est forma; accidentia autem à forma pendere concipiuntur bifariam, vel in genere causæ formalis, aut efficientis; prior dependentia non est immediata, forma enim substantialis non informat accidentia, neque intelligi potest quod aliud munus exerceat circa ea in hoc genere causa, ideoque tantummodo mediata est, nimirum in quantum materia dependet à forma, & hæc deinceps à materia; modus dependentiæ posterior est in genere causæ efficientis, à forma tamen an accidentia pendeant in hoc genere necne, in ambiguo res est: sed ut donemus ita esse, non sequitur tamen, depereunte forma juxta etiam perire accidentia, propterea quod causæ illi recedenti, succedit è vestigio alia similis omnino sufficiens ad conservandum eundem numero effectum absque interruptione: Postremo, quod non ex defectu proprii subjecti in nihilum recidit quantitas aliâque id genus accidentia, probatur quia subjectum quantitatis est aut compositum, aut forma, aut materia; quod compositum non sit, ex eo liquet, quod accidens quod est in composito attingit simul suâ unione & materiam & formam per modum unius, at vero quantitas non potest ullo modo attingere animam rationalem, dum hæc spiritualis sit, & effectus formalis quantitatis, hoc est extentionis quantitativæ minime capax; porro quod forma non sit subjectum ejus, ex supradictis satis est perspicuum: restat igitur ut materia sola sit subjectum quantitatis, atque ita præceditur omnis interitus illatio in quantitate. Quod pertinet ad id quod vulgo affertur de cicatrice, argumentum efficacissimum esse censeo; quis enim mihi fidem adeo extorqueat, ut credam eam in cadavere plane diversam esse ab ea quæ fuit nuperrime in vivo, cum nulla subsit ratio, nulla necessitas corrigendi sensus nostri, qui raro quidem hal-

hallucinatur circa proprium objectum; citiusque ego & facilius audirem de Larvis, deque Empusis mira commemorantem, quam cerebrofos hosce Philosophastros de accidentibus suis de novo procreatis stulte & insubide obgannientes. Etenim calorem, cæterasque animalis qualitates intensibiles & remissibiles easdem prorsus pernovimus in ipso mortis articulo, & post mortem itidem; quorsum enim destruerentur hæ, cum aliæ similes sint producendæ? huc accedit, quod si de novo procrearentur, ad tempus non adeo exiguum durarent, neque etiam repente ad summum pervenirent intensiōis gradum, sed paulatim & quasi pedetentim. Adde quod vetustissimum sit axioma, quantitatem sequi materiam, & qualitatem formam. Potui quidem, immo ac debui huic rei diutius immorari, ac profecto nescio an vobis, mihimet certe ipse maximopere sum tædio. Superest ut jam ad adversariorum argumenta descendamus, quæ faxint Musæ, ut ego in materiam primam si fieri potest, vel potius in nihilum redigam. Quod ad primum attinet, Aristotelis testimonium, quod dixerit in generatione non manere subiectum sensibile, occurrimus illud intelligi debere de subiecto completo & integro (i. e.) de substantiali composito, quod testatur Philoponus antiquus & eruditus Scriptor. 2. Quod inquit Arist. materia est nec quid, nec quantum, nec quale; hoc non dicitur quod nullâ quantitate aut qualitate efficiatur, sed quia ex se, & in entitate sua nullam aut quantitatem aut qualitatem includat. Tertio, ait Arist. destructis primis substantiis destrui omnia accidentia, quod sane futurum non inficiamur si ipsi corruptæ subinde succederet alia. Postremo, Formam inquit recipi in materiam nudam; hoc est, nuditate formæ substantialis. Adhuc incrudescit pugna, & nutat victoria, sic enim instaurato prælio incurfant, materia quandoquidem sit pura potentia, nullam habet esse præterquam illud quod emendicatâ formâ, unde non satis ex se valet ad sustentanda accidentia, nisi prius ad minimum naturâ conjungatur formæ à qua τὸ εἶναι acceptum ferat; huic errori sic mederi solent, materiam primam suum habere proprium esse, quod licet in genere substantiæ sit incompletum, cum accidente tamen si conferatur esse simpliciter haud incommode dici potest. Quinetiam objiciunt materiam respicere formam substantialem ut actum primum, at accidentiâ ut actus secundarios. Respondeo, materiam respicere formam prius ordine intentionis, non generationis aut executionis. Gliscit jam atque effervesceat contentio, & tanquam ad internecionem dimicaturi urgent nos acrius hunc ad modum: omnis proprietas manat active ab essentia ejus cujus est proprietas; quantitas autem hoc nequit, quia hæc dimanatio est aliqua efficientia, materia autem secundum se nullam habet efficientiam, cum sit mere passiva; ergo, &c. Respondeo, duobus modis posse intelligi naturalem conjunctionem materiæ cum quantitate, ratione solum potentiæ passivæ intrinsecus naturâ suâ postulantis talem affectionem; neque enim ulla impellit necessitas, ut omnis innata proprietas sit debita subiecto ratione principii activi; namque interdum sufficit passivum, quo modo multi opinantur motum esse naturalem cælo. Secundo potest & intelligi per intrinsecam dimanationem activam, cum in se habeat veram & actualem essentiam. Sed nec adhuc omnis amissa spes victoriæ; iterum enim facto impetu adoriuntur, inferentes ideo formam mediâ quantitate in materiam recipi, quoniam inest materiæ prius: nos è contra aperte reclamamus huic sequelæ, & nihilominus quo omnia possimus salva reddere, hac utimur distinctione, recipi formam in materiam mediâ quantitate ut dispositione, seu conditione necessariâ, verum nullo modo tanquam potentiâ proxime receptivâ formæ. Ultimò, sic arguunt, si quantitas insit materiæ soli sequitur esse ingenerabilem & incorruptibilem; quod videtur repugnare, quia motus per se fit ad quantitatem. At nos utique largimur consequentiam, quippe revera quantitas est incorruptibilis quoad suam entitatem, licet quoad varios terminos possit incipere & desinere esse per conjunctionem & divisionem quantitatis, neque enim est per se motus ad quantitatis productionem, sed ad accretionem; & nec eo fit quasi nova quantitas incipiat esse in rerum natura, sed eo quod una quantitas adjungatur alteri,

&

& quæ erat aliena fit propria. Possem equidem plura argumenta ultro citroque proferre, quæ tamen tædii levandi gratia prætermitto; hic igitur satius erit receptui canere.

In Scholis Publicis.

Non dantur formæ partiales in animali præter totalem.

Romani rerum olim Domini altissimum imperii fastigium adepti sunt; quale nec Assyria Magnitudo, nec Virtus Macedonica, unquam potuit attingere, quò nec futura Regum Majestas efferre se olim valebit: sive ipse Jupiter annis jam gravior, cœloque contentus suo in otium se tradere voluerit, commissis Populo Romano tanquam Diis terrestribus rerum humanarum habenis; sive hoc Saturno Patri in Italiam detruso ad amissi cœli solatium concesserit, ut Quirites ejus nepotes, quicquid uspiam est, terræ, marisque potirentur. Utcunque certe non ultro largitus est hoc illis beneficium, sed per assidua bella, perque longos labores ægre dedit, exploraturus opinor, an Romani soli digni viderentur, qui summi vices Jovis inter mortales gererent; itaque parcè dūr iterque vitam degere coacti sunt, quippe inchoatas pacis blanditias abruptit semper belli clamor, & circumcirca strepitus armorum. Ad hæc, divictis quibusque urbibus & provinciis præsidia imponere & sæpius renovare necesse habuere, omnemque pene juventutem nunc in longinquam militiam, nunc in colonias mittere. Cæterum non incruentam semper victoriam domum reportarunt, immo sæpe funestis cladibus affecti sunt. Siquidem Brennus Gallorum Dux virescentem modo Romanam gloriam pene delevit; & parum abfuit, quo minus divinitus creditum orbis moderamen abripuerit Romæ Carthago urbs nobilissima. Denique Gothi & Vandalici sub Alarico Rege, Hunnique & Panonii Attyla & Bleda Ducibus totam inundantes Italiam, florentissimas imperii opes, ex tot bellorum spoliis aggestas, miserè diripuerunt, Romanos paulo ante Reges hominum turpi fugâ stravere, ipsamque urbem, ipsam inquam Romam, solo nominis terrore ceperunt; quo facto nihil dici aut fingi potuit gloriosius, plane quasi ipsam victoriam aut amore captant, aut vi & armis exterrefactam in suas traxissent partes. Satis admirati estis Auditores, quorsum hæc omnia protulerim, jam accipite. Hæc ego quoties apud me recolo animoque colligo, toties cogito quantis viribus detuenda veritate certatum sit, quantis omnium studiis, quantis vigiliis contenditur labantem ubique, & profligatam veritatem ab injuriis hostium asserere. Nec tamen prohiberi potest, quin foedissima colluvies errorum invadat indies omnes disciplinas, quæ quidem tanta vi aut veneno pollet, ut vel nivæ veritati suam imaginem inducere valeat, aut sydereum veritatis speciem nescio quo fuco sibi adsciscere, quâ, ut videtur, arte & magnis Philosophis frequenter imposuit, & honores, venerationemque uni veritati debitam sibi arrogavit. Quod in hodierna quæstione videre poteritis, quæ quidem non instrenuos nacta est pugiles, eosque clari nominis, si relictis hisce partibus veritatem demereri mallent: Itaque nostræ nunc erit operæ, ut nudatum, plumisque emendicatis exutum errorem deformitati nativæ reddamus; quod ut expeditius fiat gravissimorum vestigiis Authorum insistendum esse mihi existimo, neque enim expectandum est, ut ego quicquam de meo adjiciam quod utique tot viros ingenio præstabiles fugit & præterit: idcirco quod sufficit ad rem dilucidandam, expromam brevi, argumentoque uno atque altero tanquam aggere vallabo; tum si quid reclamationis obstat nostræ sententiæ diluam, ut potero; quæ tamen omnia paucis perstringam, & quasi extremis alis radam. Contra unitatem formæ, quam in una eademque materia statueret semper emunctiores Philosophi solent, varias opiniones subortas esse legimus; quidam enim plures in animali formas totales dari pertinaciter contendunt, idque pro suo quisque

que captu varie defendunt ; alii totalem unicam, partiales vero multiplices ejusdem materiæ hospitio excipi importunius asseverant. Cum illis ad tempus more bellico pacifcemur inducias, dum in hos omnem prælii vim atque impetum transferimus. Ponatur prima in acie Aristoteles, qui noster plane est, quique sub finem primi Libri de Anima, non occulte favet nostræ Assertioni. Huic authoritati aliquot attexere argumenta non est longæ disquisitionis opus : præbet se mihi imprimis Chrysostomus Javellus, cujus è stercoreario, nimirum horridulo & incompto stylo, Aurum & Margaritas effodere possumus, quæ si quis delicatus aspernetur, in illum sane aliquatenus belle quadrabit ille Æsopici Galli Apologus. In hunc ferme modum argumentatur ; Distinctio illa & organizatio partium dissimilium præcedere debet introductionem animæ, utpote quæ sit actus corporis non cujuslibet, sed Physici organici ; quapropter immediate ante productionem totalis formæ necesse est corrumpi partiales illas nisi corruat penitus receptissimum illud Axioma, Generatio unius est alterius Corruptio ; quarum productionem non sequitur similium præsentanea productio ; id enim frustra foret, & ad Naturæ matris sapientiam parum conveniens. Deinde posteaquam omnis forma, sive perfecta sit, sive imperfecta, tribuat esse specificum, necesse est, ut quamdiu manet ista forma, tamdiu res illa maneat eadem non variata secundum substantiam suam, proindeque superveniet forma totalis tanquam accidens, non per generationem sed per alterationem. Sequitur porro animam totalem sive divisibilem, sive indivisibilem, non sufficere ad omnes partes animantis plene perfectæque informandas, quod ut largiamur nulla suadet ratio. Sequitur itidem unam formam substantialem esse quasi dispositionem proximam & permanentem ad aliam, quod veritatis absolum est, quandoquidem unaquæque forma constituit essentiam completam in genere substantiæ. Postremo, si in omnibus partibus puta hominis plurificentur formæ partiales, ex illis certe consurget una integra distincta ab anima rationali, unde illa erit, aut forma inanimati seu corporeitatis, aut missionis (quam præter animam in homine dari sane ultra quam credibile est) vel erit anima sensitiva, aut vegetativa, hoc autem affirmantem nullo modò audiat eruditior chorus Philosophantium ; cujus rei ampliori probatione supersedeo, quoniam in confesso est, nec admodum accedit ad apicem causæ. Verum, quod caput est controversiæ, objiciunt adversarii, partem ab animali amputatam remanere actu post separationem, non per formam totius cum sit extra totum, nec per formam recens acquisitam, cum nullum adsit agens, nulla perceptibilis actio, nulla prævia alteratio ; ergo, actu existit per formam propriam quam prius habebat, dum erat una in toto. Atque hoc argumento arietare se putant causam nostram & funditus evertere : Cæterum non minus vere quam vulgariter solet responderi, formam de novo genitam, cum vilissima sit utpote cadaveris, & quasi via ad resolutionem, certe nec multum temporis, nec dispositiones multas, nec ordinatam alterationem efflagitare. Quid si etiam causa aliqua universalis concurrat cum proximo temperamento ad inducendam qualemcunque formam ne materia reperiatur vacua ? Quod autem multiplices visantur in animali operationes, id non à formis distinctis partialibus petendum est, sed ab animæ totalis eminentiâ, quæ quidem æquipollet formis specie distinctis. Cæteras quæ occurrunt, levioris momenti objectiones ex composito præterire libet, neque enim jugulant ; faciliusque amoveri, & luculentius redargui poterunt, si forte inter disputandum prolatae fuerint in medium. Quocunque res redeat tametsi ego causâ cadam, causa non cadet : satis enim superque suo Marte valet ad se defendendam invicta semper Veritas ; nec ad id alienis indiget adminiculis ; & licet nobis aliquando superari, & pessum premi videatur, inviolatam tamen perpetuò servat se, & intactam ab erroris unguibus ; in hoc Soli non ab similibus, qui sæpe involutum se, & quasi inquinatum nubi- bus ostendit humanis oculis, cum tamen collectis in se radiis, totoque ad se revocato splendore purissimus ab omni labe coluceat.

In Feriis æstivis Collegii, sed concurrente, ut solet,
tota fere Academiae juventute.

O R A T I O.

Exercitationes nonnunquam Ludicras Philosophiæ studiis non obesse.

CUM ex ea Urbe quæ caput urbium est, huc nuper me reciperem, Academici, deliciarum omnium, quibus is locus supra modum affluit, usque ad faginem, prope dixerim, satur, sperabam mihi iterum aliquando otium illud Literarium, quo ego vitæ genere etiam cœlestes animas gaudere opinor; eratque penitus in animo jam tandem abdere me in Literas, & jucundissimæ Philosophiæ perdius & pernox assidere; ita semper affolet Laboris & Voluptatis vicissitudo amovere fatietatis tædium, & efficere, ut intermissa repetantur alacrius. Cum his me incalentem studiis repente avocavit, atque abstraxit pervetusti moris fere annua celebritas, jussusque ego sum eam operam quam acquirendæ sapientiæ primò destinâram, ad nugas transferre, & novas ineptias excogitandas: quasi jam nunc non essent omnia stultorum plena, quasi egregia illa, & non minus Argo decantata navis stultifera fecisset naufragium, plane denique ac si ipsi Democrito materia jam ridendi deesset. Verum date quæso veniam, Auditores; hic enim hodiernus mos, utut ego liberius paulo sum locutus, sane quidem non est ineptus, sed impense potius laudabilis, quod quidem ego jam mihi proposui statim luculentius patefacere. Quod si Junius Brutus secundus ille rei Romanæ conditor, magnus ille ultor regiæ libidinis, animum prope Diis immortalibus parem, & mirificam indolem simulatione vecordiæ suppressere sustinuit; certe nihil est, cur me pudeat aliquantisper *μοροσοφῶν* nugari, ejus præsertim jussu, cujus interest, tanquam ædilis hos quasi solennes ludos curare. Tum nec mediocriter me pellexit, & invitavit ad has partes subeundas vestra, vos qui ejusdem estis mecum Collegii, in me nuperrime comperta facilitas, cum enim ante præteritos menses aliquam multos oratorio apud vos munere perfuncturus essem, putaremque lucubrationes meas qualescunque etiam ingratas propemodum futuras, & mitiores habituras judices Æacum & Minoa, quam è vobis fere quemlibet, sane præter opinionem meam, præter meam si quid erat speculæ, non vulgari sicuti ego accepi, imo ipse sensi, omnium plausu exceptæ sunt, immo eorum, qui in me alias propter studiorum diffidia essent prorsus infenso & inimico animo: generosum utique simultatis exercendæ genus, & regio pectore non indignum; siquidem cum ipsa amicitia plerumque multa inculpate facta detorquere soleat, tunc profecto acris & infesta inimicitia errata forsitan multa, & haud pauca sine dubio indiferte dicta, leniter & clementius quam meum erat meritum interpretari non gravabatur. Jam semel unico hoc exemplo vel ipsa demens ira mentis compos fuisse videbatur, & hoc facto furoris infamiam abluisset. At vero summo pere oblector, & mirum in modum voluptate perfundor, cum videam tantâ doctissimorum hominum frequentiam circumfusum me, & undique stipatum: Et rursus tamen cum in me descendo, & quasi flexis introrsum oculis meam tenuitatem secretus intueor, equidem sæpius mihimet soli conscius erubescō & repentina quædam ingruens necessitudo subsilientem deprimit & jugulat lætitiā. Sed nolite Academici, sic me jacentem & consternatum, & acie oculorum vestrorum tanquam de cœlo tactum, nolite quæso sic deferere; erigat me semianimum, quod potest, & refocillet vestri favoris

aura, ita fiet, ut, vobis authoribus, non admodum grave sit hoc malum; at remedium mali vobis exhibentibus, eo jucundius & acceptius; adeo ut mihi fuerit perquam gratum sic sæpius exanimari, modo liceat à vobis recreari me toties & refici. At ô interim singularem in vobis vim, atque eximiam virtutem, quæ tanquam hasta illa Achillea, Vulcani munus, vulnerat & medicatur! Cæterum nec miretur quispiam, si ego tot eruditione insignes viros, totumque pene Academiæ florem huc confluxisse, tanquam inter astra positus triumphem; vix etenim opinor plures olim Athenas adventasse ad audiendum duos Oratores summos Demosthenem & Æschinem de principatu eloquentiæ certantes, nec eam unquam felicitàtem contigisse peroranti Hortensio, nec tot tam egregie literatos viros condecorasse orantem Ciceronem; adeo ut quamvis ego hoc opus minus felicitàter absolvero, erit tamen mihi honori non aspernando in tanto concursu conventuque præstantissimorum hominum vel verba fecisse. Atque hercle non possum ego nunc, quin mihi blandiuscule plaudam qui vel Orpheo, vel Amphione multo sim meo iudicio fortunatior: hi enim chordulis suavi concentu adsonantibus digitos tantum docte & perite admovebant; eratque in ipsis fidibus, & in apto dextroque manuum motu æqualis utrinque pars dulcedinis: atqui ego si quid hodie laudis hinc reportavero, ea sane & tota erit & vere mea, tantoque nobilior, quanto ingenii opus vincit ac præstat manuum artificium. Deinde hi saxa, & feras, sylvasque ad se trahabant, & si quos homines, rudes illos & agrestes: at ego doctissimas mihi deditas aures, & ab ore meo pendentes video. Novissime agrestes illi, & feræ jam satis notam & complures exauditam sequebantur nervorum harmoniam; vos vero huc rapuit, & jam detinet sola expectatio. Sed tamen Academici, hîc vos imprimis commonefactos volo, me non hæc gloriosius crepuisse; utinam enim mihi vel in præsentia concederetur melleum illud, seu verius Nectareum Eloquentiæ flumen quicquid unquam Attica vel Romana ingenia imbuebat olim, & quasi cœlitus irrorabat, utinam mihi liceret omnem penitus Suadæ medullam exugere, & ipsius etiam Mercurii scrinia fuffurari, omnesque elegantiarum loculos funditus exinanire, quo possim aliquid tanta expectatione, tam præclaro cœtu, tam denique terfis & delicatis auribus dignum adferre. Ecce, Auditores, quo me raptat & impellit vehementissimus ardor & prolubium placendi vobis, quippe de improvviso me provectum sentio in ambitionem quandam, sed eam sane piam, & honestum, si hoc fieri potest, Sacrilegium. Et certè existimo haudquaquam mihi opus esse Musarum auxilium implorare & exposcere, iis enim me circumseptum puto, qui Musas omnes spirant & Gratias, totumque reor Heliconæ, & quæcunque sunt alia Musarum delubra ad hunc diem celebrandum omnes suos effudisse alumnos; adeo ut credibile sit jam nunc propter eorum absentiam lugere & deflorescere Parnassi Lauros; unde profecto frustra erit Musas, & Charites, & Libentias usquam terrarum quæritare, quam in hoc loco; quod si ita sit, necesse est protinus ipsam Barbariem, Errorem, Ignorantiam, & omne illud Musis invisum genus quam celerrimè aufugere ad aspectum vestrum, & sub diverso longe cœlo abscondere sese; atque deinde quidem quid obstat, quo minus quicquid est barbaræ, incultæ & obsoletæ locutionis abigatur extemplò ab Oratione mea, atque ego afflatu vestro, & arcano instinctu disertus & politus subito evadam. Utcunque tamen vos, Auditores, obtestor, ne quem vestrûm poeniteat meis paulisper vacasse nugis; ipsi enim Dii omnes, cœlestis politiæ curâ ad tempus depositâ, depugnantium homunculorum spectaculo sæpius interfuisse perhibentur; aliquoties etiam humiles non dedignati casus, & paupere hospitio excepti, fabas & olera narrantur esitasse. Obsecro itidem ego vos, atque oro, Auditores optimi, ut hoc meum quale quale convivium ad subtile vestrum & sagax palatum faciat. Verum etiamsi ego permultos noverim Sciolos quibus usitatissimum est, si quid ignorârunt, id superbe & inscite apud alios contemnere, tanquam indignum cui operam impendant suam; quemadmodum hic Dialecticam insulse vellicat, quam nunquam assequi potuerit; ille Philosophiam nihili facit, quia scilicet formosissima Dearum Natura nunquam illum tali dignata est honore,

ut se nudam illi præbuerit intuendam: Ego tamen Festivitates & Sales, in quibus quoque perexiguam agnosco facultatem meam, non gravabor, ut potero, laudare; si prius hoc unum addidero, quod sane arduum videtur, & minime proclive, me jocos hodie seriò laudaturum. Atque id non immeritò quidem, quid enim est quod citius conciliet, diutiusque retineat amicitias, quam amœnum & festivum ingenium? & profecto cui defunt sales, & lepores, & politulæ facetiæ, haud temere invenietis cui sit gratus & acceptus. Nobis autem, Academici, si quotidiani moris esset indormire & quasi immori Philosophiæ, & inter dumos & spinas Logicæ consenescere citra ullam enim relaxationem, & nunquam concessio respirandi loco, quid, quæso, aliud esset philosophari, quam in Triphonii antro vaticinari, & Catonis plus nimio rigidi Sectam sectari; immo dicerent vel ipsi rusticani, sinapi nos victitare. Adde quod, quemadmodum qui luctæ & campestri ludo affuescunt se, multo cæteris valentiores redduntur, & ad omne opus paratiores; ita pariter usu venit, ut per hanc ingenii palæstram corroboretur nervus animi, & quasi melior sanguis & succus comparetur, utque ipsa indoles limatior fiat acutiorque, & ad omnia sequax & versatilis. Quod si quis urbanus & lepidus haberi nolit, ne sis hoc illi stomacho si paganus & subrusticus appelletur; & probe novimus illiberale quoddam genus hominum, qui cum ipsi prorsus insulsi sint & infestivi, suam tacite secum æstimantes vilitatem & inscitiam, quicquid forte urbanus dictitatum audiunt, id statim in se dici putant; digni sane quibus id vere eveniat, quod injuriâ suspicantur, ut scilicet omnium dictariis everberantur, pene usquedum suspendium cogitent. Sed non valent istæ hominum quisquiliæ urbanitatis elegantulæ licentiam inhibere. Vultis itaque me Auditores, rationis fundamento fidem exemplorum superstruere? ea utique mihi abunde suppetunt, primus omnium occurrit Homerus ille oriens, & Lucifer cultioris literaturæ, cum quo omnis eruditio tanquam Gemella nata est; ille enim interdum à Deorum consiliis & rebus in Cælo gestis divinum revocans animum, & ad facetias divertens, murium & ranarum pugnam lepidissime descripsit. Quinetiam Socrates, teste Pythio, sapientissimus ille mortalium, jurgiosam uxoris morositatem sæpenumero quam urbane perstrinxisse fertur. Omnia deinde veterum Philosophorum diverbia sale sparsa, & lepore venusto passim legimus referta; & certe hoc unum erat quod antiquos omnes Comædiarum & Epigrammatum Scriptores, & Græcanicos & Latinos, æternitate nominis donavit. Quinimo accepimus, Ciceronis jocos & facetias tres Libros à Tyrone conscriptos implevisse. Et cuique jam in manibus est ingeniosissimum illud Moriæ encomium non infimi Scriptoris opus, multæque aliæ clarissimorum hujus memoriæ Oratorum de rebus ridiculis extant haud infacetæ prolusiones. Vultis summos Imperatores, & Reges, & fortes viros? Accipite Periclem, Epaminondam, Agesilaum, & Philippum Macedonem, quos (ut Gelliano more loquar) festivitatum & falsè dictorum scatuissæ memorant Historici: Ad hos Caium Lælium, Pub. Cor. Scipionem, Cneium Pompeium, C. Juliam & Octavium Cæsares, quos in hoc genere omnibus præstitisse coteraneis author est M. Tullius. Vultis adhuc majora nomina? ipsum etiam Jovem reliquosque Cœlites inter epulas & pocula jucunditati se dantes inducunt Poetæ sagacissimi veritatis adumbratores. Vestrâ demum, Academici, utar tutelâ & patrocinio, quod mihi erit omnium adinstar; quippe quam non displiceant vobis sales & jocoli; indicat satis tantus hodie vestrum factus concursus, & hoc sane unumquodque caput mihi annuere videtur; nec mirum est mehercle festam hanc & mundulam urbanitatem omnes probos, simulque claros viros sic oblectare, cum & ipsa inter splendidos virtutum Aristotelicarum ordines sublimis sedeatur, & velut in Panthæo quodam Diva cum Divis Sororibus colluceat. Sed forte non defunt quidam Barbatæ Magistri tetrici oppido & difficiles, qui se magnos Catones, nedum Catunculos putantes, vultu ad severitatem Stoicam composito, obstipito nutantes capite anxie querantur omnia nunc dierum commisceri, & in deterius perverti & loco Priorum Aristotelis ab initiatis recens bacchalaureis exponendorum, scommata & inanes nugæ inverecunde & intempestive jactari;

hodiernum quoque exercitium à majoribus nostris sine dubio recte & fideliter institutum ob insignem aliquem, sive in Rhetorica, sive in Philosophia fructum inde percipiendum, nunc nuper in inspidos sales perperam immutari. At vero his quod respondeatur ad manum mihi est, & in procinctu; Sciant enim illi, si nesciant, Literas, cum leges Reipub. nostræ Literariæ primum essent latæ, ab exteris regionibus vix has in oras fuisse advectas: idcirco cum Græcæ & Latinæ Linguæ peritia impendio rara esset & insolens, expediebat eò acriori studio, & magis assiduis exercitationibus ad eas eniti & aspirare: nos autem quandoquidem superioribus nostris pejus sumus morati, melius eruditi, oportebit relictis quæ haud multam habent difficultatem ad ea studia accedere, ad quæ & illi contulissent se, si per otium licuisset; nec vos præteriiit primos quosque legumlatores duriora paulo scita, & severiora quam ut ferri possint semper edere solere, ut desectentes & paululum relapsi homines in ipsum rectum incidunt. Denique mutatâ nunc omnino rerum facie, necesse est multas leges, multasque consuetudines si non antiquari & obsolescere, coangustari saltem nec per omnia servari. Verum si leves istiusmodi nugæ palam defenſitatæ fuerint & approbatæ, publicamque demeruerint laudem (sic enim arduis superciliis solent dicere) nemo non averſo ab sana & solida eruditione animo eum ad ludicra statim & histrionalem prope levitatem adjunget, adeo ut ipsa Philosophorum spatia pro doctis & cordatis nugatores emissura sint vel mimis & scurris proterviores. At vero ego existimo eum qui jocos insubidis sic solet capi, ut præ iis seria & magis utilia plane negligat, eum inquam, nec in hac parte, nec in illa posse admodum proficere: non quidem in seriis, quia si fuisset ad res serias tractandas naturâ comparatus, factusque, credo non tam facile pateretur se ab iis abduci; nec in nugatoriis, quia vix queat ullus belle & lepide joculari, nisi & serio agere prius addidicerit. Sed vereor, Academici, ne longius æquo deduxerim Orationis filum; nolo excusare quod potui, ne inter excusandum ingravescat culpa. Jam oratoriis soluti legibus proſiliemus in Comicam licentiam. In qua si forte morem meum, si rigidas verecundiæ leges transversum, quod aiunt, digitum egressus fuero, sciatis Academici, me in vestram gratiam exuisse antiquum meum, & parumper deposuisse: aut si quid solute, si quid luxurianter dictum erit, id quidem non mentem & indolem meam, sed temporis rationem & loci genium mihi suggestisse putetis. Itaque, quod simile solent exeuntes implorare Comœdi, id ego inceptans flagito. Plaudite, & ridete.

Prolusio.

Laboranti, ut videtur, & pene corruenti stultorum rei summæ, equidem nescio quo merito meo Dictator sum creatus. At quorsum ego? cum Dux ille, & Antesignanus omnium Sophistarum & sedulò ambiverit hoc munus, & fortissime potuerit administrare; ille enim induratus Miles ad quinquaginta pridem Sophistas sudibus brevibus armatos per agros Barwellianos strenue duxit, & obsessurus oppidum satis militariter aquæductum disjecit, ut per sitim posset oppidanos ad deditionem cogere; at vero abiisse nuper hominem valde doleo, siquidem ejus discessu nos omnes Sophistas non solum ἀνεφάλως reliquit, sed & decollatos. Et jam fingite, Auditores, quamvis non sint Aprilis Calendæ, festa adesse Hilaria, matri Deum dicata, vel Deo Rifi rem divinam fieri. Ridete itaque & petulanti splene sustollite cachinnum, exporrigite frontem, & uncis indulgete naribus, sed naso adunco ne suspendite; profusissimo risu circumſonent omnia, & solutior cachinnus hilares excutiat lachrymas, ut iis risu exhaustis ne guttulam quidem habeat dolor quâ triumphum exornet suum. Ego proſecto si quem nimis parce diducto rictu ridentem conspexero, dicam eum scabros & cariosos dentes rubigine obductos, aut indecoro ordine prominentes abscondere, aut inter prandendum hodie sic opplevisse abdomen, ut non audeat ilia ulterius distendere ad risum, ne præcinen-

ti ori succinat, & ænigmata quædam nolens affutiat sua non Sphinx sed Sphincter anus, quæ medicis interpretanda non Oedipo relinquo; nolim enim hilari vocis sono obstrepat in hoc cœtu posticus gemitus: Solvant ista Medici qui alvum solvunt. Si quis strenuum & clarum non ediderit murmur, eum ego asseverabo tam gravem & mortiferum faucibus exhalare spiritum, ut vel Ætna, vel Avernus nihil spiret tetrius; aut certe allium aut porrum comedisse dudum, adeo ut non audeat aperire os, ne vicinos quosque foetido halitu enecet. At vero absit porro ab hoc cœtu horrendus & tartareus ille sibili sonus, nam si hîc audiatur hodie, credam ego Furias & Eumenides inter vos occulte latitare, & angues suos colubrosque pectoribus vestris immisisse, & proinde Athamanteos Furores vobis inspiravisse. At enimvero, Academici, vestram ego in me benevolentiam demiror atque exosculor, qui me audituri per flammam & ignes irrupistis in hunc locum. Hinc enim in ipso limine scintillans illè noster Cerberus astat, & fumido latratu horribilis, flammeoque coruscans baculo favillas pleno ore egerit; illinc ardens & voracissimus Fornax noster luridos eructat ignes, & tortuosos fumi globos evolvit, adeo ut non sit difficilius iter ad inferos vel invito Plutone; & certe nec ipse Jason minori cum periculo boves illos Martis *πυριπνέοντες* aggressus est. Jamque Auditores, credite vos in cœlum receptos, posteaquam evasistis purgatorium, & nescio quo novo miraculo ex fornace calida salvi prodixistis, neque sane mihi in mentem venit ullius Herois cujus fortitudinem commode possim vestræ æquiparare, neque enim Bellerophontes ille ignivomam Chimæram animosius debellavit, nec validissimi illi Regis Arthuri pugiles, igniti & flammigerantis Castellum incantamenta vicerunt facilius & dissiparunt; atque hinc subit, ut puros mihi Auditores & lectissimos polliceor, si quid enim facis huc advenerit post explorationem camini, ego statim dixerò ignes nostros janitores esse fatuos. At felices nos & incolumes perpetuo futuros! Romæ enim ad diuturnitatem imperii sempiternos ignes sollicitè & religiose servabant, nos vigilibus & vivis ignibus custodimur: Quid dixi vivis & vigilibus? id sane improvise lapsu prætervolavit, quippe nunc melius commemini, eos primo crepusculo extinguere sese, & non nisi claro fudo sese resuscitare. Attamen spes est, tandem iterum domum nostram posse inclarescere, cum nemo inficias iverit duo maxima Academiæ Luminaria nostro collegio præsidere; quamvis illi nusquam majori forent in honore quam Romæ; ibi enim vel virgines Vestales inextinctos eos, & insomnes totas noctes servarent, vel forte ordini Seraphico initiarentur flammei fratres. In hos denique optime quadrat Hemistichion illud Virgilianum, Igneus est ollis vigor: immo pene inductus sum ut credam Horatium horum nostrorum ignium mentionem fecisse, major enim horum, dum stat inter conjugem & liberos, micat inter omnes velut inter ignes Luna minores. Non possum autem præterire sædum Ovidii errorem, qui sic cecinit, Nataque de flamma corpora nulla vides. Videmus enim passim oberrantes igniculos hoc nostro igne genitos, hoc si negaverit Ovidius, necessum habebit uxoris pudicitiam vocare in dubium. Ad vos redeo, Auditores; Ne vos poeniteat tam molesti & formidolosi itineris, ecce convivium vobis apparatus! eccas mensas ad luxum Persicum extructas, & cibis conquistissimis onustas, qui vel Apicianam gulam oblectent & deliniant! Ferunt enim Antonio & Cleopatræ octo integros apros in epulis appositos, vobis autem primo forculo hemiquinquaginta faginosos apros cervisiâ conditanè per triennium maceratos, & tamen adhuc adeo callosos, ut vel caninos dentes delassare valeant. Dein totidem optimos boves insigniter caudatos famulari nostro igni præ foribus recens assos; sed vereor ne omnem succum in patinam exudaverint. Ab his tot etiam en vitulina capita, sane crassa & carnosa, sed adeo pertenui cerebro, ut non sufficiat ad condimentum. Tum quidem & hœdos plus minus centum, sed puto crebriori Veneris usu nimium macros: Arietes aliquot expectavimus speciosis & patulis cornibus, sed eos Coqui nostri nondum secum attulerunt ex oppido. Si quis aves mavult, hebemus innumeras, turundis, & ossis, & scobinato caseo diu altius: Imprimis, nescio quod genus avium tam ingenio, quam plumâ viride, unde eas è regione Psittacorum suspicor asportatas; quæ quia gregatim semper volitant,

volitant, & eodem fere loco nidulantur, eodem etiam disco apponentur; iis vero parce velim vescamini, quia præterquam quod admodum crudi sint, & nihil in se habeant solidi nutrimenti, scabiem etiam comedentibus protrudunt (modo vera tradit Comestor.) Jam vero libere & genialiter epulamini; hic enim præsto est missus quem vobis præ omnibus commendo, prægrandis scilicet Gallinago, pertriennalem faginam adeo unguinosæ pinguedinis, ut illi vix satis largum sit unum ferculum amplissimum, rostro eousq; prælongo & eduro, ut impune possit cum Elephante aut Rhinocerote certamen ingredi; eam autem in hunc diem commode obtruncavimus, propterea quod prægrandium Simiorum more incepit puellis insidiari, & vim inferre muli ribus. Hunc subsequuntur aves quædam Hibernicæ, nescio quo nomine; sed incessu & corporis filo gruibus perfimiles, quamvis ut plurimum soleant in postremam mensam asservari; hic quidem est novus & rarus magis quam salutaris cibus: his itaque abstineatis moneo, sunt enim efficacissimi (modo vera tradit Comestor) ad generandos pediculos inguinales: has igitur arbitror ego agasonibus utiliores futuras; nam cum sint naturæ vividæ, vegetæ, & saltaturlentes, si equis strigosis per podicem ingerantur, reddent eos protinus vivaciores & velociores quam si decem vivas anguillas in ventre haberent. Anseres etiam complures aspiciate, & hujus anni & superiorum argutos valde, & ranis Aristophanicis vocaliores; quos quidem facile dignoscetis; mirum enim est ni se jam prodiderint sibilando, statim fortasse audietis. Ova insuper aliquot habemus, sed ea κακῶς κόρακι; Frugum vero nihil præterquam mala & mespila, eaque infœlicis arboris, nec satis matura, præstabit itaque iterum ad Solem suspendi. Videtis apparatus nostros, quæso vos, quibus palato sunt, commessamini. Verum hariolor dicturos vos, epulas hæc, veluti nocturnæ illæ dapes quæ à Dæmone veneficis apparantur, nullo condiri sale, vereorque ne discedatis jejuniores quam venistis. Verum ad ea pergo quæ ad me propius attinent. Romani sua habuere Floralia, Rustici sua Patilia, Pistores sua Fornacalia, nos quoque potissimum hoc tempore rerum & negotiorum vacui, Socratico more ludere solemus. Itaque hospitia Leguleiorum suos habent, quos vocant Dominos, vel hinc indicantes quam sint honoris ambitiosi. Nos autem, Academici, ad paternitatem quamproxime accedere cupientes id ficto nomine usurpare gestimus, quod vero non audemus saltem nonnisi in occulto; quemadmodum puellæ nuptias luforias & puerperia solenniter fingunt, earum rerum quas anhelant & cupiunt, umbras captantes & amplectentes. Quorsum autem eo, qui proxime se circumegit, anno intermissa fuerit hæc solennitas, ego sane haud possum divinare; nisi quod ii qui patres futuri erant, adeo strenue se gesserint in oppido, ut is cui id negotii dabatur, tantorum misertus laborum ultro jufferit eos ab hac cura otiosos esse. At vero unde est quod ego tam subito factus sum Pater? Dii vestram fidem! Quid hoc est prodigii Pliniana exuperantis portenta! numnam ego percussus angue Tyresicæ fatum expertus sum? ecqua me Thessala saga magico perfudit unguento? an denique ego à Deo aliquo vitatus, ut olim Cnœeus, virilitatem pactus sum stupri pretium, ut sic repente ἐκ Θηλείας εἰς ἄρρενά ἀλλὰ χθελὴν ἄν? A quibusdam, audivi nuper Domina. At cur videor illis parum masculus? Ecquis Prisciani pudor? itane propria quæ maribus fœmineo generi tribuunt insulsi Grammaticastri! scilicet quia Scyphos capacissimos nunquam valui pancratice haurire; aut quia manus tenendâ stivâ non occaluit, aut quia nunquam ad meridianum Solem supinus jacui septennis bubulcus; fortasse demum quod nunquam me virum præstiti, eo modo quo illi Ganeones: verum utinam illi possint tam facile exuere asinos, quam ego quicquid est fœminæ; at videte quam insubide, quam incogitate mihi objecerint id, quod ego jure optimo mihi vertam gloriæ. Namque & ipse Demosthenes ab æmulis adversariisque parum vir dictus est. Q. itidem Hortensius omnium Oratorum post M. Tullium, clarissimus, Dionysia Pfalltria appellatus est à L. Torquato. Cui ille, Dionysia, inquit, malo equidem esse, quam quod tu Torquate, ἄμειστο, ἀγροδίαιτο, ἀπρόστυτο. Ego vero quicquid hoc Domini aut Dominæ est à me longe amolior atque rejicio, nisi in rostris

rostris atque subfelliis vestris, Academici, dominari non cupio. Quis jam prohibebit me quin lætar tam auspicato & foelici omine, exultemque gaudio me tantis viris ejusdem opprobrii societate conjunctum! Interea ut bonos omnes & præstantes supra invidiam positos arbitror, ita hos lividos adeo omnium infimos puto, ut ne digni sint qui maledicant. Ad filios itaque pater me converto, quorum cerno speciosum numerum, & video etiam lepidulos nebulones occulto nutu me patrem fateri. De nominibus quæritis? Nolo sub nominibus ferculorum filios meos epulandos vobis tradere, id enim Tantalî & Lycaonis feritati nimium esset affine; nec membrorum insignibo nominibus, ne putetis me pro integris hominibus tot frustra hominum genuisse; nec ad vinorum genera eos nuncupare volupe est, ne quicquid dixero, sit ἀποποδίωνυσον, & nihil ad Bacchum; volo ad prædicamentorum numerum nominatos, ut sic & ingenuos natales & liberalem vitæ rationem exprimam; & eadem opera curabo, uti omnes ad aliquem gradum ante meum obitum provecti sint. Quod ad Sales meos nolo ego edentulos, sic enim tritos, & veteres dicatis, & aniculam aliquam tussientem eos expuisse: proinde credo neminem sales meos dentatos inculpatum, nisi qui ipse nullos habet dentes, ideoque reprehensurum, quia non sunt ipsius similes. Et certe in præsens ego exoptarem obtigisse mihi Horatii fortem, nempe ut essem salsamentarii filius, tunc enim sales mihi essent ad unguem, vos etiam sale ita pulchre defricatos dimitterem, ut nostros milites qui nupcr ab Insula Reana capeffere fugam non magis pœniteret salis petiti. Non libet mihi in consilio vobis exhibendo, mei gnati, gnaviter esse operoso, ne plus operæ vobis erudiendis quam gignendis insumpsisse videar, tantum caveat quisque ne ex filio fiat nepos: liberi-que mei ne colant liberum, si me velint patrem. Si qua ego alia præcepta dederò, ea linguâ vernaculâ proferenda sentio: conaborque pro viribus ut omnia intelligatis. Cæterum exorandi sunt mihi Neptunus, Apollo, Vulcanus, & omnes Dii Fabri, uti latera mea vel tabulatis corroborare, vel ferreis laminis circumligare velint. Quinetiam & supplicanda mihi est Dea Ceres, ut quæ humerum eburneum Pelopi dederit, mihi pariter latera pene absumpta reparare dignetur. Neque enim est cur miretur quislibet, si post tantum clamorem & tot filiorum genituram paulo infirmiora sint. In his itaque sensu Neroniano ultra quam satis est, moratus sum: nunc Leges Academicas veluti Romuli muros transiliens à Latinis ad Anglicana transcurro. Vos quibus istæc arrident, aures atque animos nunc mihi attentos date.

In Sacrario habita pro Arte

O R A T I O.

Beatiores reddit Homines Ars quam Ignorantia.

TAmetsi mihi, Auditores, nihil magis jucundum sit atque optabile aspectu vestro assiduâque togatorum hominum frequentia, hoc etiam honorifico dicendi munere, quo ego vice unâ atque alterâ apud vos non ingrata operâ perfunctus sum; tamen, si quod res est fateri liceat, semper ita sit, ut, cum neque meum ingenium, nec studiorum ratio ab hoc Oratorio genere multum abhorreat, ego vix unquam meâ voluntate, aut sponte ad dicendum accedam; mihi si fuisset integrum, vel huic vespertino labori haud illibenter equidem parisssem: nam quoniam ex Libris & Sententiis doctissimorum hominum sic accepi, nihil vulgare, aut mediocre in Oratore, ut nec in Poeta posse concedi, eumque oportere, qui Orator esse meritò & haberi velit, omnium Artium, omnesque Scientiæ circulari quodam subsidio instructum & consummatum esse; id
quando

quando mea ætas non fert, malui jam prius ea mihi subsidia comparando, longo & acris studio illam laudem veram contendere, quàm properato & præcoci stylo falsam præripere. Quâ animi cogitatione & consilio dum æstuo totus indies, & accendor, nullum unquam sensi gravius impedimentum & moram, hoc frequenti interpellationis damno; nihil vero magis aluisse ingenium, &, contra quam in corpore fit, bonam ei valetudinem conservâsse erudito & liberali otio. Hunc ego divinum Hesiodi somnum, hos nocturnos Endymionis cum Luna congressus esse crediderim; hunc illum duce Mercurio Promethei secessum in altissimas Montis Caucasî solitudines, ubi sapientissimus Deum atque hominum evasit, utpote quem ipse Jupiter de Nuptiis Thetidis consultum esse dicatur. Testor ipse lucos, & flumina, & dilectas villarum ulmos, sub quibus ætate proxime præteritâ (si Dearum arcana eloqui liceat) summam cum Musis gratiam habuisse me jucundâ memoriâ recolo; ubi & ego inter rura & semotos saltus velut occulto ævo crescere mihi potuisse visus sum. Hic quoque eandem mihi delitescendi copiam utique sperassem, nisi intempestive prorsus interposuisset se importuna hæc dicendi molestia, quæ sic ingratis arcebat sacros somnos, sic torsit animum in aliis defixum, & inter præruptas Artium difficultates sic impedivit & oneri fuit, ut ego amissâ omni spe persequendæ quietis mœstus cogitare cœperim, quam procul abessem ab ea tranquillitate quam mihi primò Literæ pollicebantur, acerbam fore inter hos æstus & jactationes vitam, satius esse vel omnes Artes dedidicisse. Itaque vix compos mei, temerarium cœpi consilium laudandæ Ignorantiæ, quæ nihil prorsus haberet harum turbarum; proposuique in certamen utra suos cultores beatiores redderet Ars an Ignorantia? Nescio quid est, noluit me meum sive fatum, sive genius ab incepto Musarum amore discedere; imo & ipsa cæca fors tanquam derepente prudens providensque facta hoc idem noluisse visa est; citius opinione meâ Ignorantia suum nata est patronum, mihi Ars relinquitur defendenda. Gaudeo sane sic illusum me, nec me pudet vel cæcam Fortunam mihi restituisse oculos; hoc illi nōmine gratias habeo. Jam saltem illam laudare licet, cujus ab amplexu divulsus eram, & quasi absentis desiderium sermone consolari: jam hæc non plane interruptio est, quis enim interpellari se dicat, id laudando & tuendo quod amat, quod approbat, quod magnopere assequi velit. Verum, Auditores, sic ego existimo in re mediocriter laudabili maxime elucere vim Eloquentiæ; quæ summam laudem habent, vix ullo modo, ullis limitibus Orationis contineri posse, in his ipsa sibi officit copia, & rerum multitudine comprimit & coangustat expandentem se elocutionis pompam; hac ego argumenti fecunditate nimiam laboro, ipsæ me vires imbecillum, arma inermem reddunt; delectus itaque faciendus, aut certe enumeranda verius quam tractanda quæ tot nostram causam validis præsidiiis firmam ac munitam statuunt: nunc illud mihi unice elaborandum video, ut ostendam quid in utraque re, & quantum habeat momentum ad illam in quam omnes ferimur, beatitudinem; in qua contentione facili certe negotio versabitur Oratio nostra, nec admodum esse puto metuendum quid possit Scientiæ Inscitia, Arti Ignorantia objicere; quamvis hoc ipsum quod objiciat, quod verba faciat, quod in hac celebritate Literatissimæ Concionis vel hiscere audeat, id totum ab arte precariò vel potius emendicato habet. Notum hoc esse reor, Auditores, & receptum omnibus, magnum mundi opificem, cætera omnia cum fluxu & caduca posuisset, homini præter id quod mortale esset, divinam quandam auram, & quasi partem sui immiscuisse, immortalem, indelebilem, lethi & interitus immunem; quæ postquam in terris aliquandiu tanquam cœlestis hospes, caste, sancteque peregrinata esset, ad nativum cœlum sursum evibraret se, debitamque ad sedem & patriam reverteretur: proinde nihil merito recenseri posse in causis nostræ beatitudinis, nisi id & illam sempiternam, & hanc civilem vitam aliquâ ratione respiciat. Ea propemodum suffragiis omnium sola est contemplatio, quâ sine administro corpore seducta & quasi conglobata in se mens nostra incredibili voluptate immortalium Deorum ævum imitatur, quæ tamen sine arte tota infrugifera est & injucunda, imo nulla. Quis enim rerum humanarum divinarumque εἰδώς intueri digne possit aut considerare, quarum ferme

nihil

nihil nôsse queat, nisi animum per artem & disciplinam imbutum & excultum habuerit; ita prorsus ei cui Artes defunt, interclusus esse videtur omnis aditus ad vitam beatam; ipsam hanc animam altæ sapientiæ capacem & prope inexplebilem, aut frustra nobis Deus, aut in pœnam dedisse videtur, nisi maxime voluisset nos ad excelsam earum rerum cognitionem sublimes eniti, quarum tantum ardorem naturâ humanæ menti injecerat. Circumspicite quæqua potestis universam hanc rerum faciem, illam sibi in gloriam tanti operis summus Artifex ædificavit; quanto altius ejus rationem insignem, ingentem fabricam, varietatem admirabilem investigamus, quod sine arte non possumus, tanto plus authorem ejus admiratione nostrâ celebramus, & veluti quodam plausu persequimur, quod illi pergratum esse, certum ac persuasissimum habeamus. Ecquid, Auditores, putabimus tanta immensi ætheris spatia æternis accensa atque distincta ignibus, tot sustinere concitatissimos motus, tanta obire conversionum itinera ob hoc unum ut lucernam præbeant ignavis & pronis hominibus? & quasi faciem præferant nobis infra torpentibus & desidiosis? nihil inesse tam multiplici fructuum herbarumque proventui, præterquam fragilem viriditatis ornatum? Profecto si tam injusti rerum æstimatores erimus, ut nihil ultra crassum sensus intuitum persequamur, non modo serviliter & abjecte, sed inique & malitiose cum benigno numine egisse videbimur; cui per inertiam nostram, & quasi per invidiam titulorum magna pars, & tantæ potentiæ veneratio penitus intercidet. Si igitur dux & inchoatrix nobis ad beatitudinem sit eruditio, si potentissimo numini jussa & complacita, & ejus cum laude maxime conjuncta, certe non potest sui cultores non efficere vel summe beatos. Neque enim nescius sum, Auditores, contemplationem hanc quâ tendimus ad id quod summe expetendum est, nullum habere posse veræ beatitudinis gustum sine integritate vitæ, & morum innocentia; multos autem vel insigniter eruditos homines nefarios extitisse, præterea iræ, odio, & pravis cupiditatibus obedientes; multos è contra literarum rudes viros probos atque optimos se præstitisse; quid ergo? Num beator Ignorantia? minime vero. Sic itaque est, Auditores, paucos fortasse doctrinâ præstabiles suæ civitatis corruptissimi mores & illiteratorum hominum colluvies in nequitiam pertraxere, unius perdocti & prudentis viri industriâ multos mortales ab arte impolitos in officio continuit: nimirum una domus, vir unus arte & sapientia præditus, velut magnum Dei munus toti Reipub. satis esse possit ad bonam frugem. Cæterum ubi nullæ vigent Artes, ubi omnis exterminatur eruditio, ne ullum quidem ibi viri boni vestigium est, grassatur immanitas atque horrida barbaries; hujus rei testem appello non civitatem unam, aut provinciam, non gentem, sed quartam orbis terrarum partem Europam, quâ totâ superioribus aliquot sæculis omnes bonæ Artes interierant, omnes tunc temporis Academiæ præsides diu Musæ reliquerant; pervaserat omnia, & occupârat cæca inertia, nihil audiebatur in Scholis præter insulsa stupidissimi morum Monachorum dogmata, togam scilicet nacta, per vacuâ rostra & pulpita, per squalentes Cathedras jactitavit se prophanum & informe monstrum, Ignorantia. Tum primum lugere Pietas, extingui Religio & pessum ire, adeo ut ex gravi vulnere, ferro atque ægre vix in hunc usque diem convaluerit. At vero, Auditores, hoc in Philosophia ratum, & antiquum esse satis constat, omnis artis, omnisque scientiæ perceptionem solius intellectus esse, virtutum ac probitatis domum atque delubrum esse voluntatem. Cum autem omnium judicio intellectus humanus cæteris animi facultatibus princeps & moderator præluceat, tum & ipsam voluntatem cæcam alioqui & obscuram suo splendore temperat & collustrat, illa veluti Luna, luce lucet alienâ. Quare demus hoc sane, & largiamur ultro, potiolem esse ad beatam vitam virtutem sine arte, quam artem sine virtute; at ubi semel scælici nexu invicem consociatæ fuerint, ut maxime debent, & sæpissime contingit, tum vero statim vultu erecto atque arduo superior longe apparet, atque emicat scientia, cum rege & imperatore intellectu in excelsis locat se, inde quasi humile & sub pedibus spectat inferius quicquid agitur apud voluntatem; & deinceps in æternum excellentiam & claritudinem, majestatemque divinæ proximam facile sibi asserit. Age descendamus ad civilem vitam, quid in privata, quid in publica proficiat

utraq̃ue videamus; taceo de arte quod sit pulcherrimum juventutis honestamentum ætatis virilis firmum præsidium, senectutis ornamentum atque solatium. Prætereo & illud multos apud suos nobiles, etiam P. R. principes post egregia facinora, & rerum gestarum gloriam ex contentione & strepitu ambitionis ad literarum studium tanquam in portum ac dulce perfugium se recipisse; intellexere nimirum senes præstantissimi jam reliquam vitæ partem optimam optime oportere collocari; erant summi inter homines, volebant his artibus non postremi esse inter Deos; petierant honores, nunc immortalitatem; in debellandis imperii hostibus longe aliâ militiâ usi sunt, cum morte maximo generis humani malo conflictaturi, ecce quæ tela sumpserint, quas legiones conscripserint, quo comæatu instructi fuerint. Atqui maxima pars civilis beatitudinis in humana societate & contrahendis amicitiiis fere constituta est; doctiores plerosque difficiles, inurbanos, moribus incompòsitis, nullâ fandi gratiâ ad conciliandos hominum animos multi queruntur: fateor equidem, qui in studiis fere seclusus atque abditus est, multo promptius esse Deos alloqui quam homines, sive quod perpetuo fere domi est apud superos infrequens rerum humanarum & vere peregrinus, sive quod assiduâ rerum divinarum cogitatione mens quasi grandior facta in tantis corporis angustiiis difficulter agitans se minus habilis sit ad exquisitiores salutationum gesticulationes; at si dignæ atque idoneæ contigerint amicitie nemo sanctius colit; quid enim jucundius, quid cogitari potest beatius illis doctorum & gravissimorum hominum colloquiis, qualia sub illa platano plurima sæpe fertur habuisse divinus Plato, digna certe quæ totius confluentis generis humani arrecto excipiantur silentio; at stolidè confabulari, alios aliis ad luxum & libidines morem gerere ea demum ignorantie est amicitia, aut certe amicitie ignorantia. Quinetiam si hæc civilis beatitudo in honesta liberaque oblectatione animi consistit, ea profecto doctrinæ & arti reposita est voluptas, quæ cæteras omnes facile superet; quid omnem cœli syderumque morem tenuisse? omnes aeris motus & vicissitudines, sive augusto fulminum sonitu, aut crinitis ardoribus inertes animos perterrefaciat, sive in nivem & grandinem obrigescat, sive denique in pluvia & rore mollis & placidus descendat; tum alternantes ventos perdidicisse, omnesque halitus aut vapores quos terra aut mare eructat; stirpium deinde vires occultas, metallorumque calluisse, singulorum etiam animantium naturam, & si fieri potest, sensus intellexisse; hinc accuratissimam corporis humani fabricam & medicinam; postremo divinam animi vim & vigorem, & si qua de illis qui Lares, & Genii, & Dæmonia vocantur ad nos pervenit cognitio? Infinita adhæc alia, quorum bonam partem didicisse licuerit, antequam ego cuncta enumeraverim. Sic tandem, Auditores, cum omnimoda semel eruditio suos orbes confecerit, non contentus iste spiritus tenebricosus hoc ergastulo eousque late aget se, donec & ipsum mundum, & ultra longe divinâ quadam magnitudine expatiatâ compleverit. Tum demum plerique casus atque eventus rerum ita subito emergent, ut ei, qui hanc arcem sapientiæ adeptus est, nihil pene incautum, nihil fortuitum in vita possit accidere; videbitur sane is esse, cujus imperio & dominationi astra obtemperant, terra & mare obsecundant, venti tempestatessque morigeræ sint; cui denique ipsa Parens Natura in deditionem se tradiderit, plane ac si quis Deus abdicato mundi imperio, huic jus ejus, & leges, administrationemque tanquam præfectori cuidam commisisset. Huc quanta accedit animi voluptas, per omnes gentium historias & loca pervolare Regnorum, Nationum, Urbium, Populorum status mutationesque ad prudentiam, & mores animadvertere: hoc est, Auditores, omni ætati quasi vivus interesse, & velut ipsius temporis nasci contemporaneus; profecto cum nominis nostri gloriæ in futurum prospeximus, hoc erit ab utero vitam retro extendere & porrigere, & nolenti fato anteaactam quandam immortalitatem extorquere. Mitto illud cui quid potest æquiparari? Multarum Gentium oraculum esse, domum quasi templum habere, esse quos Reges & Respublicæ ad se invitent, cujus visendi gratiâ finitimique exterique concurrant, quem alii vel semel vidisse quasi quoddam bene meritum gloriantur; hæc studiorum præmia, hos fructus eruditio suis cultoribus in privata vita præstare, & potest, & sæpe solet. At quid in publica?

Sane

Sane ad Majestatis fastigium paucos evexit laus doctrinæ, nec probitatis multò plures. Nimirum, illi apud se regno fruuntur, omni terrarum ditione longe gloriosiori : & quis sine ambitionis, infamiâ geminum affectat regnum ? addam hoc tamen amplius, duos tantum adhuc fuisse qui quasi cœlitus datum universum terrarum orbem habuere, & supra omnes Reges & Dynastas æquale Diis ipsis partiti sunt imperium, Alexandrum nempe magnum & Octavium Cæsarem, eosque ambos Philosophiæ alumnos. Perinde ac si quoddam electionis exemplar divinitus exhibitum esset hominibus, quali potissimum viro clavum & habenas rerum credi oporteret. At multæ resp. sine literis, rebus gestis & opulentiâ claruere. Spartanorum quidem, qui ad literarum studium contulerint se, pauci memorantur ; Romani intra urbis mœnia Philosophiam sero receperunt ; at illi Legislatore usi sunt Lycurgo, qui & philosophus fuit & Poetarum adeo studiosus, ut Homeri scripta per Ioniam sparsa summâ curâ primus collegerit. Hi post varios in urbe motus & perturbationes ægre se sustentare valentes, ab Athenis eâ tempestate artium studio florentissimis, Leges Decemvirales, quæ & duodecim tabulæ dictæ sunt, missis legatis emendicarunt. Quid si hodiernos Turcas per opima Asiæ regna rerum late positos omnis literaturæ ignaros nobis objiciant ? Equidem in ea repub. (si tamen crudelissimorum hominum per vim & cædem arreptâ potentiâ, quos unum in locum sceleris consensus convocavit, continuo respub. dicenda sit) quod in ea ad exemplum insigne sit nil audiui, parare vitæ commoda, tueri parta, id Naturæ debemus, non Arti ; aliena libidine invadere, sibi mutuo ad rapinam auxilio esse, in scelus conjurare, id Naturæ pravitati. Jus quoddam apud eos exercetur ; nec mirum : cæteræ virtutes facile fugantur, justitia vere regia, ad sui cultum impellit, sine qua vel injustissimæ societates cito dissolverentur. Nec omiserim tamen, Saracenos Turcarum propemodum conditores non armis magis quam bonarum literarum studiis imperium suum propagasse. Sed si antiquitatem repetamus, inveniemus non institutas modo ab Arte, sed fundatas olim fuisse respublicas. Antiquissimi quique gentium indigenæ in sylvis & montibus errasse dicuntur, ferarum ritu pabuli commoditatem sequuti, vultu erecti, cætera proni, putâsses præter formæ dignitatem nihil non commune cum bestiis habuisse ; eadem antra, iidem specus cœlum & frigora defendebant ; nulla tunc urbs, non ædes marmoreæ, non aræ Deorum, aut fana collucebant, non illic fas sanctum, nondum jura in foro dicebantur, nulla in nuptiis tæda, non chorus, nullum in mensa geniali carmen, nullum solenne funeris, non luctus, vix tumulus defunctos honestabat ; nulla convivia, nulli ludi, inauditus citharæ sonus, ipsa tunc omnia aberant, quibus jam inertia ad luxum abutitur. Cum repente Artes & Scientiæ, agrestia hominum pectora cœlitus afflabant, & imbutos notitiâ sui in una mœnia pellexere. Quamobrem certe quibus authoribus urbes ipsæ primum conditæ sunt ; dein stabilitæ legibus, post consiliis munitæ, poterunt iisdem etiam gubernatoribus quam diutissime foelicissimeque consistere. Quid autem ignorantia ? sentio, Auditores, caligat, stupet, procul est, effugiâ circumspicit, vitam brevem queritur, artem longam ; immo vero tollamus duo magna studiorum nostrorum impedimenta, alterum artis male traditæ, alterum nostræ ignaviæ, pace Galeni, seu quis alius ille fuit ; totum contra erit, vita longa ars brevis ; nihil arte præstabilius, adeoque laboriosius, nihil nobis segnius, nihil remissius ; ab operariis & agricolis nocturnâ & anteluca-nâ industriâ vinci nos patimur ; illi in re sordida ad vilem victum magis impigri sunt, quam nos in nobilissima ad vitam beatam ; nos cum ad altissimum atque optimum in humanis rebus aspiremus, nec studium ferre possumus, nec inertiae dedecus ; immo pudet esse id, quod non haberi nos indignamur. At valetudini cavemus à vigiliis & acri studio : turpe dictu, animum incultum negligimus, dum corpori metuemus, cujus vires quis non imminuat, quo majores acquirantur animo ? quanquam certe qui hæc causantur perditissimi plerique, abjectâ omni temporis, ingenii, valetudinis curâ, comessando, belluæ marinæ ad morem potando, inter scorta & aleam pernoctando, nihilo se infirmiores factos queruntur. Cum itaque sic se afficiant atque assuescant, ut ad omnem turpitudinem strenui atque alacres ; ad omnes virtutis actiones & ingenii hebetes & languidi

sint, culpam in naturam aut vitæ brevitatem falso & inique transferunt. Quod si modestè ac temperanter vitam degendo, primos ferocientis ætatis impetus ratione & pertinaci studiorum assiduitate mallemus edomare, cœlestem animi vigorem ab omni contagione & inquinamento purum & intactum servantes; incredibile esset, Auditores, nobis post annos aliquot respicientibus quantum spatium confecisse, quam ingens æquor eruditionis cursu placido navigasse videremur. Cui & hoc egregium afferet compendium, si quis nôrit & artes utiles, & utilia in artibus recte feligere. Quot sunt imprimis Grammaticorum & Rhetorum nugæ aspernabiles? audias in tradenda arte sua illos barbare loquentes, hos infantissimos. Quid Logica? Regina quidem illa artium si pro dignitate tractetur: At heu quanta est in ratione infania! non hic homines, sed plane Acanthides carduis & spinis vescuntur. O dura Messorum ilia! Quid repetam illam, quam Metaphysicam vocant Peripatetici, non artem, locupletissimam quippe me ducit magnorum virorum autoritas, non artem inquam plerumque, sed infames scopulos, sed Lernam quandam Sophismatum ad naufragium & pestem excogitatam? hæc illa quæ supra memini togatæ ignorantiae vulnera sunt; hæc eadem cucullorum scabies etiam ad Naturalem Philosophiam late permanavit: vexat Mathematicos demonstrationum inanis gloriola; his omnibus quæ nihil profutura sunt meritò contemptis & amputatis, admirationi erit quot annos integros lucrabimur. Quid! quod Jurisprudentiam præsertim nostram turbata methodus obscurat, & quod pejus est, sermo nescio quis, Americanus credo, aut ne humanus quidem, quo cum sæpe Leguleios nostros clamitantes audiverim, dubitare, subiit quibus non esset humanum os & loquela, an et his ulli affectus humani adessent; vereor certe ut possit nos sancta Justitia respicere, vereor ut querelas ullo tempore nostras aut injurias intelligat, quorum linguâ loqui nesciat. Quapropter, Auditores, si nullum a pueritia diem sine præceptis & diligenti studio vacuum ire sinamus, si in arte, aliena supervacanea otiosa sapienter omittamus, certe intra ætatem Alexandri magni majus quiddam & gloriosius illo terrarum orbe subegerimus: tantumque aberit quo minus brevitatem vitæ, aut artis tædium incusemus, ut flere & lachrymari promptius nobis futurum credam, ut illi olim, non plures superesse mundos de quibus triumphemus. Expirat Ignorantia, jam ultimos videte conatus & morientem luctam; Mortales præcipue gloriâ tangi, antiquos illos illustres longa annorum series atque decursus cum celebrârit, nos decrepito mundi senio, nos properante rerum omnium occasu premi, si quid prædicandum æterna laude reliquerimus, nostrum nomen in angusto versari, cujus ad memoriam vix ulla posteritas succedat, frustra jam tot Libros & præclara ingenii monumenta edi quæ vicinus mundi rogos cremârit. Non inficior illud esse posse verisimile; at vèro non morari gloriam cum bene feceris, id supra omnem gloriam est. Quam nihil beavit istos inanis hominum sermo cujus ad absentes & mortuos nulla voluptas, nullus sensus pervenire potuit? nos sempiternum ævum expectemus quod nostrorum in terris saltem benefactorum memoriam nunquam delebit; in quo, si quid hic pulchrè meruimus, præsentibus ipsi audiemus, in quo qui prius in hac vita continentissime actâ omne tempus bonis artibus dederint, iisque homines adjuverint, eos singulari & summâ supra omnes scientiâ auctos esse futuros multi graviter philosophati sunt. Jam cavillari desinant ignavi quæcunque adhuc nobis in scientiis incerta atque perplexa sint, quæ tamen non tam scientiæ, quam homini attribuenda sunt; hoc est, Auditores, quod & illud nescire Socraticum & timidam Scepticorum hæsitacionem aut refellit, aut consolatur, aut compensat. Jam vero tandem aliquando quænam Ignorantiæ beatitudo? sua sibi habere, à nemine lædi, omni curâ & molestia supersedere, vitam secure & quiete, quoad potest, traducere; verum hæc feræ aut volucris cujuscumque vita est quæ in altis & penitissimis sylvis in tuto nidulum cœlo quamproximum habet, pullos educit, sine aucupii metu in pastum volat, diluculo, vesperique suaves modulos emodulatur. Quid ad hæc desideratur æthereus ille animi vigor? Exuat ergo hominem, dabitur fane Circæum poculum, ad bestias prona emigret: Ad bestias vèro? at illæ tam turpem hospitem excipere nolunt, si quidem illæ sive inferioris cujusdam rationis participes, quod plurimi

plurimi disputârunt, sive pollenti quodam instinctu sagaces, aut artes, aut artium simile quoddam apud se exercent. Namque & Canes in persequenda fera Dialecticæ non ignaros esse narratur apud Plutarchum, & si ad trivium forte ventum sit, plane disjuncto uti Syllogismo. Lusciniam veluti præcepta quædam Musices pullis suis tradere solere refert Aristoteles; unaquæque ferè bestia sibi medica est, multæ etiam insignia medicinæ documenta hominibus dedere. Ibis Ægyptia alvi purgandæ utilitatem, Hippopotamus detrahendi sanguinis ostendit. Quis dicat Astronomiæ expertes à quibus tot ventorum, imbrium, inundationum serenitatis præfagia petantur? Quam prudenti & severâ Ethica supervolantes montem Taurum anseres obturato lapillis ore periculosæ loquacitati moderantur; multa formicis res domestica, civitas apibus debet; excubias habendi, triquetram aciem ordinandi rationem ars militaris gruum esse agnoscit. Sapiunt altius bestiæ, quam ut suo cœtu & consortio ignorantiam dignentur; inferius detrudunt. Quid ergo? ad truncos & faxes. At ipsi trunci, ipsa arbuta, totumque nemus ad doctissima Orphei carmina solutis quondam radicibus festinavêre. Sæpe etiam mysteriorum capaces, ut quercus olim Dodonææ, divina Oracula reddidêre. Saxa etiam sacræ Poetarum voci docilitate quâdam respondent: an & hæc aspernantur à se Ignorantiam? Num igitur infra omne Brutorum genus, infra Stipites & Saxa, infra omnem Naturæ ordinem licebit in illo Epicureorum non esse requiescere? Ne id quidem: quandoquidem necesse est, quod pejus, quod vilius, quod magis miserum, quod infimum est, esse Ignorantiam? Ad vos venio, Auditores intelligentissimi, nam & ipse si nihil dixissem, vos mihi tot non tam Argumenta, quam tela video, quæ ego in Ignorantiam usque ad perniciem contorquebo. Ego jam Classicum cecini, vos ruite in prælium; summovete à vobis hostem hanc, prohibete vestris porticibus & ambulatoriis; hanc si aliquid esse patiamini, vos ipsi illud eritis, quod nosis omnium esse miserrimum. Vestra itaque hæc omnium causa est. Quare si ego jam multo fortasse prolixior fuerim, quam pro consuetudine hujus loci liceret, præterquam quod ipsa rei dignitas hoc postulabat, dabitis & vos mihi veniam, opinor, Judices, quandoquidem, tanto magis intelligitis in vos quo sim animo, quam vestri studiosus, quos Labores, quas Vigiliis vestrâ causâ non recusârim. Dixi.

ARTIS

ARTIS LOGICÆ

Plenior Institutio,

Ad PETRI RAMI

METHODUM concinnata.

Adjecta est Praxis Analytica & PETRI RAMI
Vita. Libris duobus.

PRÆFATIO.

Quanquam Philosophorum multi, suoapte ingenio freti, contempsisse artem Logicam dicuntur, eorum tamen qui vel sibi, vel aliis propter ingenium aut judicium natura minus acre ac perspicax utilissimam esse sibi que diligenter excolendam judicarunt, optime est de ea meritus, ut ego quidem cum Sidneio nostro sentio, Petrus Ramus. Cæteri fere Physica, Ethica, Theologica Logicis, effrænata quadam licentia, confundunt. Sed noster dum brevitate sectatus est nimis religiose, non plane luci, sed ubertati tamen lucis, quæ in tradenda arte, non parca, sed plena & copiosa esse debet, videtur defuisse: id quod tot in eum scripta commentaria testantur. Satiùs itaque sum arbitratus, quæ ad præcepta artis plenius intelligenda, ex ipsius Rami scholiis Dialecticis aliorumque commentariis necessario petenda sunt, ea in ipsum corpus artis, nisi sicubi dissentio, transferre atque intexere. Quid enim brevitate consequimur, si lux aliunde est petenda? Præstat una opera, uno simul in loco artem longiusculam cum luce conjungere, quam minore cum luce brevissimam aliunde illustrare; cum hoc non minore negotio multoque minus commode hætenus fiat, quam si ars ipsa ut nunc suapte copia se fusa explicaverit. Quam artis tradendæ rationem uberiores ipse etiam Ramus in Arithmetica & Geometria aliquanto post à se editis, edoctus jam longiore usu, secutus est; suasque ipse regulas interjecto commentariolo explanavit, non aliis explanandas reliquit. Quorum cum plerique nescio an nimio commentandi studio elati, certe omnis methodi quod in iis mirum sit, obliti, omnia permisceant, postrema primis, axiomata Syllo-

Syllogismos eorumque regulas primis quibusque simplicium argumentorum capitibus ingerere soléant, unde caliginem potius discipulis offundi quam lucem ullam præferri necesse est, id mihi cavendum imprimis duxi, ut nequid præiperem, nequid præpostere quasi traditum jam & intellectum, nequid nisi suo loco attingerem; nihil veritus ne cui forte strictior in explicandis præceptis existimer, dum perpendenda magis quam percurrenda proponere studebam. Nec tamen iis facile assenserim, qui paucitatem regularum obijciunt Râmo, quarum permultæ etiam ex Aristotele ab aliis collectæ, nedum quæ ab ipsis cumulo sunt adjectæ, vel incertæ vel futes, discipulum impediunt atque onerant potius quam adjuvant: ac siquid habent utilitatis aut salis, id ejusmodi est, ut suoapte ingenio quivis facilius percipiat, quam tot canonibus memorie in mandatis, addiscat. Multoque minus constitui, canones quidvis potius quam Logicos, à Theologis infercire; quos illi, quasi subornatos in suum usum, tanquam è media Logica petitos, depromant de Deo, divinisque hypostasibus & sacramentis; quorum ratione, quo modo est ab ipsis informata, nihil est à Logica, adeoque ab ipsa ratione, alienius.

Prius autem quam opus ipsum aggredior, quoniam ars Logica omnium prima est suisque finibus latissime patet, præmittam quædam de arte generalia, deque artium distributione; artem deinde ipsam persequar: ad extremum, Analytica quædam exempla, sive usum artis, exercitationis causa, iis quibus opus est, & in eo genere exercere se libet, exhibebo: Quibus opus est inquam; quibus enim ingenium per se viget atque pollet, iis ut in hoc genere Analytico cum labore nimio ac miseria se torqueant, non sum author. Ad id enim ars adhibetur, ut naturam juvet, non ut impediat: adhibita nimis anxie nimisque subtiliter, & præsertim ubi opus non est, ingenium per se jam satis acutum, obtundit potius quam acuit; ita plane ut in medicina remedium usus vel nimius vel non necessarius, valetudinem debilitat potius quam roborat. Quod autem Aristotelis aliorumque veterum auctoritatem ad singulas fere Logicæ regulas adjungimus, id quidem in tradenda arte supervacuum fuisset, nisi novitatis suspicio, quæ Petro Râmo hætenus potissimum obfuit, adductis ipsis veterum authorum testimoniis, esset amolienda.

Artium omnium quasi corpus & comprehensio *ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία* Græce, i. e. eruditionis circuitus quidam in se redeuntis, adeoque in se absolutæ atque perfectæ, vel Philosophia dicitur. Hæc cum sapientie studium proprie significat, tum vulgo artium omnium vel doctrinam, vel scientiam: doctrinam, cum præcepta artium tradit; scientiam, cum ars, quæ habitus est quidam mentis, præceptis illis percipitur, quasi que possidetur. Eodem modo & artis significatio distinguitur: cum doctrinam significat, de qua nobis potissimum hic est agendum, est ordinata præceptorum exemplorumque comprehensio sive methodus, qua quidvis utile docetur.

Artis materia præcepta sunt: quæ qualia esse debeant, artis Logicæ, quam nunc tradimus, proprium est suo loco præscribere.

Forma sive ipsa ratio artis, non tam est præceptorum illorum methodica dispositio, quam utilis alicujus rei præceptio: per id enim quod docet potius, quam per ordinem docendi, ars est id quod est: quod ex cujusque artis definitione perspicitur, ut infra ostendetur.

Præceptorum artis tria genera sunt: duo præcipua "definitiones & distributiones;" quarum doctrinam generalem Logica etiam loco idoneo sibi vendicat; tertium, minus principale, "confectarium" nominatur; estque proprietatis alicujus explicatio, ex definitione fere deducta.

Exempla sunt quibus præceptionum veritas demonstratur, ususque ostenditur: suntque, ut scite Plato, quasi obsides sermonum: quod enim præcepto in genere docetur, id exemplo in specie confirmatur.

Efficiens artis primarius neminem reor dubitare quin sit Deus, author omnis sapientie: id olim Philosophos etiam non fugit.

Causæ ministræ fuerunt homines divinitus edocti, ingenioque præstantes; qui olim singulas artes invenerunt. Inveniendi autem ratio eadem prope fuit quæ pingendi: ut enim in pictura duo sunt, exemplum sive archetypus, & ars pingendi, sic in arte inveniendi, archetypo respondet natura sive usus, & exemplum hominum peritorum, arti pictoris respondet Logica; saltem naturalis, quæ facultas ipsa rationis in mente hominis est; juxta illud vulgo dictum, Ars imitatur naturam.

Ratio autem sive Logica, primum illa naturalis, deinde artificiosa, quatuor adhibuit sibi quasi adjutores, teste Aristot. Metaphys. I. c. I. sensum, observationem, inductionem, & experientiam. Cum enim præcepta artium generalia sint, ea nisi ex singularibus, singularia nisi sensu percipi non possunt: sensus sine observatione, quæ exempla singula memoriæ committat, observatio sine inductione, quæ singularia quam plurima inducendo generalem aliquam regulam constituat, inductio sine experientia, quæ singulorum omnium convenientiam in commune & quasi consensum judicet, nihil juvat. Hinc recte Polus apud Platonem in "Gorgia, experientia artem peperit, imperitia fortunam," i. e. præcepta fortuita, adeoque incerta. "Et Aristot. Prior. I. c. 30. cujusque rei principia tradere, experientiæ est: sic Astrologica experientia, illius scientiæ" principia suppeditavit. "Et Manilius;

Per varios usus artem experientia fecit,
Exemplo monstrante viam ———

"Et Cicero; omnia quæ sunt conclusa nunc artibus, dispersa quondam & dissipata fuerunt, donec adhibita hæc ars est, quæ res dissolutas divulsasque conglutinet & ratione quadam constringeret." Ea ars Logica est, vel hæc saltem naturalis, quam ingenitam habemus, vel illa artificiosa, quam mox tradimus: hæc enim præcepta artis invenit ac docet. Hactenus de efficientibus causis artium.

Forma artis, ut supra dixi, non tam præceptorum dispositio est, quam præceptio ipsa rei alicujus utilis, eademque est finis. Quemadmodum, enim non tam præceptorum Logicorum methodica dispositio quam ipsum bene differere, & forma Logicæ & finis est, ut infra docebitur, ita in genere non solum præceptorum dispositio, sed ipsa rei utilis præceptio, forma artis & simul finis est: quod autem præcipitur, id esse utile in hominum vita debere, quod Græci, *βιοφελές* vocant, omnes consentiunt; indignamque esse artis nomine, quæ non bonum aliquod sive utile ad vitam hominum, quod idem quoque honestum sit, sibi proponat, ad quod omnia præcepta artis referantur; adeoque formam artis esse rei alicujus utilis præceptionem, per quam scilicet ars est id quod est, necessario sequitur. Verum ad hunc finem perveniri non potest, nisi doctrinam natura commode percipiat, exercitatio confirmet, utræque simul doctrina & exercitatio artem quasi alteram naturam reddant. Sed ingenium sine arte, quam ars sine ingenio plus proficere censetur: proficere autem non admodum utrumque nisi accesserit exercitatio: unde illud Ovidii;

Solut, & artificem qui facit, usus erit.

Exercitatio duplex est; analysis & genesis. Illa est, cum exempla artis in sua principia quasi resolvuntur: dum singulis partibus ad normam, i. e. ad præcepta artis examinantur: hæc, cum ex artis præscripto efficimus aliquid aut componimus.

Hactenus causæ artium: sequuntur species. Artes sunt generales vel speciales: generales, quarum materia subjecta est generalis. Materia autem illa vel artificis est, vel artis. Artificis materia generalis generalibus cunctis artibus est communis; artis autem, singularum est propria: estque artificis quidem generalis materia, omne id quod revera est, aut esse fingitur; artis, quod in eo omni efficiunt singulæ. Id omne
vel

vel ratio complectitur, vel oratio: generalium itaque artium materia generalis, vel ratio est, vel oratio: versantur enim in excolenda vel ratione ad bene ratiocinandum, ut Logica; vel oratione, eaque vel ad bene loquendum, ut Grammatica, vel ad dicendum bene, ut Rhetorica. Omnium autem prima ac generalissima, Logica est; dein Grammatica, tum demum Rhetorica; quatenus rationis usus sine oratione etiam magnus, hujus sine illa potest esse nullus. Grammaticæ autem secundum tribuimus locum, eo quod oratio pura esse etiam inornata; ornata esse nisi pura sit prius, facile non queat.

Artes speciales sunt, quæ materiam habent specialem; nempe naturam fere vel mores: earum enim accuratior distributio non est hujus loci.

ARTIS LOGICÆ

Plenior Institutio, &c.

LIBER PRIMUS.

CAPUT I.

Quid sit Logica?

Logica est ars bene ratiocinandi. Eodémque sensu Dialectica sæpe dicta est. Logica autem, i. e. ars rationalis, ἀ λόγῳ dicitur: quæ vox Græcè rationem significat; quam excolendam Logica sibi sumit. Ratiocinari autem est rationis uti facultate. Additur bene, i. e. rectè, scienter, expeditè; ad perfectionem artis ab imperfectione facultatis naturalis distinguendam.

Logicam potius, quàm cum P. Ramo Dialecticam, dicendam duxi, quòd eo nomine tota ars rationis aptissimè significetur; cùm Dialectica à verbo Græco διαλέγεσθαι, artem potius interrogandi & respondendi, i. e. disputandi significet; ut ex Platonis Cratylo, ex doctrina Peripateticorum & Stoicorum, Fabio, Suida, aliisque docetur. Et tamen Plato in Alcibiade primo idem vult esse τὸ διαλέγεσθαι, quod ratione uti. Prior significatio ad rationis usum nimis angusta est; posterior, si inter authores de ea con convenit, nimis incerta.

Ratiocinandi autem potius dico quàm differendi, propterea quòd ratiocinari, non minus late quàm ipsa ratio, idem valet propriè quod ratione uti; cùm differere, præterquam quod vox non planè propria, sed translata sit, non latius plerumque pateat, quam disputare.

Addunt nonnulli in definitione subjectum Dialecticæ, i. e. de re qualibet: sed hoc cum Grammatica & Rhetorica commune Dialecticæ fuit, ut in procemio vidimus; non ergo hic repetendum.

CAP. II.

De partibus Logicæ, deque Argumenti Generibus.

Ratiocinatio autem fit omnis, rationibus vel solis & per se consideratis, vel inter se dispositis; quæ argumenta etiam sæpius dicta sunt.

Logicæ itaque partes duæ sunt; rationum five argumentorum inventio, eorumque dispositio.

Secutus

Secutus veteres Ramus, Aristotelem, Ciceronem, Fabium, Dialecticam partitur in inventionem & iudicium. Verum non inventio, quæ nimis lata est quocunque modo sumatur, sed argumentorum inventio, pars prima Logicæ dicenda est; dispositio autem eorum, cur sit secunda, non iudicium, secundi libri initio respondebimus. Sed neque hæc partitio suis auctoribus vel iisdem vel aliis caret: Plato, in Phædro, dispositionem inventioni addidit; Aristoteles τὰξιν; Top. 8. 1. quod idem est. Et Cicero, de Orat. fatetur, inventionem & dispositionem, non orationis esse, sed rationis.

Inventionem autem & dispositionem quarum tandem rerum nisi argumentorum.

Argumentorum itaque inventio Topica Græcè nominatur; quia τόπος continet, i. e. locos unde argumenta sumuntur, viamque docet & rationem argumenta bene inveniendi, suo nimirum ordine collocata; unde vel ad genesin expromantur, vel in analysi explorentur, inventorumque simul vim atque usum exponit.

“Argumentum est quod ad aliquid arguendum affectum est.” Id est, quod habet affectionem ad arguendum; vel ut Cic. in Top. quod affectum est ad id de quo quæritur: id interpretatur Boethius refertur, vel aliqua relatione respicit id de quo quæritur.

Ista affectione sublatâ, argumentum non est; mutatâ, non est idem; sed ipsum quoque mutatur.

Ad arguendum autem, i. e. ostendendum, explicandum, probandum aliquid. Sic juxta illud tritum, “degeneres animos timor arguit, Æneid 4. & illud Ovidii; Apparet virtus, arguiturque malis.” Explicare autem & probare etiam simplicis argumenti propria atque primaria vis est, unde aliud ex alio sequi, vel non sequi, i. e. uno posito, alterum poni vel non poni primitus judicatur: quod de inductione quidem recte monuit Baconus noster, de Augment. scient. l. 5. c. 4. “uno eodémque mentis opere, illud quod quæritur, & inveniri & judicari;” sed hoc de singulis argumentis simplicibus non minus verum est.

Ex quo etiam sequitur, iudicium non esse alteram Logicæ partem, sed quasi effectum utriusque partis communem & ex utraque oriundum; Ex syllogismo in re præsertim dubia clarius quidem at secundario tamen contra ac plerique docent.

Aliquid autem, est id quodcunque arguitur: quicquid enim est, aut esse fingitur, subjectum est Logicæ, ut supra demonstravimus. Argumentum autem propriè neque vox est neque res; sed affectio quædam rei ad arguendum; quæ ratio dici potest ut supra.

Tractat igitur Logica neque voces, neque res. Voces quidem, quamquam & sine vocibus potest ratiocinari, tamen, quoties opus est, distinctas & tantum non ambiguas, non improprias, ab ipso usu loquendi videtur jure sanè postulare: res ipsas artib. quasque suis relinquit; arguendi duntaxat inter se quam habeant affectionem sive rationem considerat.

Ratio autem dicitur, voce à Mathematicis petita, qua terminorum proportionalium inter se certa habitudo significatur.

“Argumentum est artificiale aut inartificiale. Sic Aristot. Rhet. 1. 12.” quem Fabius sequitur, l. 5. c. 1. Cicero in “insitum” & “assumptum” dividit. Artificiale autem dicitur, non quo inveniatur arte magis quam inartificiale, sed quod ex sese arguit, i. e. vi insita ac propria.

“Artificiale est primum, vel à primo ortum. Primum, quod est suæ originis.” Id est, affectionem arguendi non modò in se habet, sed etiam à se; quod infra clarius patebit; cum quid sit à “primo ortum” docebitur.

“Primum est simplex aut comparatum.

“Simplex, quod simpliciter & absolute consideratur.” Id est, simplicem habet affectionem arguendi id quod arguitur, sine quantitatis aut qualitatis cum eo comparatione.

“Simplex est consentaneum aut dissentaneum.”

Nam quæ sine comparatione considerantur, necesse est vel consentiant inter se, vel dissentiant.

“Consentaneum est quod consentit cum re quam arguit.” Id est, ponit, sive affirmat esse rem quam arguit.

“Estque consentaneum absolute aut modo quodam.” Absolute, i. e. perfecte; absolute enim est perficere. Aristotelis quoque hæc distributio est. Quæ autem absolute consentiunt, eorum alterum alterius vi existere intelligitur; & sic consentiunt causa & effectus. Atque hæ sunt argumentorum distributiones generales ex affectionum differentiis desumptæ; suoque nunc ordine singulatim tractandæ: argumentorum autem omnium primum causa est; id quod per se quivis intelligere potest.

C A P. III.

De Efficiente, procreante, & conservante.

“Causa est, cujus vi res est.” Vel, si ex capite superiore, quod intelligi memoriamque teneri potest, repetito est opus, causa est argumentum artificiale, primum, simplex, absolute consentaneum, cujus vi, vel facultate, res, i. e. effectum, arguitur esse vel existere. Nec male definiatur causa “quæ dat esse rei.”

Cujus autem vi vel facultate, i. e. à quò, ex quo, per quod, vel propter quod res est, id causa esse dicitur. “Res” etiam, idem quod “aliquid” in definitione argumenti, vox generalis adhibetur, quæ significaret causam, sicut & reliqua argumenta, esse rerum omnium quæ vel sunt, vel finguntur: nam quæ revera sunt, veras; quæ finguntur, fictas causas habent.

Hinc intelligitur “causam sine qua non,” quæ vulgò dicitur, improprie causam, & quasi fortuito, dici: ut cum amissio rei alicujus dicitur causa recuperationis; quamvis amissio recuperationem necessario præcedat. Neque enim causa sic intelligi debet, id quod & Cicero docuit, l. de Fato, ut quod cuique antecedit, id ei causa sit, sed quod cuique efficienter antecedit; i. e. ita ut res vi ejus existat. Hinc causa proprie dicta, “principium” quoque nominatur à Cic. 1. de Nat. Deor. sed frequentius apud Græcos.

Causa autem est cujus vi res non solum est, verum etiam fuit, vel erit. Ut enim præcepta Logica de omni re, sic omnium præcepta artium de omni tempore intelligenda sunt; unde & æterna esse, veritatesque æternæ dicuntur.

Ex definitione autem causæ tertium illud artis præceptum, de quo in præfatione diximus, confectarium hoc oritur: “primus hic locus inventionis, fons est omnis scientiæ; sciri que demum creditur cujus causa teneatur.”

Neque aliud est Aristotelis decantata illa demonstratio, quam qua effectum arguitur, probatur, cognoscitur, ponitur, ex causa posita; quodcumque illud demum causæ genus sit: ut cum risibile probatur ex rationali, quippe, omnis homo est risibilis, quia rationalis: eoque erit clarior demonstratio, quo causa certior, propior, præstantior.

“Causa est efficiens & materia, aut forma & finis.” Cur sic causa dividatur quasi in duo genera anonyma, infra in doctrina distributionis facilius intelligitur.

Quot autem modis alicujus vi res est, tot esse species causæ statuendum est. Modis autem quatuor alicujus vi res est; ut rectè Aristot. Phys. 2. 7. & nos supra diximus; vel enim à quo, vel ex quo, vel per quod, vel propter quod res unaquæque est, ejus vi esse rectè dicitur. His modis nec plures inveniuntur, nec pauciores esse possunt: rectè igitur causa distribuitur in causam à qua, ex qua, per quam, & propter quam, i. e. efficientem & materiam, aut formam, & finem.

“Efficiens

“Efficiens est causa, à qua res est, vel efficitur.” Ab efficiente enim principium movendi est; ipsa tamen effecto non inest.

Ciceroni omnis causa “efficiens” nominatur: sic enim in Topicis; “primus est locus rerum efficientium, quæ causæ appellantur:” & de Fato; “causa est quæ id efficit, cujus est causa.” Hinc fit ut “causatum,” à causis licet omnib. ortum habens, “effectum” tantummodo vocitetur: unde hoc solum intelligitur, efficientem esse causam præcipuam atque primariam; omnem autem causam aliquo modo efficere.

“Efficientis etsi, vera genera nulla sive species nobis apparent, ubertas tamen permagna modis quibusdam distinguitur.”

“Primò, quòd procreet, aut tueatur.”

Sic pater & mater procreant; nutrix tuetur. Huc quoque omnium rerum inventores, auctores, conditores, conservatores referendi sunt. Procreare igitur & tueri duo sunt modi quibus idem sæpe efficiens efficere solet: procreando quidem id quod nondum est, ut sit; conservando autem id quod jam est, ut porro sit.

C A P. IV.

De Efficiente sola, & cum aliis.

“**S**ecundò, causa efficiens sola efficit, aut cum aliis. Earumque omnium sæpe alia principalis, alia minus principalis, sive adjuvans & ministra.” Quam Cicero, in Partit. “causam conficientem” vocat: & ejus, inquit, generis vis varia est, & sæpe aut major aut minor; ut & illa quæ maximam vim habet, sola sæpe causa dicatur. Hinc, Æneid. 2. “Nysus” ab “Euryalo” socio transfert in se factæ cædis & culpam & pœnam: quasi solus auctor fuerit, quia fuit præcipuus. Et solitaria causa cum plerisque & principalibus & fociis, pro “Marcello,” variè adhibetur. Sed hæc duo exempla vide post finem in praxi analytica.

Causa minus principalis (ut quidam volunt) vel est impulsiva, quæ principalem quoquo modo impellit ac movet, vel est instrumentalis.

Impulsiva duplex est Græcisque vocibus receptis, “proegumena” dicitur, vel “procatactica.” Illa, intus, hæc extrinsecus movet principalem: & vera si est, “occafio;” si ficta, “prætextus” dicitur.

Sic causa proeg. quæ intus movebat infideles ad perfequendum Christianos (exemplis enim receptis hîc utemur) erat eorum ignorantia aut impietas, causa procat. erant nocturni conventus, vel potius quævis conventicula Christianorum. Olim interficiendi Christi causa proeg. erat Judæorum zelus ignarus: procat. objecta sabbathi violatio concionesque seditiosæ. Notandum autem est ubi causa proegumena, sive interna, non est, ibi causæ procatacticæ, sive externæ, vim nullam esse.

Ad causam autem procatacticam, ea sæpe referenda videtur, si omnino est in causis numeranda, quæ suprâ dicta est “causa sine qua non;” siquidem quovis modo causam extrinsecus movere principalem dici potest.

“Instrumenta etiam in causis adjuvantibus connumerantur.” Quo argumento Epicureus, apud Cic. 1. de nat. deor. disputat mundum nunquam esse factum: hoc etiam exemplum ad praxin retulimus. Instrumenta autem propriè non agunt, sed aguntur aut adjuvant. Et qui causam adjuvantem nullam nisi instrumenta habent, potest rectè “solitaria causa” dici: quanquam lata admodum instrumenti significatio admittitur; ut apud Aristot. Polit. 1. 3. “instrumenta sunt animata, vel inanimata.” Quo sensu omnes ferè causæ adjuvantes & ministræ possunt “instrumentales” nominari.

Ad hunc locum referendus commodissimè videtur causarum ordo, quo alia dicitur “prima,” idque vel absolutè, ut Deus, vel in suo genere, ut sol, & ejusmodi quipiam;

piam; alia "secunda;" & sic deinceps, quæ à prima vel à prioribus pendet, & quasi effectum est. Alia deinde "remota" dicitur, alia "proxima:" quò spectat illud vulgo dictum, "quicquid est causa causæ, est etiam causa causati." Quæ regula in causis duntaxat necessariò inter se ordinatis valet. Sed hæ causarum divisiones in Logica non magnopere sectandæ sunt; quandoquidem tota vis arguendi in causa proxima continetur; deque ea sola generalis definitio causæ intelligitur.

C A P. V.

De Efficiente per se, & per accidens.

"**T**ertiò, causa efficiens per se efficit, aut per accidens." Tertium hoc per modum efficiendi est, ab Aristotele etiam & veteribus notatum.

"Per se efficit causa, quæ sua facultate efficit." Id est, quæ ab interno principio effectum producit.

"Ut quæ natura vel consilio faciunt." Naturalis efficientia est elementorum, fossilium, plantarum, animalium. Consilii exemplum est illa Ciceronis de se ad Cæsarem confessio: "nulla vi coactus, iudicio meo ac voluntate, ad ea arma profectus sum, quæ erant sumpta contra te."

Naturæ, appetitum; consilio, artem nonnulli adjungunt. Sed appetitus aut ad naturam, aut ad naturæ vitium; ars ad consilium sine incommodo referetur: ars n. & consilium quatenus aliquid efficiunt, non illa ab intellectu, hoc à voluntate; sed ut utrumque ab utroque proficisci videtur: etenim ars ferè non invita, non proximæ saltem invita; & consilium prudens sciensque agit. Hi quatuor modi efficiendi per se, ad eundem nonnunquam effectum concurrunt: ut cum quis loquitur, naturâ; hoc vel illud, consilio simul & appetitu; eleganter, arte.

Videtur itaque huc propriè referenda etiam causa impulsiva, sive ea proegumena, sive procatarctica sit, de quibus capite superiore diximus; quæ non tam causæ sunt principali focicæ aut ministræ quam modi efficientis, quibus vel affectu aliquo impulsus, vel ex occasione aliqua oblata, consilio adductus hoc vel illud agit, ut ex allatis ibi exemplis intelligi potest.

Quæ autem naturâ necessariò, quæ consilio, libere agunt; necessariò agit quæ aliter agere non potest, sed ad unum quidpiam agendum determinatur, idque solum sua propensione agit quæ necessitas naturæ dicitur; ex hypothesi nimirum. Nisi Deus aliud voluerit, aut externa vis aliorsum impulerit, ut Lapidem sursum. Libere agit efficiens non hoc duntaxat ut naturale agens, sed hoc vel illud pro arbitrio, idque absolute vel ex hypothesi. Absolute solus Deus libere agit omnia; id est quicquid vult; & agere potest vel non agere; Testantur hoc passim sacræ literæ: Libere ex hypothesi, illæ duntaxat causæ quæ ratione & consilio faciunt, ut angeli & homines; ex hypothesi nimirum divinæ voluntatis, quæ iis libere agendi potestatem in principio fecit. Libertas enim potestas est agendi vel non agendi hoc vel illud. Nempe nisi Deus aliud voluerit, aut vis aliunde ingruat.

"Per accidens efficit causa, quæ externa facultate efficit." Id est, non sua; cum principium effecti est extra efficientem, externumque principium interno oppositum: sic n. efficiens non efficit per se, sed per aliud. Hinc vere dicitur, "omne effectum causæ per accidens potest reduci ad causam per se."

"Ut in his quæ fiunt coactione, vel fortuna." Duo n. hæc sunt externa principia internis, naturæ nempe & voluntati sive consilio, opposita. Sic Aristot. Rhet. 2. 20. cum dixisset, homines facere quædam non per se, quædam per se; subjungit, "eorum quæ

quæ non per se, alia per fortunam, alia ex necessitate." Sed "necessitas" vox nimis lata est, ut ex supra dictis de efficiente naturali patebit.

Coactione fit aliquid, cum efficiens vi cogitur ad effectum. Ut cum lapis sursum vel recta projicitur qui suapte natura deorsum fertur. Hæc necessitas coactionis dicitur & causis etiam liberis nonnunquam accidere potest. Sic necesse est mercatori in tempestate merces ejicere, siquidem salvus esse vult. Hæc itaque necessitas mixtas quasdam actiones produxit, quas facit quis volens nolente animo, quod aiunt.

"Fortuna sive fortuitò fit aliquid, cum præter scopum efficientis accidit." Non enim fortuna, sed efficiens, quæ per fortunam sive fortuitò agit, est propriè causa per accidens rerum fortuitarum: eò quòd earum principium, occulta nimirum illa causa quam "fortunam" dicimus, extra illum efficientem est: fortuna autem est eventum eorum principium, etsi occultum, non per accidens tamen, sed per se. Fortuna itaque apud veteres aut nomen sine re esse existimabatur, quo usi sunt homines, teste alicubi Hippocrate, cum secundarias contingentium causas ignorarent, aut est ipsa latens causa: ut Cicero in Top. "cum enim nihil sine causa fiat, hoc ipsum est fortuna, eventus obscura causa, quæ latenter efficit." Inter fortunam & casum hæc volunt interessè Aristot. Phys. 2. 6. & Plutarch. de Placit. & de Fato, ut casus quàm fortuna latius pateat: fortunam in iis duntaxat qui ratione utuntur; casus in omnibus tam animantibus quàm inanimatis dominetur: sed loquendi ferè usus fortunæ sub nomine casum etiam complectitur, quotiescunque præter scopum sive finem efficientis aliquid accidit. "Sic casu fortuito," ait Tullius, 3. de nat. deor. "Pheræo Jafoni profuit hostis, qui gladio vomerem ejus aperuit, quam medici sanare non poterant."

"In hoc genere causarum imprudentia connumerari solet." Sic etiam Aristot. Ethic. 3. 1. "videntur non voluntaria esse, quæ per vim aut ignorantiam fiunt." Et Ovid. 2. Trist.

Cur aliquid vidi? cur noxia lumina feci?

Cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi est?

Inscius Actæon vidit sine veste Dianam:

Præda suis canibus nec minus ille fuit.

Scilicet in superis etiam fortuna luenda est:

Nec veniam, læso numine, casus habet.

Durum id esse queritur poeta: "nam cæteroqui hinc sumitur plerumque deprecationis; & excusationi etiam nonnunquam locus hic est." Deprecationis exemplum est apud Cic. pro "Ligario: ignosce pater: erravit; lapsus est: non putavit: Et" paulò post; "erravi: temerè feci: poenitet; ad clementiam tuam confugio."

Fortunæ autem nomen, ut supra dictum est, ignoratio causarum confinxit: cum enim aliquid præter consilium spemque contigerit, fortuna vulgò dicitur. Unde Cicero, apud Lactantium, Instit. 3. 29. "ignoratio rerum atque causarum fortunæ nomen induxit." Nec inscite Juvenalis:

Nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia: sed te

Nos facimus, fortuna, deam; cœloque locamus.

Certè enim & cœlo locanda est; sed, mutato nomine, "divina providentia" dicenda. Unde Arist. Phys. 2. 4. "sunt nonnulli quibus fortuna quidem videtur esse causa, sed ignota humanæ intelligentiæ, tanquam divinum quiddam." Et Cic. Acad. 1. "providentiam Dei quæ ad homines pertinet, nonnunquam quidem fortunam appellant, quod efficiat multa improvisa nec opinata nobis propter obscuritatem ignorantemque causarum." Sed providentia rerum omnium prima causa est, sive notæ sive ignotæ sint earum causæ secundariæ: & providentiæ si necessitatem adjungas,

"fatum"

“fatum” dici solet. Verùm de providentia meliùs Theologia quàm Logico disceptabit. Hoc tantùm obiter; fatum sive decretum Dei cogere neminem malefacere; & ex hypothesi divinæ præscientiæ certa quidem esse omnia, non necessaria. Non excusandus itaque Cicero pro Ligario, cùm ait, “fatalis quædam calamitas incidisse videtur, & improvidas hominum mentes occupavisse; ut nemo mirari debeat humana consilia divina necessitate esse superata.” Multo rectius alibi, “datur quidem venia necessitati; sed necessitati, quæ instituto efficientis repugnat, & voluntati.

C A P. VI.

De Materia.

“**M**ateria est causa ex qua res est.” Efficientem ordine naturæ sequitur materia; & efficientis effectum quoddam est; præparat enim efficiens materiam, ut sit apta ad recipiendam formam. Ut autem efficiens est id quod primum movet, ita id materia quod primum movetur, hinc efficiens, agendi; materia, patiendi principium appellatur. Hæc autem definitio materiæ apud omnes eadem ferè occurrit. “Est causa:” materiæ enim vi effectum est. Illa autem vis particula “ex qua” significatur: quanquam hæc vulgò non materiæ solum nota est, sed nunc efficientis, ut, “ex ictu vulnus:” nunc partium, ut, “homo constat ex anima & corpore;” nunc mutationis cujusvis, ut, “ex candido fit niger. Res:” nempe quam arguit: effectum scilicet materiatum; ut intelligamus materiam etiam esse omnium entium & non entium communem; non rerum sensibilibum & corporearum propriam. Quales autem res ipsæ sunt, talis materia earum esse debet; sensibilibum sensibilis, æternarum æternæ; & ita in reliquis. Sic artium materia sunt præcepta. “Est,” i. e. efficitur & constat: unde Cic. 1. Acad. “materia ea causa est, quæ se efficienti præbet, ut ex sese non modò effectum fiat, sed etiam postquam effectum est, constet.” Hoc argumento ficto, apud Ovid. 2. Metam. solis domus auro, pyropo, ebore, argento componitur. “Regia solis erat,” &c. Sic Cæsar 1. Bell. civil. navium materiam describit: “carinæ primum ac statumina ex levi materia fiebant,” &c.

Dividitur vulgo materia in primam & secundam; secunda in proximam & remotam. Verùm hæc distributio Physica potius est. Id enim solum Logicus in materia spectat, ut res ex ea sit; & potissimum quidem ut proximè ex ea sit; proxima enim potissimum arguit.

C A P. VII.

De Forma.

“**C**ausæ primum genus ejusmodi est in efficiente & materia: secundum sequitur in forma & fine.” Quia scilicet ordine temporis est posterius. Efficiens enim & materia sub genere priore continentur, quòd in effecto producendo præcedunt; forma & finis sub posteriore, quòd efficientem & materiam sequuntur effectumque ipsum comitantur: positis enim efficiente, & materiâ, non continuò sequuntur forma & finis: efficiens enim etsi materia suppetit, forma tamen & fine suo nonnunquam frustratur; forma & finis si adsit, necesse est efficientem & materiam fuisse. Qui autem in usu observatur ordo causarum, idem debet in doctrina quoque observari. Nec tamen ordo
iste

iste ad constituenda causarum genera satis valet, sed aliud quiddam quod nomine caret. Unde meritò non satis accurata videtur illa causarum distributio, quæ affertur Aristotelis, in causas vel effectum præcedentes, ut efficientem & materiam; vel cum effecto simul existentes, ut formam & finem: tametsi enim hæc distributio ordinem causarum servat, naturam tamen earum non distinguit; immo causæ neque convenit, neque propria est: non convenit, quia causa quælibet, ut causa, non præcedit, sed cum effecto simul est. Præcedunt autem utcumque efficiens & materia effectum vel naturæ ordine, vel temporis: si naturæ, id & cum reliquis causis & cum subjectis omnibus commune habent; si temporis, hoc efficiente & materiæ neque omni commune est (quædam enim cum effecto non nisi simul sunt) neque solis iis proprium; nam & subjecta pleraque adjunctis suis tempore priora sunt. Nec fœlicius ab eodem Aristotele dividuntur causæ in externas, efficientem & finem; & internas, materiam & formam: hæc enim distributio etsi usus ejus aliquis esse potest, ad leges tamen artis minus accommodata est: esse enim externum vel internum, non est causis proprium, sed effecto etiam & adjuncto commune. Deinde materia & forma cum intra effectum sunt, non tam causæ quàm partes effecti sunt: quid? quòd finis, quæ perfectio rei est aptitudoque ad usum, internâ potius causa diceretur. Postremò, hæc distributio turbat ordinem causarum, methodi proinde legem: efficiens enim est principium motus & causarum prima; finis, ultima est: si igitur internum externo præmittitur, materia & forma, quæ efficientis quodammodo effecta sunt, efficienti præponentur; si externum interno, finis efficienti, i. e. ultima primæ, adjungetur; mediis, materiæ nempe & formæ, præmittetur. Cautius itaque Ramus atque arti convenientius, causarum genera anonyma reliquit: quod ut ostenderemus, longiuscule cum venia digressi, nunc ad alterum genus causarum, formam & finem, redeamus. Formæ autem est prior locus concedendus, cum finis nihil aliud sit quàm fructus quidam formæ.

“Forma est causa per quam res est id quod est.” Hæc definitio Platoniam & Aristotelicam conjunxit: ille enim definit formam esse causam per quam, hic, quod quid est esse. Ut autem materia, sic etiam forma effectum quoddam efficientis quidem est. Formam enim efficiens & producit nondum existentem, & inducit in materiam: forma autem effecti & causa est, & præcipua quidem, solique effectum arguit, quòd vi formæ potissimum existit. Efficiens enim frustrari formâ, forma effecto non potest. Per quam itaque particula eam causam significat eamque vim, quæ rem sive effectum informat atque constituit. Res enim nulla est quæ suam non habeat formam, nobis licet incognitam.

Res etiam singulæ, sive individua, quæ vulgò vocant, singulas sibi que proprias formas habent; differunt quippe numero inter se, quod nemo non fatetur. Quid autem est aliud numero inter se, nisi singulis formis differre? Numerus enim, ut rectè Scaliger, est affectio essentiam consequens. Quæ igitur numero, essentiâ quoque differunt; & nequaquam numero, nisi essentiâ, differrent. Evigilent hîc Theologi. Quòd si quæcunque numero, essentiâ quoque differunt, nec tamen materiâ, necesse est formis inter se differant; non autem communibus, ergo propriis. Sic anima rationalis, forma hominis in genere est; anima Socratis, forma Socratis propria. “Per quam res est id quod est,” i. e. quæ dat proprium esse rei. Cum enim cujusque ferè rei essentia partim sit communis, partim propria; communem materia constituit, forma propriam. Et per alias quidem causas esse res potest dici; per solam formam “esse id quod est.”

“Ideoque hinc à cæteris rebus omnib. res distinguitur.” Id est, distinctione, quam vocant essentiali: ex sola enim forma est differentia essentialis. Immo quæcunque inter se quovis modo, eadem etiam formis differunt; fonsque omnis differentiæ forma est; nec aliis argumentis inter se res, nisi formis primariò discreparent. Et hoc quidem consectorium ex definitione est primum, sequitur alterum.

“Forma simul cum re ipsa ingeneratur.” Hinc illud verissimum: “positâ formâ, res ipsa ponitur; sublatâ, tollitur.” Ad exempla nunc veniamus. Anima rationalis

est forma hominis, quia per eam homo est homo, & distinguitur à cæteris omnibus naturis: geometricarum figurarum in triangulis, quadrangulis sua forma est: Physicarum, cœli, terræ, arborum, piscium sua.

“ Unde præcipua rerum ut natura est, sic erit explicatio, si possit inveniri.” Tertium hoc confectarium est ex definitione formæ. Unde illud quod de causa in communi supradictum est, nempe fontem esse omnis scientiæ, formæ potissimum convenire intelligitur. Quæ enim causa essentiam præcipuè constituit, eadem si nota sit, scientiam quoque potissimum facit. Sed formam internam cujusque rei nosse, à sensibus, ut ferè fit, remotissimam, difficile admodum est. In artificiosis autem rebus forma, utpote externa, sensibûsque exposita, facilius occurrit; ut apud Cæsarem de bell. Gall. 1. 7. “muri autem omnes Gallici hæc ferè forma sunt,” &c. Sic forma Virgiliani portus explicatur, *Æneid.* 1. “est in secessu longo locus,” &c.

Distributio autem formæ nulla vera est. Nam quod nonnulli internam vel externam esse volunt, ea distributio neque ad res omnes, sed tantum ad corporeas pertinebit; & externa non minus essentialis cuique rei est artificiosæ, quàm interna naturali.

C A P. VIII.

De Fine.

“**F**inis est causa cujus gratia res est.” Sic etiam “Aristoteles, *Phil.* 1. 3. quarta causa est cujus & bonum: hoc enim generationis omnis finis est.” Cum enim efficiens affectus est finem, in eo acquiescit, actionique suæ finem imponit. Finis itaque est causarum ultima. Verum ut rectè “Aristot. *Phys.* 2. 2. non omne ultimum finalis causa est, sed quod est optimum:” Finis enim vel terminum rei significat, vel bonum rei; sicut & terminus est vel durationis, vel magnitudinis aut figuræ. Finalis autem causa non est nisi bonum quid; eodemque sensu finis & bonum dicitur; verumne an apparens, ad vim causæ nihil interest. Sic etiam Aristot. *Phys.* 2. 3. idemque in *Eth.* passim: mali etiam evitatio habet rationem boni. Nonnulli tamen inter finem & finalem causam ita distinguunt, ut finis sit usus rei, finalis autem causa de usu cogitatio. Atqui non cogitatio, sed res, i. e. finis ipse effecti causa finalis vera est: nam de materia quoque & de forma prius cogitatur, sine hac tamen distinctione: cogitatur etiam de causa impulsiva, eaque movet efficientem, nec tamen finalis causa dici potest; cum eam efficiens non appetat, sed sæpius aversetur, quoties affectus aut habitus aliquis pravus ad bonum aliquod apparens consequendum impellit. Idemque finis in animo efficientis primus, in opere atque effecto est postremus. Dum autem in animo tantum efficientis est, & nondum obtinetur, nondum sanè existit; cum nondum existit, causa esse quæ potest? Cum itaque vulgò dicitur, finis quatenus efficientem quasi suadendo movet ut materiam paret, eique formam inducat, non modò effecti, verum etiam causarum causa earumque optima est, id improprie & per anticipationem quandam dicitur. In opere autem & usu licet sæpe sit ultimus, aptitudine tamen ad usum nisi simul cum forma & tempore & naturâ esse intelligatur, erit posterior effecto per formam jam constituto, & adjunctum potius effecti quàm causa. Sic non habitatio, sed ad habitandum, aptitudo, quæ cum inducta forma simul & tempore & naturâ est, proprius finis domus est statuentis, rei que perfectio & formæ quasi fructus est. Hinc Græci non modò τελῶν perficio, à τέλει, i. e. finis deducunt, sed etiam perfectum τελειον, à fine vocant, teste Aristotele, *Phil.* 8. 24.

Vis autem propria qua finalis causa aliis ab causis distinguitur, his verbis, “cujus gratia,” exprimitur; ut & aliis etiam particulis, nempe “cujus causa, ad, ob, pro, propter,

propter, quo, quorsum," & similibus. Ne autem est nota illius finis, qui in mali aliqujus vitatione versatur. Finis autem dicitur non eorum solum qui finem sibi proponunt, i. e. efficientium rationalium, sed eorum quæcunque ad finem referuntur, i. e. quorumvis effectorum. Sic Physicis rebus finis homo propositus est, homini Deus. Quod nec ignoravit Aristoteles, *Phys.* 2. 2. rebus, inquit, " utimur, quasi nostra causa essent omnia: nam & nos quodammodo finis sumus." Deum esse omnium finem docet sapiens " *Hebræus*, *Proverb.* 16. 4. Deus propter se fecit omnia." Omnium artium est aliquod summum bonum & finis extremus; quæ & earum forma est: ut Grammaticæ, bene loqui; Rhetoricæ, bene dicere; Logicæ, bene ratiocinari.

Quod autem forma finis quoque esse potest, testatur haud semel Aristoteles, *Phil.* 8. 24. & *Phys.* 2. 7, 8. Et Plato in *Philebo*, essentiam sive formam rei, generationis finem statuit: unde *Arist.* de part. 1. 1. idem.

Ut formæ, ita & finis distributio vera nulla est: quæ vulgò efferuntur, non sunt logici finis distributiones, sed specialium finium pro varietate effectorum distinctiones. Distinguitur ab Aristotele, de *Anima*, 1. 2. 4. " finis cuius, & finis cui:" finis cuius, est finis operæ, sive operandi; finis cui, est finis ipsius operis: e. g. in domo ædificanda; finis cuius, sive operæ, est domus; finis cui, sive ipsius operis, i. e. domus ædificatæ, est aptitudo ad habitationem.

Afferuntur & aliæ distributiones finis, quæ ad finem cui pertinent ut ex *Aristot.* *Mag. mor.* 1. 2. " finis alius est perfectus, alius imperfectus;" vel, quod idem est, ex aliis, " finis est summus, aut subordinatus." Summus autem est, qui propter se expetitur: estque vel universalis, omnib. scilicet rebus communis, vel specialis, cuique speciei peculiaris & proprius. Subordinatus autem non tam finis est, quam destinatum quiddam ad finem: & esse summum vel subordinatum, esse universale vel speciale, ad alia æque argumenta pertinet, atque ad finem. Postremò, lex distributionis jubet partes distributionis esse oppositas: at inter summum & subordinatum oppositio nulla est. Ad omnes igitur omnium rerum fines intelligendos, unica finis definitio satis est; ut id sit cuius gratia res est: utrum autem sit summus an subordinatus, universalis an specialis, id Logica non spectat, sed inferioribus quibuscunque disciplinis relinquit.

C A P. IX.

De Effecto.

" **E**ffectum est, quod è causis existit." Effectum cum sit vi omnium causarum, à causa tamen principe, scilicet efficiente, effectum denominatur. Sed quoniam, si propriè loquimur, effectum ab efficiente solo efficitur, omnium autem causarum vi est, idcirco non definitur ex denominatione quòd à causis efficitur, sed ex re potius, i. e. ex communi causarum vi, quod è causis est vel existit. Jam illud hîc monendum est, ex cap. 2. quod in causa explicanda monuimus, effectum esse argumentum absolute cum causa sive causæ consentaneum, i. e. causam absolutè arguere; ita ut quemadmodum posita causa, ponitur effectum; sic posito effecto, ponatur causa: ut enim causæ dant esse effecto, ita effectum esse suum habet à causis, i. e. ab efficiente, ex materia, per formam, propter finem existit. Effectum igitur causas arguit, & ab iis vicissim arguitur; sed non pari ratione: effectum enim arguit causam esse aut fuisse, Græcis *οτι*; causa autem, quare sit effectum demonstrat, Græcis *διότι*. Causæ sunt priores & notiores effectum, ut posterius, ita minus arguit. Sic argentum materia poculi, magis arguit & manifestum reddit naturam poculi, quàm poculum argenti. Interdum autem effecta, non per se quidem, sed nobis notiora, clarius causas arguunt, quàm arguuntur à causis. Sic etiam " *Aristoteles*, *Post.* 1. 10. nihil prohibet eorum quæ se reciprocè arguunt," ut causa & effectum, " id notius nonnunquam esse quod non est causa."

“Sive igitur gignatur, sive corrumpatur, sive modo quolibet, moveatur quidlibet, hic motus & res motu facta effectum dicitur.” Ut causarum modi quidem fuere, ita nunc effectorum quidam his verbis ostenduntur. Modi effectorum generales sunt, vel speciales. Generales sunt vel motus quilibet, quæ “operatio & actio” dicitur; vel res motu factæ, quæ sunt opera. Modi speciales, sive exempla specialia, sunt “generatio, corruptio & similia” à Physicis petita. Causa enim corrumpens est causa procreans corruptionis. Notandum autem est hîc rem quamlibet, non motam, sed “motu factam, Effectum” dici; nulla enim res corrupta corrumpenti contraria est.

Hujus loci sunt laudes & vituperationes, quarum pleni sunt libri sacri & prophani. A factis enim quisque potissimum laudatur & vituperatur.

Huc etiam dicta scriptaque referenda sunt; consilia item & deliberationes, etiam si ad exitum perductæ non fuerint. Neque enim facta solum, sed etiam consulta & cogitata pro effectis habenda sunt.

“Sunt etiam effecta virtutum & vitiorum.” Horatius hoc modò ebrietatis effecta describit:

Quid non ebrietas designat? operta recludit, &c.

Volunt hîc plerique Rami interpretes motûs doctrinam, utpote rei generalis, ad Logicam pertinere; sed non rectè. Quid enim potest Logica docere de motu, quod naturale & physicum non sit. Scientias, inquiunt, ex Aristot. Phys. 8. 3. “& opiniones; motu uti omnes.” Utuntur quidem, sed ex natura, quam physica docet, petito. Sic logica ratione utitur, nec tamen rationis naturam, sed ratiocinandi artem docet. Omnis quidem causa movet, effectum movetur; nec tamen quid moveat aut moveatur, sed quid arguat aut arguatur Logicus considerat. Ipsum etiam “arguere & argui” non quatenus motus est, aut res motu facta, sed quatenus relatione quadam arguendi vel facultatem ratiocinandi juvat vel artem tradit, ad Logicam pertinet.

Duos hîc canones causæ & effecti communes, quamvis in Physica potius quàm in Logica tractandos, ut multa alia quæ Aristotelici congerere huc solent, tamen quia sæpe occurrunt & fallaces sunt, appendiculæ in modum libet cum suis cautionibus hîc attingere. Primus est, “qualis causa, tale causatum:” ex Aristot. 2 Top. c. 9. Quod verum non est primò in causis per accidens: ut, “hic futor est vir bonus;” at non ergo “bonos consuit calceos;” potest enim esse futor non bonus. Secundò, non in causis universalibus: ut, “sol omnia calefacit;” at non “idcirco ipse est calidus.” Tertiò, non in causis voluntariis, nisi velint. Quartò, si res in qua effectum est producendum, id per naturam suam recipere non potest.

Canon secundus est, “propter quod unumquodque est tale, illud est magis tale:” Arist. 1 Post. c. 2. Scilicet primò rursus in causis per se: ut, “hic est ebrius;” non ergo “vinum magis ebrium.” Secundò, si id à quo tales denominantur utrique insit: ut, “cera fit mollis à sole;” non “ergo sol est mollior.” Tertiò, si causa illa recipiat magis & minus: non “ergo si filius est homo propter patrem, pater propterea magis homo.” Sed canon hic valet præcipuè in causis finalibus: ut, “hic studiis dat operam propter quæstum; quæstui igitur studet magis.

C A P. X.

De Subjecto.

“Argumentum modo quodam consentaneum succedit, ut subjectum & adjunctum.” Absoluta enim consensio causæ & effecti hanc modo quodam consensum subjecti & adjuncti meritò præcessit. Modo quodam consentire cum re quam arguunt dicuntur, quæ leviter & extrinsecus tantum consentiunt, i. e. citra rationem essentiae; cum non ut causa effecto, ita subjectum det esse adjuncto; neque hoc ab illo essen-

essentiam accipiat. De subjecto prius est agendum: etenim subjectum omne suis adjunctis naturâ prius est, & quodammodo se habet ad adjunctum, ut causa ad effectum.

“ Subjectum est, cui aliquid adjungitur.” Hoc argumentum “ Cicero rem subjectam” appellat, quia nimirum alicui subjicitur; subjici autem id dicitur, cui, cum ex causis constitutum jam est, aliquid tanquam additamentum quoddam præter causas adjungitur: adjungitur itaque aliquid, quod alteri, nempe subjecto, perfecto jam suisque causis constituto, extrinsecus sive præter essentiam accedit. Subjectum ergo est quod ad aliquid arguendum est affectum, quod sibi præter illam essentiam, quam e causis habet, insuper accedit.

Ut causa, ita & subjectum suos quosdam habet modos: subjici enim aliquid dicitur vel recipiendo adjuncta vel occupando. Unde subjectum distingui potest in recipiens, quod Græce *δεκτικόν* appellant, & occupans quod objectum dici solet, quia in eo adjuncta occupantur. Recipiens vel in se recipit adjuncta, vel ad se: recipiens in se adjuncta, vel sustinet ea & quasi sustentat, quæ idcirco insita & inhærentia appellantur, vel continet, ut locus locatum.

Primus ergo modus est cum subjectum recipit adjuncta insita sive inhærentia. Sic anima est subjectum scientiæ, ignorantiae, virtutis, vitii; quia hæc animæ adjunguntur, i. e. præter essentiam accedunt: corpus sanitatis, morbi, roboris, infirmitatis, pulchritudinis, deformitatis; quia corpori quidem insunt, sed præter essentiam.

Secundus modus est subjecta adjuncta in se continentis, i. e. loci. Sic locus est subjectum rei locatæ, sive in quo res locata continetur. Sic Philosophi divinis entibus, licet parte & magnitudine carentibus, attribuunt locum. Sic Geometræ locum locique differentias in rebus Geometricis. Physici multo etiam diligentius in rebus Physicis considerant, in mundo, in elementis simplicibus, in rebus compositis. Hinc nonnulli Dialectici suæ artis amplificandæ studio, ut motus, ita loci doctrinam in Logica tractandam esse contendunt. Verum cum locus externa sit affectio cujusvis naturæ sive corporeæ sive incorporeæ, miror quid illis, Rami præsertim discipulis, in mentem venerit, ut cum argumenta, i. e. non res, sed rationes subjectum esse Logicæ doceant; res tamen aut rerum naturalium affectiones, motum, locum, tempus in Logica tractandas esse statuerent. Locus inquit omnium omnino rerum communis est: ergo, inquam, ad artem aliquam non corporum duntaxat, sed rerum naturalium omnium sive Physicam, universalem, non ad Logicam pertinet: quæ non quid sit Locus, spatiumne an superficies corporis ambientis, sed quomodo arguat rem locatam, id solum considerat; nempe ut subjectum arguit adjunctum.

Tertius modus est subjecti ad vel circa se recipientis adjuncta; quæ idcirco “ adjacentia & circumstantiæ” appellantur. Sic homo est subjectum divitiarum, paupertatis, honoris, infamiæ, vestitus, comitatus, & eorum ferè quæ dicuntur “ antecedentia, concomitantia, consequentia,” si quam omnino affectionem inter se habent non necessariam; quæ causarum & effectorum quæque ab his orta sunt argumentorum affectio duntaxat esse solet. Hactenus de subjecto recipiente.

Quartus modus est subjecti occupantis, in quo nimirum adjunctum occupatur & exercetur: atque hoc propriè objectum dicitur. Sic sensilia sensuum, & res virtutibus ac vitiis propositæ, subjecta vitiorum & virtutum hoc modo nominantur. Color est subjectum visus, sonus subjectum auditus; quia hi sensus in his sensilibus occupantur & exercentur. Virtutes & vitia declarantur in Ethicis hoc argumento: temperantia & intemperantia, voluptate; fortitudo & ignavia, periculis; liberalitas & avaritia divitiis. Sic res numerabilis Arithmeticæ; mensurabilis, ut ita dicam, Geometriæ subjicitur. Ejusmodi subjecto Cicero 2 Agrar. disputat, inter Campanos nullam contentionem esse, quia nullus sit honor: “ Non gloriæ cupiditate,” ait, “ efferebantur, propterea quod ubi honos publicè non est, ibi cupiditas gloriæ esse non potest,” &c.

C A P.

C A P. XI.

De Adjuncto.

“**A** Djunctum est cui aliquid subjicitur,” vel quod affectum est ad arguendum subiectum. Doctrina adjuncti doctrinæ subiecti per omnia respondet. Cicero hoc argumentum “adjunctum” & “conjunctum” vocat. Ab Aristotele, Accidens vocatur, nec male. Quicquid enim ulli subiecto extrinsecus accidit, sive fortuito sive non, adjunctum ejus est. Animi, corporisque & totius hominis bona & mala, quæ dicuntur, adjuncta sunt animi, corporis, hominis.

Cùm igitur adjunctum subiecto præter essentiam accedat, non mutatur ejus accessione vel decessione essentia subiecti, neque aliud inde fit subiectum, sed alio duntaxat modo se habet. Unde & modi, qui dicuntur, in adjunctis numerandi sunt. Sic in causis “procreare” & “tueri,” modi, ut suprâ dictum est, sive adjuncta quædam vel efficientis vel efficiendi sunt.

“Hoc argumentum etsi subiecto est levius, attamen est copiosius & frequentius.” Subiecto suo levius est, quia subiectum prius est, & adjuncti sui quodammodo causa. Id quod de adjunctis non quibusvis verum esse docebitur. Hinc Aristot. Phil. S. 1. “adjunctum subiecto est posterius ratione, tempore, cognitione & natura:” quod etiam de omni adjuncto ita duntaxat verum est, si de tempore excipias, Existentiam enim Adjuncti non spectat Logica, sed mutuam quam cum subiecto habet affectionem quæ utrobique simul est; ita ut Subiectum Adjuncto non magis sit tempore prius quam Adjunctum Subiecto; sublato igitur subiecto, tollitur adjunctum, ut, “mortuus non est; ergo nec miser est.” Hinc strepitur in scholis, “ab” est “secundi adjecti, ad” est “tertii adjecti, valet consequentia negando.” Et posito adjuncto, ponitur necessario subiectum; ut, “si mortuus est miser, certè necessario mortuus est.” Quod & scholæ sic balbutiunt; “ab” est “tertii adjecti, ad” est “secundi, valet consequentia affirmando.” Est autem adjunctum subiecto copiosius & frequentius, quia unius ejusdemque subiecti plurima adjuncta esse possunt. Itaque quod de ejusmodi signis ait Ovid. 2. de Remed.

Forfitan hæc aliquis (nam sunt quoque) parva vocabit;
Sed quæ non profunt singula, multa juvant.

Huc itaque referuntur signa, quæ ad effecta potius referenda sunt; vimque arguendi perinde habent ut eorum causæ certæ sunt & cognitæ. Sic tumor uteri signum est gravidæ; incertum tamen, quia causæ tumoris illius aliæ esse possunt: lac mammarum multo certius, quia causa certior & notior. Ejusdem generis sunt signa physiognomonica, prognostica Astrologorum & Medicorum. Itaque ut causæ & effecta scientiam, sic subiecta & adjuncta conjecturam ferè pariunt. Hoc genere argumenti Fannium Chæream Cicero pro Roscio Comædo cavillatur: & ab adjuncta corporis habitudine, signa malitiæ colligit: “nonne ipsum caput & supercilia illa penitus abrafa olere malitiam, & clamitare calliditatem videntur? nonne ab imis unguibus usque ad verticem summum (si quam conjecturam affert homini tacita corporis figura) ex fraude, fallaciis, mendaciis constare totus videtur?” Sic Martial. 1. 2. Zoilum ludit:

Crine ruber, niger ore, brevis pede, lumine luscus.
Rem magnam præstas, Zoile, si bonus es.

Sub

Subjectorum porro modis, adjunctorum respondent modi. Quemadmodum igitur subjectum erat recipiens vel occupans, ita adjunctum est receptum vel occupatum. Receptum vel in subjectum recipitur, vel ad subjectum: quod in subjectum recipitur, vel sustinetur ab eo, vel in eo continetur aut collocatur: quod sustinetur, est adjunctum insitum, sive inhærens.

Primus ergo modus est adjunctorum inhærentium sive insitorum. Omninoque qualitates (qualitas autem est qua res qualis dicitur) subjectis præter causas, i. e. formas, externas (quæ etiam in qualitatibus numerantur) adjunctæ; sive propriæ sint, quæ omni solique subjecto semper conveniunt, ut homini risus, equo hinnitus, cani latratus; sive communes, quæcunque non sunt eo modo propriæ. Propria autem quatuor modis vulgò dicuntur: soli, sed non omni; ut homini proprium est Mathematicum esse, sed non omni: omni, sed non soli; ut bipedem esse homini: omni & soli, sed non semper; ut homini canescere in senectute: omni, soli, & semper; ut risibilem esse homini: hoc demum verè proprium est & reciprocum; ita ut omnis homo sit risibilis, & omne risibile, proprie dictum, sit homo. Adjunctum itaque proprium etsi natura est posterius subjecto, adeoque levius, tempore tamen simul est, nobisque ferè notius; positòque adjuncto proprio, ponitur subjectum, & contrà: subjectum enim adjuncto propriè est modo quodam essentiali, adjunctumque à forma subjecti fluit: habet igitur à forma subjecti, non ab natura sua, quòd subjectum ponit & tollit.

Communis etiam qualitas est separabilis vel inseparabilis: ut aquæ frigus, qualitas est separabilis; humiditas verò inseparabilis; utraque autem communis. Atque istæ qualitatum distinctiones, communium & propriarum, separabilium & inseparabilium, ad judicium faciendum valde sunt utiles, ut secundo libro facile perspiciemus. Ad hunc modum refertur etiam quantitas, quâ res magnæ vel parvæ, multæ vel paucæ dicuntur; & passio, quâ res aliquid pati dicitur; adeoque motus, ad rem motam si referatur, hujus loci est. Hactenus de adjuncto quod in subjecto sustinetur.

Secundus modus est adjunctorum quæ continentur in subjecto, ut locatum in loco: atque huc etiam situs locorum refertur; nisi si cui ad primum potius modum referendus videatur: cum situs passio sit quædam rei locatæ, & ad priorem modum sic pertineat. Atque hæc de adjunctis quæ in subjectum recipiuntur.

Tertius modus est adjunctorum quæ recipiuntur ad subjectum; quæ vulgò circumstantiæ nuncupantur, quia extra subjectum sunt. Huc "tempus" refertur, duratio nempe rerum præterita, præsens, futura. Sic etiam Deus dicitur qui est, qui erat, & qui futurus est, Apocal. 1. 8. & 4. 8. Deo tamen ævum sive æternitas, non tempus attribui solet: quid autem est ævum propriè, nisi duratio perpetua, Græcè αἰών, quasi αἰεὶ ὢν semper existens. Sed quod superioribus capitibus de motu & loco, idem nunc de tempore monendum est; non pertinere ad Logicam quid sit tempus philosophari, sed quo in genere argumenti ponendum sit, hic nempe in adjunctis. Huc etiam referuntur divitiæ, paupertas, honor, infamia, vestitus, comitatus, & ejusmodi quicquid adesse, adjacere, circumstare, aut citra vim causæ antecedere, concomitari, sequi, ut suprâ in subjecto diximus, dici potest; vel, ut Cic. in Top. Quicquid ante rem, cum re, post rem, dummodo non necessariò, evenit.

Quo circumstantiæ genere, "Dido venatum proficiscens, magnifice 4. Æneid. depingitur:

Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit.
It portis, jubare exorto, delecta juvenus:
Retia rara, plagæ, lato venabula ferro," &c.

In hoc exemplo Dido est subjectum: cujus adjuncta adjacentia sive circumstantiæ variæ hic enumerantur: 1. "Tempus, oceanum interea," &c. 2. "Comitatus,"

nimirum “delecta juvenus, equites,” principes “Pœnorum.” 3. Instrumenta (quæ quatenus ad habentem referuntur) adjuncta; & hujus quidem modi sunt, “retia, plagæ, venabula, canes, sonipes.” 4. Habitus sive vestitus, “Sidonia chlamys, purpurea vestis,” &c. Atque hæc de adjuncto recepto.

Quartus modus est adjuncti occupati. “Et” enim “adjunctorum ad subjecta, quibus occupantur, usus item magnus.”

Hoc argumento “Plato miseræ civitates auguratur, quæ medicorum & judicium multitudine indigeant, quia multam quoque & intemperantiam & injustitiam in ea civitate versari necesse sit.” Quia nempe in effectis intemperantiæ sanandis, medici; in effectis injustitiæ vindicandis, judices tanquam adjuncti occupati in subjecto suo occupante versantur.

“Sed categoria” sive locus argumentorum “consentaneorum sic est, unde quidvis alteri consentaneum, vel idem vel unum dici possit; omnesque modi unitatis & (ut ita dicam) identitatis huc sunt tanquam ad primas & simplices fontes referendi.”

Ad explicandum consentaneorum in comparisonibus usum hæc clausula adjecta est. Námque ut consensionis omnis duorum in uno tertio, ita & unitatis modo hinc sunt petendi. Quot autem modis plura dicuntur inter se consentire, tot etiam modis dicuntur unum & idem: absolute scilicet aut modo quodam: absolute unum vel idem causâ & effecto; modo quodam unum & idem subjecto & adjuncto. Causa vel efficiente vel materia vel forma vel fine. Sic plures statuæ, efficiente sunt eadem, si ejusdem artificis: materia, si ex eadem, auro scilicet aut ebore; forma si effigies ejusdem, Alexandri puta vel Cæsaris; fine, si ad eundem ornandum. Sic subjecto idem sunt adjuncta duo vel plura in eodem subjecto; adjuncto idem sunt plura subjecta quibus idem adjungitur: ut duæ vel plures res albæ vel nigræ, albedine vel nigredine idem sunt.

C A P. XII.

De Diversis.

“Argumentum consentaneum expositum est” in causa & effecto, subjecto & adjuncto.

Altera species argumenti artificialis, primi, simplicis, dissentaneum, sequitur. Et sequi debet: ut enim affirmatio negatione, sic consensio prior est dissensione; prior autem non natura solum, verum etiam usu & dignitate. Ab affirmatione enim & consensione, ut scientia omnis, ita ars omnis atque doctrina deducitur.

“Dissentaneum est quod dissentit à re” quam arguit. Ab altero nempe sui generis ac nominis dissentaneo. Nam in hoc genere argumentorum, argumenta inter se affecta eodem nomine, ideoque plurali numero enunciantur, eademque definitione & doctrina explicantur.

“Sunt autem dissentanea inter se æquè manifesta: alterumque ab altero æqualiter arguitur; tametsi sua dissensione clarius elucescant.”

Hæ duæ sunt proprietates dissentaneorum communes. Primum n. in consentaneis causæ effectis, subjecta adjunctis, priora, notiora, firmiora, præstantiora fuerunt: in dissentaneis alterum altero neque prius neque notius; sed natura simul, in illa nempe dissensione, & æquè nota, æquè firma inter se sunt: id quod necesse est cum eodem nomine ac definitione tractentur.

Secunda quoque proprietas, quam Aristoteles contrariis alligat, dissentaneorum est omnium communis; nempe “sua dissensione clarius elucescere.” Quod nisi fieret, argumentum

argumentum dissentaneorum nullius usus esset. Debet enim omne argumentum affectum esse ad aliquid arguendum & illustrandum. Quorum autem hæc est proprietas ut æquè nota & ignota sint, eorum alterum ab altero argui aut illustrari non potest. Priori igitur proprietati secunda hæc subvenit: quamvis enim dissentanea sint inter se æquè manifesta, ita ut unum ab altero tanquam notiori argui non queat, ex dissensione tamen sua, sive, ut alii loquuntur, juxta se posita, clarius elucescunt. Sic bonæ valetudinis commoda adversæ valetudinis incommodis manifestiora fiunt; virtutum laudes contrariorum vituperatione vitiorum illustrantur.

Utiles itaque sunt hi loci dissentaneorum, teste etiam Aristotele, Top. 3. 4. non solum ad arguendum & illustrandum, verum etiam ad impellendum ac refutandum: ut enim consentaneorum loci valent maximè ad arguendum, probandum & confirmandum, sic loci dissentaneorum ad redarguendum, impellendum & refutandum: ut qui consentaneo argumento doceri non vult, dissentanei absurda consecutione eò redigatur, ut nolens etiam non possit veritati non assentiri. Hinc Aristot. Rhet. 3. 17. "refutantia demonstrativis" antepont.

Dissentanea sunt diversa vel opposita.

"Diversa sunt dissentanea, quæ sola ratione dissentiant." Nomen hoc videtur aptissimum ad hanc levissimam dissensionem significandam: hac enim voce ea significantur, quæ cum consensione quandam inter se habere videantur, possintque per se suæque natura eidem subjecto simul convenire, tamen nec idem sunt, nec ei subjecto competunt cujus ratione dissentire dicuntur: quæ autem dissentiant in eodem tertio, dissentiant etiam inter se.

Sola igitur ratione dissentiant, quia non per se suæque natura dissentiant, sed solummodo ratione attributionis, i. e. ratione ac respectu alicujus subjecti, cui simul non attribuantur. Distributio itaque dissentaneorum pro ratione dissensionis rectè instituta est: nam ut consensio alia arctior est & absoluta, alia remissior & imperfecta (unde consentanea divisa sunt in ea quæ absolute vel modo quodam consentiant) ita dissensio omnis vel remissior est, ut in distinctione sive discretionem diversorum, vel acrior, ut in disjunctione oppositorum: ergo dissentanea aut ratione & modo quodam dissentiant, ut diversa, aut re & absolute, ut opposita. Verum quod de consentaneis etiam objici potuit, speciebus æque communicandum est genus (has enim voces etiam communi usu citra artem vulgò intellectus, pace methodi nonnunquam anticipare fas sit) respondetur, quemadmodum consentanea absolute & modo quodam erant æque consentanea, sed non æque consentiebant; sic diversa & opposita æque dissentanea sunt, sed non æque dissentiant; in diversis tam est dissensio quàm in oppositis, sed non tanta: ut in re simili Cic. de Fin. 4. "æquè contingit omnib. fidibus, ut incontentæ sint; illud non continuò, ut æquè incontentæ." Diversa autem idcirco priore loco tractantur, quòd propter levissimam dissensionem videntur affinitatem quandam cum consentaneis præ se ferre. Quanquam autem diversorum doctrina ab omnibus præter Ramum Logicis omissa est, constat tamen locum in argumentorum doctrina diversis etiam assignandum, cum ex arguendi varia affectione argumenta distinguenda sint, affectio autem dissensionis in diversis, ut diximus, levior sit, in oppositis acrior. Cur diversa Logici hætenus omiserint, videtur hoc esse; quod ad unum syllogismum omnia referunt, in quo diversa locum non habent, ut l. 2. ostendetur.

Diversorum autem notæ sunt frequentissimè "non hoc, sed illud, quanquam, tamen:" ut pro Pompeio; "non victoriam, sed insignia victoriæ reportarunt." Victoria & victoriæ insignia res admodum affines sunt; possuntque ac debent eidem duci competere: ad Syllam autem & Murænam si spectas, qui non reportata victoria triumpharunt, dissentanea sunt, & distinguuntur, alteroque affirmato alterum negatur. Sic Ovid. 2. de Arte:

Non formosus erat, sed erat facundus Ulysses.

Et Virg. Æneid. 2.

Hic Priamus quanquam in media jam morte tenetur,
Non tamen abstinuit.

Ut victoria & victoriæ insignia respectu Syllæ & Murænæ, sic formosum & facundum respectu Ulyssis, in media morte teneri non & abstinere à convitiis ratione Priami, diversa adeoque dissidentanea sunt. Paulo secus in Eunuchis:

Nam si ego digna hac contumelia

Sum maxime: at tu indignus qui faceres tamen.

Sed idem est ac si dictum esset, quanquam ego digna; tamen tu indignus qui mihi hanc contumeliam faceres. Dignam se quidem esse contumelia Thais affirmat; à Chærea tamen negat. Cic. 5. Tusc. "Quanquam sensu corporis judicantur, ad animum tamen referuntur." Hoc affirmato, negatum intelligitur non ad corpus.

Item illa aliusmodi. Pro Ligario: "scelus tu illud vocas, Tubero? cur? isto n. nomine illa adhuc causa caruit: alii enim errorem appellant, alii timorem; qui durus, spes, cupiditatem, odium, pertinaciam; qui gravissimè, temeritatem: scelus præter te adhuc nemo." In hoc genere exemplorum aliquid conceditur, ut aliud vicinum possit negari: cuiusmodi & illud est; veritas premi potest, opprimi non potest; & similia.

Atque hi modi quidam diverforum sunt: in quibus plerunque accidit, ut quæ sua natura sunt opposita, ratione tamen certi alicujus subjecti sint tantum diversa; ut in exemplo superiore error, timor, spes, cupiditas, pertinacia, scelus. Sic aurum, argentum, æs opposita sunt, ut infra liquebit: ratione tamen attributionis huic vel illi subjecto, qui unum vel aliqua horum habet, alterum vel reliqua non habet, cum habere simul possit, diversa sunt.

C A P. XIII.

De Disparatis.

Opposita sunt "dissidentanea, quæ ratione & re dissidentant." Opposita respondent nomine quidem iis, quæ ab Aristotele ἀντικειμένα dicuntur; sed re & significatione latius patent: nam ἀντικειμένα Aristoteli (qui disparata non attigit) nihil aliud quàm "contraria" sunt. Possunt etiam "repugnantia" dici; siquidem repugnare ea dicuntur, quæ ejusmodi sunt, ut cohærere nunquam possint; quod Cic. ait in Top. ejusmodi enim sunt opposita. "Re" autem "& ratione," est non solum ratione certi alicujus subjecti, cui cum tribuuntur, simul non conveniunt, verum etiam reipsa, i. e. per se & inter se, sua ipsorum natura dissidentare, etiam subjecto cuivis non attributa; cui si tribuuntur, non solum non conveniunt, sed, servata, quæ sequitur, oppositorum lege, convenire non possunt. Ea lex quæ ex ipsa definitione oritur, & est oppositorum omnium communis, non, ut docuit Aristoteles, contrariorum propria, hæc est, "Opposita eidem attribui, secundum idem, ad idem, & eodem tempore non possunt. Eidem," i. e. eidem numero rei sive subjecto. "Secundum idem," i. e. eadem parte. Ad idem, i. e. eodem respectu; ut, "sol & major est terra & minor;" sed non eodem respectu; in se quidem, major; ut nobis videtur, minor. Extra has tres conditiones possunt eidem subjecto attribui opposita. "Sic Socrates, albus & ater

ater non potest secundum idem, i. e. eadem parte esse; pater & filius ejusdem," sive ad eundem relatus; "sanus & æger eodem tempore: at albus esse potest alia parte, ater alia; pater hujus, filius illius; sanus hodie, cras æger.

Itaque ex altero affirmato alterum negatur.

Ex quo facile apparet quid intersit inter diversa & opposita: in illis enim altero affirmato; in his, ex altero affirmato alterum negatur: i. e. ex affirmatione unius, necessario sequitur negatio alterius. Ut, sumpto ex diversis exemplo, "non victoriam, sed insignia victoriæ reportarunt:" hic insignia victoriæ affirmantur, victoria negatur; non ex his affirmatis negatur illa: at in oppositis, dicta lege servata, Socrates est homo, ergo non est equus: juxta illud; "opposita se invicem tollunt."

"Opposita autem sunt disparata aut contraria."

"Disparata sunt opposita quorum unum multis pariter opponitur."

Disparatorum ergo remissior videtur esse oppositio, contrariorum acrior. Disparata etiam à Boethio nominantur, "quæ tantum à se diversa sunt, nulla contrarietate pugnantia," ut vestis, ignis. Apud Ciceronem tamen, Invent. 1. & Fabium, l. 5. c. 10. contradicentia significant. Nos verborum inopiâ coacti, Boethium sequimur. Multis, nempe sine ulla certa oppositionis lege aut numero: nam & infinitæ ferè res hoc modo opponi inter se possunt: & sic intelligendum est verbum opponitur, juxta illud; "Vocabula in artibus facultatem significant:" ut vestis & ignis etsi res duæ, inter se tamen disparata sunt, eò quòd multis pariter opponi possunt. Pariter: i. e. æquè pari ratione, eodem diffensionis modò: ut enim disparata sint, non multis tantum, sed pariter opponi debent. Albedo opponitur nigredini, flavedini, rubedini, ut unum pluribus; non autem singulis, ut disparatum quia non pariter: nigredini enim opponitur ut contrarium, cæteris rebus omnibus ut disparatum. Viride, cineraceum, rubrum, media sunt inter album & nigrum, quæ singula extremis, & inter se disparata sunt. Sic liberalitas & avaritia inter se disparantur. Sic homo, arbor, lapis, & ejusmodi res infinitæ disparantur; nec eadem res potest esse homo, arbor, lapis. Virgil. 1. Æneid. hoc argumento disputat:

O quam te memorem, virgo! namque haud tibi vultus
Mortalis; nec vox hominem sonat: o dea certè.

C A P. XIV.

De Relatis.

"Contraria sunt opposita, quorum unum uni tantum opponitur.

Intelligitur autem unum uni in eodem genere opponi contrariorum, ut relatorum unum uni tantum, & sic in reliquis: nam in diversis speciebus contrariorum, plura possunt ut contraria, uni eidemque rei opponi; ut "videnti, non videntis, & cæcus; motui, motus contrarius, & quies; servo, dominus & liber.

Quæ Aristoteles ἀντιθέμενα & ἀντικείμενα, ea Cicero in Topicis (quem Ramus sequitur) contraria appellat: quas etiam in species quatuor Aristoteles ἀντικείμενα, in easdem Cicero contraria distribuit.

Prius autem quàm ad contrariorum distributionem in species accedimus, inferenda est distinctio quædam non inutilis, & ad ea quæ diximus capite superiore clarius intelligenda, & ad eas, quæ secundo libro dicuntur, disjunctiones necessarias à contingentibus dijudicandas. Dictum est superiore capite, viride, cineraceum, rubrum, media esse inter album & nigrum, quæ singula extremis & inter se disparata sunt. Sciendum itaque est contraria, quasi extrema quædam habere, alia medium, alia medio carere: medium vel est negationis vel participationis; ex Aristotele, Top. 4. 3. & Phil. V. 7.

Medium negationis est quicquid inter duo contraria dici potest, quod sit neutrum eorum: ut inter præceptorem & discipulum, is qui neque est præceptor neque discipulus. Medium participationis est, quod utriusque extremi naturam participat; ut viride inter album & nigrum, tepidum inter calidum & frigidum. Contrariorum igitur quæ medium habent, non est necesse alterutrum affirmari; potest enim affirmari medium: quæ autem medio carent, eorum alterum necesse est affirmari. Quænam autem contraria medium habeant aut non habeant, ex eo dignoscitur quod & Gellius tradit l. 16. Noct. Att. c. 8. Contraria quorum contradicentia, cum attribuuntur ei subjecto cui propriè possunt attribui, sunt etiam inter se contraria, ea medium non habent. Sanum & ægrum contraria sunt: eorum contradicentia, non sanum non ægrum, si animali attribuas cui soli possunt attribui, contraria etiam reperies: non sanum enim, est ægrum: non ægrum, sanum; sanum ergo & ægrum medio carent: sic nox & dies, non nox & non dies, æquè sunt inter se contraria; non nox enim, est dies; non dies, nox; medio igitur carent: sic visu præditum, & cæcum esse, si homini tribuis. Quorum verò contradicentia non sunt contraria, ea medium habent: ut præceptor & discipulus; non præceptor enim, non est discipulus; neque non discipulus, est præceptor; etenim potest alteruter aliquid esse tertium sive medium. Sic album & nigrum: namque non album & non nigrum de quovis colore medio dici possunt. Nunc ad distributionem contrariorum veniamus.

Contraria sunt affirmantia aut negantia.

Affirmantia, quorum utrumque affirmat. Scilicet rem, sive veram sive fictam; vel quorum vox utraque rem certam ponit atque significat; quorumque unum alteri ut res rei opponitur; ut pater filio, calor frigori. Contraria itaque affirmantia, quod hic notandum est & distinguendum, sunt quorum utrumque affirmat rem, non affirmatur de re sive subjecto eodem, id enim supradictæ oppositorum regulæ, qua ex altero affirmato alterum negatur, planè repugnaret. Quæ igitur affirmat rem aut negat, topica affirmatio aut negatio dicitur; qua res de alio affirmatur aut negatur axiomatice, de qua lib. 2.

Contraria affirmantia sunt relata aut adversa.

Relata sunt, quorum alterum constat ex mutua alterius affectione.

Atque ita quidem ut ex eorum illa mutua affectione, contrarietas ipsa nascatur, ut infra demonstrabitur. Quid ergo; num idcirco relata nunc consentanea nunc dissentanea sunt? Nequaquam, ut relata quidem: sed ea tamen quæ relata sunt, aliis atque aliis argumentorum generibus possunt subjici; ipsa interim argumentorum genera inconfusa & distincta manent. Sic causa & effectum, quæ arguendo inter se relata sunt, adeoque dissentanea & æque manifesta, suam tamen vim propriam arguendi retinent, qua & consentanea sunt, & causa prior notiorque effecto. Relata esse contraria ex definitione & consuetudine contrariorum liquet; sunt enim opposita, quorum unum uni tantum opponitur, ut pater & filius. At, inquis, unus multis, pater filiis, frater fratribus, præceptor discipulis, herus famulis, opponi potest. Respondetur, opponi patrem filio ut relatum; neque aliud quicquam patri quàm filium, neque filio quàm patrem; & sic de cæteris; sed hunc patrem & hunc filium, hunc præceptorem & hunc discipulum, &c. non esse relata, sed disparata: ne quænam horum alter ex mutua alterius affectione constat; neque natura simul sunt, & alter sine altero existere potest. Itaque primæ substantiæ, sive individua & singularia, ut ait Aristoteles, Categor. 5. non sunt relata. Et Categor. 6. ait multa genera "relata esse, singularia verò nulla." Sed non video cur relata, quemadmodum & alia argumenta, etiam in singularibus considerari non possunt; singularia enim exempla sunt ferè omnia. Nec magis video cur in uno relato singulari non possit ad correleta multa esse multiplex relatio; dummodo relatio una numero inter bina tantummodo sit, totiesque consideretur quot sint correlata; patris nimirum toties quot sunt filii; filii quot sunt parentes, pater nempe & mater; fratris, quot sunt fratres & sorores: nam nisi quicquid de relatis in genere dici solet de singulis quoque relatis verè dicatur. Id toto quidem de verè dici posset. Si reponas ex Aristot. Philos. 5. Relata non significare

ficare existentiam, ne cætera quidem argumenta id significant sed mutuam tantummodo affectionem. Sunt affirmantia, i. e. ut duæ voces sunt, ita etiam duæ sunt res inter se oppositæ; ut pater, filius. Constare autem alterum ex mutua alterius affectione, est nullam aliam habere essentiam, quatenus relata sunt, præter mutuam illam unius affectionem ad alterum & alterius ad illud. “Atque inde nominata sunt relata,” quòd ad se invicem referuntur, totaque illorum natura in relatione consistit. Sic patrem esse, est habere filium; filium esse, est habere patrem. Hinc illud; Omnia relata convertuntur: ut pater est filii pater; filius est patris filius. Hujus mutua affectionis ratione relata sunt mutux sibi causæ & mutui effectus, nam quòd quis pater est, id habet à filio; quòd filius, à patre: & tamen hujus mutux affectionis vi ita sibi invicem opponuntur, ut neque unum de altero nec ambo de tertio dici possint; ut Æneas est pater Ascanii, ergo non est Ascanii filius; Ascanius est filius Æneæ, ergo non est Æneæ pater. Sed quoniam relatorum unum constat ex mutua alterius affectione, mutuxque sibi, ut diximus, causæ atque effecta sunt, consecrarium hoc inde est quod sequitur.

“Relata simul sunt natura: ut qui alterum perfectè norit, norit & reliquum.”

Relata autem simul esse natura docuerunt & veteres Logici, “Aristoteles, Damascenus, & alii; relatæque se mutuò inferre mutuòque tollere; ut posito patre, ponatur filius; sublato, itidem tollatur: etiam si enim ille manet qui filius fuit, non tamen filius manet. Neque solùm unum existere nequit sine altero, sed ne intelligi quidem. Necessè est igitur, quod & meminit “Aristot. Top. 3. Ut alterum in alterius definitione comprehendatur;” utque alterum perfectè, i. e. definite, qui norit, norit continuò alterius definitionem; quæ sicuti & essentia eorum, reciproca est. Supra itaque Ramus definivit subjectum, “cui aliud adjungitur;” non, “quod alteri subjicitur,” ut alii malebant; etiam si his verbis non modò essentia subjecti, sed etiam notatio contineri videatur: deinde adjunctum definivit, “cui aliquid subjicitur,” non quod alteri adjungitur, quia subjectum & adjunctum relata sunt; & subjectum adjuncti, adjunctum subjecti, ex qua alterum alterius mutua affectione constat, eâ erat definiendum, quæ ipsorum essentia est. Ad exempla nunc veniamus.

“Pro Marcello: Ex quo profectò intelligis quanta in dato beneficio sit laus, cum in accepto tanta sit gloria.” Hic dare & accipere relata sunt, quorum unius consequens ex consequente alterius intelligi ait Cicero. Martialis in Sossibianum. l. 1.

Cum servum scis te genitum, blandèque fateris;
Cum dicis dominum, Sossibiane, patrem.

Arguebat se servum esse genitum Sossibianus dum negare videbatur, quia dominum vocabat patrem. Sic apud Quintilianum, l. 5. c. 10. “Si portorium Rhodiis locare honestum est, & Hermacreonti conducere.” Quomodo & in Oratore perfecto Tullius: “Num igitur est periculum, ait, nequis putet in magna arte & gloriosa turpe esse docere alios id quod ipsi fuerit honestum discere?” Apud Ovidium in ætatis ferreæ descriptione, Metam. 1. Varia relatorum exempla afferuntur:

— Non hospes ab hospite tutus,
Non focer à genero: fratrum quoque gratia rara est.
Imminet exitio vir conjugis, illa mariti:
Lurida terribiles miscent aconita novercæ:
Filius ante diem patrios inquit in annos.

“Atqui argumentum talis relationis contrarium nihil habet, immo arguit mutuas causas:” ut sum tuus pater; tu es igitur meus filius. At quum dico, sum tuus pater; non igitur sum tuus filius, tum contraria verè sunt; atque ex ipsa quidem hac mutua relatione.

C A P. XV.

De Adversis.

“ **A**dversa sunt contraria affirmantia, quæ inter se velut è regione absolutè adversantur.”

Sic etiam à Cicerone appellantur in Topicis. Sunt contraria, quia eorum unum uni tantum opponitur; ut honestum turpi: duo n. duntaxat possunt sibi invicem è regione adversari. Sunt affirmantia; quia unum uni opponitur, ut res rei; quod supra demonstratum est, & infra clarius patebit. His autem verbis “è regione absolutè adversantur,” nihil aliud quàm directa oppositio, adeoque maxima, intelligitur; qualis est inter duo puncta diametri in eodem circulo. His etiam verbis distinguuntur adversa à suis mediis, quæ inter se & cum extremis disparantur. Absolutè; i. e. omninò, perfectè; ut in Consentaneis, quæ absolutè consentiebant. Ramus perpetuo dixerat: sed assentior aliis, qui absolutè malunt: nam perpetuò opponi, omnib. oppositis etiam relatis, commune est, quatenus opposita sunt, i. e. ratione & re dissentiunt. Absolutè autem additur, ut hac particula distingui adversa possint à relatis, in quibus consensio quædam est, quatenus alterum ex mutua constat alterius affectione, cujusmodi hic omninò nulla est. Sic albor & nigror, calor & frigus opponuntur.

Aristoteles, contraria (sic enim adversa vocat Categ. 6.) definit, “quæ plurimum inter se distant in eodem genere:” & rursus Categ. 8. “Contraria sunt vel in eadem specie, vel in eodem genere.” Quem Cic. est secutus in Top. & Galen de Opt. secta. Verùm adversa, ut docet idem Arist. cap. de Contrariis, non in eodem solùm genere plurimum differunt, ut album & nigrum, verum etiam in contrariis, ut iustitia & iniustitia; vel ipsa genera, ut bonum & malum, virtus & vitium. Quid quod in eodem genere differre, commune videtur adversis cum relatis: pro eodem igitur genere, rectius in definitione ponitur è regione, prout Cicero, interpretatur.

Æneid. 11.

Nulla salus bello; pacem te poscimus omnes.

Libertas & servitus apud Tibullum, l. 2.

Sic mihi servitium video, dominamque paratam;

Tu mihi libertas illa paterna vale.

Sic consilium & casus; pro “Marcello: nunquam enim temeritas cum sapientia commiscetur, nec ad consilium casus admittitur. Et Parad. 1. contra Epicureos: illud ramen arcè tenent accuratè defendunt, voluptatem esse summum bonum: quæ quidem mihi vox pecudum videtur, non hominum, &c.” Pecudem & hominem adversa Cicero opposuit: voluptas pecudis bonum est, non igitur hominis. Usus enim hujus argumenti non in qualitatibus duntaxat, ut vulgò putant, verum in substantiis etiam & quantitativis, immo omnibus in rebus versatur: id quod Aristot. non diffitetur, cum ait Phil. x. 3. “Contraria etiam ad primas entis differentias referri:” & rursus; “in omni genere contrarietatem esse.” Contrarietas deinde argumentum esse Logicum ab omnibus agnoscitur: nihil ergo obstat quominus ad quævis rerum genera pertineat. Quædam denique formæ vel maximè substantiæ sunt: formas autem específicas omnes sibi invicem adversas esse, apud omnes receptissimum est: immo verò major videtur esse formarum contrarietas quàm qualitatium; qualitates enim commisceri facile possunt, formæ vix unquam. Quod ergo idem Aristot. alibi docet, substantiæ & quantitati nihil esse contrarium, id non ratione tantum, sed ipsius etiam testimonio suprà citato refel-

litur;

litur; non substantiarum autem pugna etsi non Physica, Logica tamen est, dum ex altera substantia singulari affirmata, negatur altera.

C. A. P. XVI.

De Contradicientibus.

“**C**ontraria negantia sunt, quorum alterum ait, alterum negat idem.” Ab altero negante sic nominantur: in puris enim negantibus, ut loquuntur, nullus est rationis usus. Atque hinc demum nunc clarius patet, quænam essent contraria affirmantia: de quibus cum dictum est, de negantibus quoque est dictum quod satis sit.

Ea sunt contradicentia aut privantia.

“Contradicentia sunt contraria negantia, quorum alterum negat ubique:” ut justus, non justus; animal, non animal; est, non est.

“Contradicentia sunt contraria,” quia una negatio uni affirmationi opponitur, & contrà; immo sine medio. Sic etiam Aristot. Post. 1. 2. “Contradictio est oppositio cujus nullum est medium per se.” Quorum alterum negat ubique; i. e. in re qualibet: negare enim ubique est de re qualibet dici, de qua affirmatum non dicitur: ut de quo videt non dicitur, de eo non videt dicitur. Unde illud vulgò dictum, “contradicentia sunt omnia: & illud Aristot. 1. Post. 1. 2. quodvis verè est vel affirmare vel negare: verè affirmare & negare simul, impossibile est. & Top. 6. 3. de qualibet re vel affirmatio vel negatio verè dicitur.” Alterum autem negare ubique dicitur, vel expressè vel implicitè. Expressè ut suprà, cum negandi particula: implicitè, cum reipsa non minus contradicit & repugnat alteri, quàm si verbo negaret; ut corpus infinitum, proprietas communis. Vulgò vocatur contradictio in adjecto; quia id subiecto adjungit quod subiectum planè tollit; atque ita contradictionem implicat. Atque hinc etiam est quòd contradicentia medio carent non solum participationis, verum etiam negationis, quia necesse est affirmare vel negare unum quodvis de altero. Sic etiam Boethius in Topicis: “inter affirmationem & negationem nulla est medietas.” Contradicentium porrò exempla hæc sunt. In defensione Murænæ contradicitur sententiis Catonis & Ciceronis; illius Stoici, hujus Academici. Dialogus est his verbis: “nihil ignoveris: immo aliquid, non omnia. Nihil gratiæ causa feceris: immo ne resistito gratiæ, cum officium & fides postulabit. Misericordia commotus ne sis; etiam in dissolvenda severitate: sed tamen est aliqua laus humanitatis. In sententia permaneto: enim verò nisi sententia alia vicerit melior.” In hoc exemplo quadruplex contradictio est: nihil ignoveris; nonnihil ignoveris; nihil gratiæ causa feceris; nonnihil gratiæ causa feceris, &c. Martial. l. 1.

Bella es; novimus: & puella; verum est:
Et dives; quis enim potest negare?
Sed dum te nimium, Fabulla, laudas,
Nec dives, neque bella, nec puella es.

Cicero in Tuscul. cogit hoc argumento Atticum Epicureum fateri mortuos miseros non esse, si omnino non sint, ut Epicurei credebant. “Quem esse negas; eundem esse dicis: cum enim miserum esse dicis, tum eum qui non sit, esse dicis.” Sic Terentianus Phædria Dori eunuchi dictum elevat, quòd affirmasset prius, quæ post inficiaretur: modò ait, modò negat.

Sunt

Sunt qui contradictionem nullam esse statuunt, nisi axiomaticam; de qua lib. 2. Verum si affirmatio & negatio Topica datur, ut suprà demonstravimus, necesse est dari quoque Topicam contradictionem: qualis est illa Rom. 9. "Vocabo non populum meum, populum meum; & non dilectam, dilectam." In distinctionibus etiam frequentissimus est hujus contradictionis usus; præsertim ubi alterum distinctionis membrum apta voce exprimi non potest: ut Dialecticæ materia est ens, & non ens; lex est scripta, vel non scripta. Sic ad "Critonem Socrates; videris opportunè quidem non excitasse me." In his exemplis axiomatica contradictio nulla est: uti neque in illo quod suprà in hoc capite ex Martiale allatum est: "Bella es; novimus, & puella, &c." Non enim verbum est sive copulatio negatur, sed partes. Fabulla est bella & puella & dives; Fabulla est & non bella, & non puella, & non dives. Axiomatica enim contradictio hujusmodi fuisset: Fabulla non est & bella & puella & dives: quod lib. 2. clarius intelligetur.

C A P. XVII.

De Privantibus.

"**P**rivantia sunt contraria negantia, quorum alterum negat in eo tantum subiecto, in quo affirmatum suapte natura inest." Atque hîc affirmatum dicitur habitus, quo quis quid habet, negatum autem privatio, quâ quis ea re privatur aut caret: ut visus & cæcitas, motus & quies in iis rebus quæ motu conservantur. Sunt contraria, quòd unum uni opponitur, habitus privationi; qua ex parte negantia quoque dicuntur: nam & hîc rei alicujus affirmationi ejusdem negatio, i. e. enti non ens opponitur: privatio enim, ut inquit Aristot. Phys. 2. 8. "per se est non ens: & Plut. de primo frigido; privatio est essentiæ negatio; habituîque opponitur, non ut natura quædam aut essentia per se existens, sed ut ejus corruptio & ademptio." Quorum alterum negat in eo tantum subiecto, in quo, &c. His verbis forma privantium qua distinguuntur à contradicentibus, exprimitur. In contradicentibus enim negatio infinita est, affirmatum suum ubique, i. e. qualibet in re negans; ut quicquid non est justum, est non justum, in privantibus verò finita est negatio, atque in eo tantum subiecto affirmatum sive habitum negans, in quo affirmatum suapte natura inest: aut inesse potest? ut etiam Aristot. in Categor. Sic cæcitas est negatio visus, non ubique & in re qualibet, sed in qua solùm visus inesse natura debuit: nam privari aliquid tum demum dicitur, cùm eo caret quod natum est habere: non ergo quicquid non videt, propriè cæcum dicitur. Deinde in contradicentibus negatum contradicendo negat, & est pura negatio; ut videns, non videns: in privantibus negat privando; nec solùm negatio est, sed privans negatio & extinctio habitus alicujus qui inesse naturâ subiecto debuit aut potuit; ut videns, cæcus. Hinc illæ privationis proprietates ex Plut. de primo frigido, non inutiles: "privatio iners & agendi impos est: non suscipit magis aut minus;" neque enim quis dixerit hunc illo cæciorem; aut tacentem, magis minùsve tacere; aut defunctum, magis minùsve esse mortuum: habitus enim gradus esse possunt, non entis non item: Illa autem Aristot. "à privatione ad habitum non datur regressus," incertior est: cùm enim habitus quo quis habere quid dicitur duo modi sint, potentia & actus, à privatione potentiæ vel facultatis, idque naturâ duntaxat, regressus negatur. Contradicentia denique medio carent non solùm participationis, verùm etiam negationis: privantia verò carent quidem medio participationis, nulla enim est habitus cum privatione permixtio; non carent autem medio negationis; multa enim sunt, quæ neque vident, neque cæca sunt; ut lapis, arbor, &c. nisi cùm ei subiecto attribuuntur, cui natura inesse debuerunt: tum enim negati-

negationis etiam medio carent; quippe omnis homo aut videns est aut cæcus, gnarus aut ignarus. Exempla porrò privantium sunt dives & pauper: Martial. l. 5.

Semper eris pauper, si pauper es, Æmiliane:
Dantur opes nullis nunc, nisi divitibus.

Vita & mors, ut in Miloniana: "hujus mortis fedetis ultores, cujus vitam, si putetis per vos restitui posse, nolitis." Item loqui & tacere: Catil. "I quid expectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum perspicis." Cetera exempla quæ Ramus attulit, minus quadrant: ut ebrius & sobrius, mortalis & immortalis, quæ potius adversa sunt. Neque enim "in" præpositio in compositis privationem semper, sed adversum habitum sæpe significat; unde nec peccatum privationem esse dixerim; siquidem hoc vel illud peccatum sive vitium, privatio non est. Atque hæc quidem species contrariorum sunt. Sed quæri hic solet, quænam earum sint maximè inter se contrariæ. Aristoteles maximam contrarietatem nunc adversis tribuit, nunc contradicentibus. Sed videtur maximam esse diffensionem inter privantia: deinde inter adversa; minorem adhuc inter contradicentia; minimam inter relata: nam relata propter illam mutuam affectionem, partim consentanea sunt: contradicentia purè quidem contraria negantia sunt, sed tamen propter infinitam illam negationem, pro mediis & disparatis crebro accipiuntur, ut non calidum non tam opponitur calido quàm frigidum; quoniam non calidum potest tepidum esse; sic non bonum, medium quiddam esse potest & adiaphorum: non album de rubro dici aut intelligi potest: adversa è regione quidem adversantur; non ita tamen, quin commisceri queant: privantia verò mixtionem non admittunt; & privatio ferè est habitus extinctio atque ereptio aut saltem deficientia; habitusque est ens, privatio non ens; enti autem nihil, æquè ac non ens, contrarium est.

Sed dissentaneorum categoria sic est, unde quidvis ab altero differre quolibet modo possit.

Quanquam enim causa omnis essentialis differentiæ, formæ primitus est reliquarum, argumenta reliqua consentanea, ut quot modis consentire totidem dissentire res dicantur, causa nempe vel effecto, subjecto vel adjuncto, modi tamen omnes, quib. res inter se differunt vel ratione scilicet vel re, non tractantur nisi in dissentaneis, vel si comparantur, in comparatis. Unde illud genere vel specie differre, nihil aliud est quàm communi vel propria forma, quarum illa symbola sunt, ut infra dicetur.

C A P. XVIII.

De Paribus.

Argumenta simplicia ita fuerunt in consentaneis & dissentaneis.
Comparata sunt argumenta prima, quæ inter se comparantur.

Simplex rerum affectio comparatione prius tractanda fuit: hanc enim si removes, comparata omnia aut consentanea erunt aut dissentanea. Platonis doctrina & Xenophonis ante adjuncta utrique erat, quàm comparata. Sunt argumenta prima non orta, eo quòd orta, ut patebit infra, eandem habent affectionem cum primis unde orta sunt; comparata etsi simplicia prius fuere, simplicium tamen affectionem non habent. Inter

se comparantur ; nimirum quæ sunt ejusdem generis : genera autem distributio mox docebit. Nunc proprietates comparatorum sunt dicendæ.

“ Comparata etsi ipsa comparisonis natura æque nota sunt ; attamen alterum altero alicui notius & illustrius esse debet.”

Ubi hoc advertendum, non sua sed comparisonis natura dici æquè nota esse comparata. Ita sunt, inquis, & relata vi relationis ; immo argumenta omnia quæ etiam relata sunt. At, inquam, relatio & comparatio non sunt idem ; & reliqua argumenta, & si quatenus relata sunt notione Logica, æque nota sunt, suâ tamen naturâ, prout quæque est, vel æquè vel non æquè sunt manifesta ; dissidentanea quidem æquè, consentanea non æquè, ut jam supra est dictum. Debet autem ei quicum disputamus comparatorum id quod arguit sua natura & priusquam comparatio instituitur, notius esse atque illustrius eo quod arguitur ; æque enim obscurum nihil argueret. Unde in signis comparatorum usus elucet ; quo fit ut inæqualis rerum notitia comparisonis vi æqualis reddatur. Sic consentanea ad probandum, dissidentanea ad refellendum, comparata ad illustrandum aptissima sunt.

“ Comparata autem sæpe notis brevius indicantur ; aliquando partibus distinguuntur, quæ propositio redditioque nominantur.”

Duplex ergo est comparisonis forma : altera contracta, altera explicata. Contracta est quæ uno verbo concluditur, ut infra cap. 21. Explicata, quæ partibus distinguitur ; partisque istæ propositio & redditio nominantur. Propositio præcedit sæpe, & argumentum est : redditio sæpe sequitur, estque id quod arguitur ; si secus occurrit, inversio est. Omnis autem forma comparisonis contracta, suis partibus explicari potest.

“ Atque omnino comparata etiam ficta arguunt fidemque faciunt.”

Arguunt scilicet rem veram ; in quo cæteris argumentis præcellunt ; quæ ficta si sunt, rem fictam duntaxat arguunt ; ut materia ficta, fictam solis domum. At comparata etiam ficta, non sua quidem natura, sed comparisonis vi, res veras arguunt fidemque faciunt.

Comparatio est in quantitate vel qualitate.

Quantitas est qua res comparatæ quantæ dicuntur.

“ Estque parium vel imparium.” Non hic loquimur de quantitate solùm mathematica, quæ magnitudinis est aut numeri, sed de quantitate Logica, quæ ratio quælibet sive affectio est, qua res quæcunque inter se comparatæ quantæ, i. e. æquales vel inæquales, pares vel impares dici possunt.

“ Paria sunt quorum est una quantitas.

Sic etiam definit Aristoteles, Phil. 8. 15. Quod idem valet ac si diceretur, quorum par ratio est. Una, i. e. eadem, æqualis : unde in plurali numero eodem nomine ac definitione explicantur.

“ Argumentum igitur par est, cum par illustratur à pari.”

Ad exempla veniamus ; atque ad ea primùm quæ in forma, ut diximus, contracta notis brevius indicantur. Hæ autem notæ præcipuæ sunt par, æquale, æquare ; ut in his : *Æneid.* 2.

— Par levibus ventis.

Ubi levitas Creusæ umbræ comparatur levitati ventorum. *Æneid.* 3.

Et nunc æquali tecum pubesceret ævo.

Æneid. 6.

En hujus nate auspiciis, illa inclyta Roma

Imperium terris, animos æquabit Olimpo.

His notis aliæ sunt affines, “ pariter, æquè, æqualitas, æqualiter, perinde, ac si,” & id genus alia.

Sequitur forma explicata : in qua propositio & redditio distinguuntur, quæ in contracta forma erant implicitæ. In hac autem forma explicata par quantitas vel notis aperte indicatur, vel sine notis mente & ratione concipitur : Notæ istæ sunt vel propriæ parium : vel negationes imparium : parium propriæ, “idem quod ; tam, quàm ; tanto, quanto ; tot, quot.” In quibus singulis notarum paribus prior quæque redditioni inservit, posterior verò propositioni. “Catil. 4. Cujus res gestæ atque virtutes iisdem, quibus solis cursus, regionibus ac terminis continentur.” Æneid. 4.

Tàm ficti pravique tenax quàm nuntia veri. Catullus 4.

Tantò pessimus omnium poëta,
Quantò tu optimus omnium patronus.

Ovid. 4. Trist.

Littora quot conchas, quot amœna rosaria flores.

Quotque soporiferum grana papaver habet, &c.

Tot premor adversis-----

Negationes imparium sunt ; vel majoris & minoris seorsim vel utriusque simul “non magis, non minus.” Philip. 9. “Neque enim ille magis Jurisconsultus quàm justitiæ fuit,” &c. “Neque constituere litium actiones malebat, quàm controversias tollere.” Ovid. 2. de Arte.

Non minor est virtus, quàm quærere, parta tueri.

“Utriusque simul pro Muræna : Paria cognosco esse ista in L. Muræna, atque ita paria, ut neque ipse dignitate vinci potuerit, neque te dignitate superarit.” Observandum est autem negationem majoris vel minoris seorsim non semper esse notam parium : neque enim si “servus non est major domino, ergo est æqualis ; nec si dominus non est minor servo, ergo par.”

Hactenus cum notis ; nunc sine notis hæc quæ sequuntur. Atque in hoc potissimum genere exemplorum sine notis, apparet vis eadem arguendi in utramque partem ; adeo ut si unum, alterum quoque fit ; si non sit unum, neque alterum. Itaque ex uno eorum affirmato, alterum affirmatur ; ex negato, negatur : “2 Philip. Quorum facinus commune, cur non eorum præda communis ?” Ter. in Adel.

Quando ego non curo tuum, ne cura meum.

“Hujus loci,” parium nempe sine notis, “sunt confectaria illa è contrariis quidem orta, sed parium collatione tractata.” Ut ex adversis ista ; Cicero pro Sylla : “neque verò quid mihi irascere intelligere possum ; si, quòd eum defendo quem tu accusas, cur tibi quoque ipse non succenseo, qui accusés eum quem ego defendo ? Inimicum, inquis, accuso meum : & amicum, inquam, ego defendo meum. Sic 5. Tusc. quod cum fateantur, satis magnam vim esse in vitiis ad miseram vitam ; nōne fatendum est eandem vim in virtute esse ad beatam vitam ? Contraria enim contrariorum sunt consequentia.”

Quæ tamen regula non est perpetuo vera primò nisi collatio sit verè parium : non ergo sequitur, “mala opera damnant ; ergo bona justificant.” Mala n. opera omnino mala, bona imperfectè bona sunt ; illa nostra, hæc non plane nostra. Secundo, sed in iis duntaxat paribus, contrariorum ex loco petitis, quorum parium propositio reciprocatur. Quod in relatis quidem fit frequentissimè : ut apud Martialem.

Tum servum scis te genitum, blandèque fateris,
Cum dicis dominum, Sosibiane, patrem.

4 N 2

Pater

Pater est filii dominus, & filii dominus est pater: pariter ergo filius est patris servus. Sic ex adversis: "bonum est appetendum; pariter ergo malum est fugiendum." Nempe quia propriè adeoque reciprocè, omne appetendum est bonum. Et ex privantibus: Ovid. 1. Fast.

In pretio pretium nunc est, dat census honores,
Census amicitias: pauper ubique jacet.

Dives est in pretio, & quisquis est in pretio, est dives; ergo omnis pauper jacet.

"Quoties autem collationis propositio non reciprocatur, vel quoties uni parium id quasi proprium tribuitur quod utrisque commune est, eorum consequentia contraria non sunt, sed sæpe eadem." Fallit ergo hoc ex relatis: "pater est dives; ergo filius est pauper:" quia propositio non est reciproca; omnis enim dives non est pater. Et hoc etiam ex adversis: "homo est sensu præditus; bestia igitur sensu caret. Homo mortalis; bestia igitur immortalis:" quippe nec sensu præditum, nec mortale est homini proprium; sed utrique contrario commune, & homini & bestię. Hoc etiam ex contradicentibus: "homo est animal; ergo non homo est non animal." Hoc denique ex privantibus: "videns vivit; ergo cæcus est mortuus:" vivere enim & videnti & cæco commune est. "Non enim idem non dici de contrariis, sed contraria de eodem dici non possunt: immo quod suscipit unum contrariorum, suscipit alterum; & quod unum non suscipit, neque alterum;" ut, "in quo est amor, in eo potest esse odium. Quibus nullum est jus, iis nulla fit injuria."

Est & alius parium sine notis modus, "quo interdum laceffiti, par pari reponimus." Qualis est Virgil. Ecl. 3. In illa pastorum alterna contentione repetitum illud; "Dic quib. in terris, &c." Cujusmodi est & illud Mat. 21. 23. &c. "Qua auctoritate facis ista?" &c. "Interrogabo vos ego etiam quiddam: Baptisma Joannis unde erat?" Affine est illud Cic. Off. 2. "Cato, cùm ab eo quæreretur, quid esset scenerari? respondit, quid hominem occidere."

Paria verò ficta quorum esse proprium suprà diximus rem veram arguere, sunt illa apud Ciceronem, Invent. 1. ex Æschine Socratico; ubi Aspasia cum Xenophontis uxore & Xenophonte ipso sic inducitur locuta: "dic mihi, quæso, Xenophontis uxor, si vicina tua melius habeat aurum quàm tu habes, utrum illius an tuum malis? Illius, inquit. Et si vestem? Illius verò respondit. Age verò, si virum illa meliorem, an illius malis." Hic mulier erubuit. Comparatio sic se habet: si aurum, si vestem vicinæ meliorem habere mallet quàm tuam, malle etiam meliorem vicinæ virum argueris. Non dicit vicinam habere aurum aut vestem meliorem, sed fingit aut ponit, eamque si mallet Xenophontis uxor, arguitur malle virum quoque vicinæ si melior sit.

C A P. XIX.

De Majoribus.

"Imparia sunt, quorum quantitas non est una."

"Non una," i. e. non eadem; quorum par ratio non est: contrariorum enim contraria ratio est.

Impar est majus vel minus.

Majus est cujus quantitas excedit.

Major autem vel minor quantitas æstimanda est ex rerum quæ comparantur, elatione vel summiffione, ut inquit Cic. in Top. i. e. excessu vel defectu; quæ vel notis indicantur, vel, si defunt notæ aliis vocibus, quæ excessum vel defectum significant, intelliguntur. Ex eo autem quod suprà de Logica quantitate diximus, intelligendum est id Logicè majus quoque esse, cujus non solum magnitudo, mensura, aut numerus, sed etiam auctoritas, potentia, præstantia, probabilitas, difficultas, aut quid hujusmodi majus est; vel brevius, quod quavis ratione excessum habet, id majus est; idque non solum rei ipsius natura, sed vel opinione differentis. Majus igitur est cujus quantitas excedit id quod minus est: majus enim hîc adhibetur ad arguendum minus.

Quemadmodum autem parium, ita argumenti à majore, forma alia contracta est, quæ notis brevius indicatur; alia explicata, quæ partibus plenius distinguitur.

Contractioris formæ notæ sunt vel nomina comparativa & superlativa suos casus regentia, vel verba quædam; & ea quidem utraque non solum quæ excessum significant, ut "major, melior, pejor; præstare, superare, vincere, excedere, præferri," cum referuntur ad id quod arguit, verum etiam ea cum nomina tum verba quæ defectum significant, ut "minor, inferior, posthabeo, cedo, vincor, superor," si referuntur ad id quod arguitur.

Explicata autem forma nunc est cum notis, nunc sine notis. Notæ sunt "non solum, sed etiam;" non, tam, quam, & comparationes, verbæque, ut suprà, non modò elationem significantia cum particula "quàm," si ea particula tribuatur ei semper quod arguitur, sed etiam ea quæ summiffionem significant, si modò particula "quàm" referatur ad id quod arguit: ut, "minus est amicum pulsare, quàm patrem." Sed hoc exemplum arguit potius à minori quàm grave scelus sit pulsare patrem, quàm a majori non admodum grave esse pulsare amicum. Idem de cæteris hujusmodi est dicendum.

Exemplum primæ notæ: Cic. pro Muræna: "Tollitur è medio non solum ista verbosa simulatio prudentiæ, sed etiam illa domina rerum sapientia. Spernitur orator non solum odiosus in dicendo aut loquax, verum etiam bonus." In hujusmodi exemplis "sed etiam" est propositio, & ut majus, arguit redditionem "non solum," ut minus.

Huic nota affinis est "immo," vel "immo verò." Cujusmodi est illud apud Terent. "Thr. Magnas verò agere gratias Thais mihi? Gn. Ingentes. Thr. Ain tu? læta est? Gn. Non tam ipso quidem dono, quàm abs te datum esse: id verò seriò triumphat." Hîc facile intelligitur "immo ingentes" & "immo id seriò triumphat." Ingentes gratiæ arguunt magnas; & triumphare, lætam esse. Sic Catil. 1. "Hic tamen vivit, vivit? immo verò in senatum venit." Et illud Ver. 3. "Non furem, sed raptorem; non adulterum, sed expugnatorem pudicitiae," &c.

Exemplum secundæ notæ, comparativorum scilicet & verborum cum particula "quàm," est ex Cic. pro Marcello: "Plus admirationis habitura, quam gloriæ." Sed ambiguum: aut enim plus admirationis arguit minus gloriæ, & sic argumentum est à majori, aut minor gloria si magna sit, arguit maximam admirationem.

Verborum elationem significantium cum particula "quàm" exemplum hoc erit; "mendicare præstat, quàm furari." Hîc mendicare, quanquam in honestum, ut magis tamen & potius faciendum, arguit multo minus esse furandum.

"Sic malo illud," scilicet quod arguit, "quàm hoc," scilicet quod arguitur: ut Juvenal. Satyra 8. adversus gloriosum nobilem.

Malo pater tibi sit Thersites, dummodo tu sis.
Æacidæ similis, Vulcaniæque arma capeffas,
Quàm te Thersitæ similem producat Achilles.

Quod

Quod malit ignobilem fortem, quod tamen non est ita optandum, ex eo arguit atque ostendit à majori sive à potiori quàm minime velit nobilem ignavum. Cæsar: “Malo modestiam in milite; quàm virtutem.” Modestia, judicio Cæsar, præstantior & major, arguit virtutem sive fortitudinem in milite minus esse quàm modestia requirendam: vel potius à minori exaggerat modestiæ laudem in milite præ virtutis laude.

Sequitur majorum tractatio sine notis.

Atque in hoc solùm genere id majus est cujus probabilitas aut difficultas est major. Hic etiam Logici regulas consequentiæ tradere solent non solùm negando, ut vult Aristot. Rhet. 2. 23. verùm etiam affirmando, pro quantitatis diversa vi & consideratione, in exemplis diversis: ejusdem enim exempli una tantum ratio est. Si majus est probabilius, duntaxat negando, in hunc modum: “quod non valet in majore, non valebit in minore.” Si majus est difficilius aut incredibilius, duntaxat affirmando: “quod in re majore valet, valet in minore,” ut inquit Cic. in Top. Hujus exemplum est Æneid. 1.

O focii (neque enim ignari fumus ante malorum)
O passi graviora! dabit Deus his quoque finem.

Si gravioribus malis dedit Deus finem, dabit his certè. Sic Cic. pro Muræna: “Noli tam esse injustus, ut cùm tui fontes vel inimicis tuis pateant, nostros rivulos etiam amicis putes clausos esse oportere.”

“Ficta etiam majora idem valent in suis consequentiis vel refutandis vel probandis.” Refutandi exemplum est Terent. Heaut.

—————Satrapas si fiet
Amator, nunquam sufferre ejus sumtus queat:
Nedum tu possis:—quasi diceret, finge satrapam esse.
Et Æneid. 5.
Magnanime Ænea, non si mihi Jùpiter auctor
Spondeat, hoc sperem Italiam contingere cœlo:
Mutati transversa fremunt, &c.
Nec nos obniti contrà, nec tendere tantùm
Sufficimus:—i. e. multo nunc minus Jove non spondente.

C A P. XX.

De Minoribus.

MAjus & minus inter se affecta & relata sunt: adeoque unius definitionem qui norit, norit alterius.

Ut igitur majus est cujus quantitas excedit, “ita minus est cujus quantitas exceditur.” Quantitas autem ut majoris erat in qualibet rerum elatione sive excessu, ita nunc minoris est in qualibet rerum summissione sive defectu. Sententiarum enim minor probabilitas aut difficultas locum non habet, nisi in minorum forma explicata; quod ex majorum quoque explicata forma intelligi potest. Minus igitur est cujus quantitas exceditur à majore: argumentum itaque à minore est, cùm id quod minus est, adhibetur ad arguendum id quod est majus.

Minora

Minora etiam vel brevius indicantur notis, vel plenius distinguuntur partibus. Huius utriusque formæ vel propriæ sunt minorum notæ, vel negationes parium.

Propriæ notæ contractioris formæ sunt primùm, voces comparativæ Grammaticæ, cum nomina tum verba, elationem utraque significantia, si modò attribuantur ei quod arguitur. Ovid. 2. de Trist. "Sævior es tristi Busrīde." Hic minor sævitia Busrīdis arguit majorem illius in quem poeta invehitur. "Præstat sapientia divitiis. Sævior & præstat" elationem significant, & notæ sunt majoris; sed quia tribuuntur ei quod arguitur, argumentum utrobique est à minori. Atque hoc sedulò advertendum est, ut argumentum majoris à minori dijudicare possis: majora enim & minora, contractæ præsertim formæ, easdem plerumque notas præ se ferunt; idemque exemplum utramvis in partem vel à majori vel à minori arguere potest: ut, "sævior es tristi Busrīde." Hoc si ad sævitiam cujuscvis exaggerandam dicatur, ut hoc loco, à minori est: si ad Busrīdis extenuandam, à majori. Si igitur illa quæ elationem significant, referantur ad id quod arguitur, sunt illa quidem notæ majoris, argumentum autem est à minori; quoniam majus, cujus illa notæ sunt, est id quod arguitur: si illa quæ summissionem significant, referuntur ad id quod arguitur, sunt illa quidem notæ minoris, sed argumentum est à majori; quoniam id quod arguitur, minus est.

Secundò, comparationes Grammaticæ verbæque summissionem significantia, ut minor, inferior, &c. Posthabeo, postpono, cedo, vincor, superor, &c. Si modò ad id quod arguit, referatur: ut "cedant arma togæ." Hic togæ dignitas arguitur à minori armorum dignitate, quæ cedit.

Atque hæ sunt notæ affirmantes contractæ formæ: quibus annumerandæ sunt etiam istæ formulæ, quæ fiunt negatione parium. Philip. 9. "Omnes ex omni ætate, qui in hac civitate intelligentiam juris habuerunt, si unum in locum conferantur, cum S. Sulpitio non sunt conferendi," i. e. non æquandi, quæ nota parium fuit. Hactenus contracta forma.

Explicata forma vel cum notis est, vel sine notis. Propriæ notæ sunt primò, "non modò non, sed ne." Cic. 2. Catil. "Nemo non modò Romæ, sed ne ullo in angulo totius Italiæ oppressus ære alieno fuit, quem non ad hoc incredibile sceleris foedus asciverit." Hic posterior nota "sed ne," est propositionis, & nota minoris; arguitque "non modo non," quæ redditionis est, & nota majoris, quod arguitur. Ne ullo in angulo Italiæ non fecit, quod minus utile sibi erat, non modò non igitur vel multo magis Romæ fecit, quod majus erat, vel sibi magis utile. Pro Fonteio: "Non modo nullum facinus hujus protulerunt, sed ne dictum quidem aliquod reprehenderent." Ne minus quidem fecerunt ut dictum aliquod reprehenderent, quæ propositio est & arguit non modo non majus, i. e. ergo non majus, ut facinus aliquod proferrent, quæ redditio est, & arguitur.

Verùm in hujus notæ exemplis propositionis nota "sed ne," aliquando omittitur. Ad Lent. "Nullum meum minimum dictum, non modò factum pro Cæsare intercessit," i. e. nullum non modò factum, sed ne dictum quidem. Huic notæ affinis est illa formula, "tantum abest ab hoc, ut ne illud quidem." Pro Marcello: "Tantum abes à perfectione maximorum operum, ut fundamenta, quæ cogitas, nondum jeceris." Ne hoc quidem fecisti quod minus est, abes ergo longe ab illo quod est majus.

Secundæ notæ sunt comparationes Grammaticæ & verba quædam cum particula "quàm," quæ vel elationem significant, ut "potius hoc quàm illud, malo hoc quàm illud," vel summissionem, ut "minor, inferior," ita ut "quàm" utrobique referatur ad id quod arguitur. Catil. 1. "Ut exul potius tentare, quàm consul vexare remp. possis." Quod potius erat Ciceroni ut exul tentaret remp. quàm consul vexaret, illud ut minus malum arguit hoc esse majus: Hic comparatio Grammatica "potius," ad id quod arguit, refertur, nempe ad minus malum; particula "quàm" ad id refer-
tur

tur quod arguitur, nempe ad majus malum; "Sic maluit Metellus de repub. quàm de sententia sua dimoveri." Hic "maluit," verbum elationis, refertur ad id quod arguit, nempe ad minus malum, judicio Metelli, de rep. dimoveri; particula "quàm" ad id refertur quod majus malum arguitur, dimoveri de sententia. Sic in iis notis quæ summisionem significant, particula "quàm" refertur semper ad majus quod arguitur, non secus atque in iis quæ significant elationem: ut, "minus est accipere, quàm dare; inferior est Cæsar quàm Scipio."

His notis affinis est "antequam," i. e. potius quam. Pro Milone: "Utinam Clodius dictator esset, antequam hoc spectaculum viderem."

Tertia nota est "cùm tum:" 1. Agr. "quæ cùm omnib. est difficilis & magna ratio, tum vero mihi præter cæteros.

Sequuntur negationes parium in hac forma explicata. "Non tam, quàm." Catil. 2. "Quaquam illi qui Catilinam Maffiliam ire dictitant, non tam hæc queruntur, quàm verentur. Sic non tot, quot:" pro Muræna; "Quod enim fretum, quem Euripum tot motus, tantas, tam varias habere putatis agitationes fluctuum; quantas perturbationes & quantos æstus habet ratio comitiorum?" In hoc exemplo interrogatio fortius negat paria.

Nunc ad exempla formæ sine notis explicatæ veniamus. Cic. Off. 1. "Ergo histrio hoc videbit in scena, non videbit sapiens in vita." Atque hinc etiam consequentiæ ducuntur non solum affirmando & probando ut vult Arist. Rhet. 2. 23. & Cic. in Top. sed etiam negando & refutando: Si quidem hoc de exemplo non eodem intelligitur: sin de eodem, tum quidem vel solum affirmando, vel solum negando rectè proceditur. Affirmandi exemplum est Ovid. 1. de Remed.

Ut corpus redimas ferrum patieris & ignes, &c.

Ut valeas animo quicquam tolerare negabis?

Si corporis causa, multo magis animi quidvis tolerabis; animus enim dignior. Item pro Archia: "Bestiæ sæpe immanes cantu flectuntur: nos non poetarum voce moveamur?" Sic illud Mat. 6. 26. "Passeres curat Deus: multo magis ergo homines." At negando, nulla ex his consequentia deducitur: non ergo sequitur, "si corporis causa quicquam non tolerabis, ergo nunc animi;" & sic de cæteris. Rectè igitur, si hoc modo intelligitur Aristoteles, à minore ad majus affirmando solum proceditur. Verùm exempla non desunt, in quib. à minore arguitur etiam solum negando: cujusmodi est illud supra citatum, pro Marcello; "fundamenta nondum jecisti, certè ergo non perfecisti." Nec tamen idem affirmando; "fundamenta jecisti, ergo perfecisti." Hic modò cavendum est, ne ponatur negatio quæ affirmationi æqui-polleat: ut, "Deus non negligit passeres," idem est quod "curat." Sic enim utriusque consequentiæ idem exemplum prout sententia eadem vel affirmando vel negando variatur, dari posset: ut, "si fures plectendi, multo magis sacrilegi. Si furib. non parcendum, multo minus sacrilegis." Hic "plectere" & "non parcere" idem est; & minus sit nota majoris: non igitur notæ, sed rerum elatio vel summissio majus vel minus efficit. Atque hæc de consequentiis minorum sine notis.

Verùm eadè consequentiæ ducuntur ab explicata forma, quæ etiam cum notis est, ut ex iis exemplis quæ supra ponuntur, intelligas licet. In hac forma explicata sine notis est ubi occurrit minorum quædam gradatio: ut Ver. 7. "Facinus est vincere civem Romanum; scelus verberare; propè parricidium necare: quid dicam in cruce tollere?"

Finguntur etiam minora: Virgil. Ecl. 1.
Antè leves ergo pascentur in æthere cervi, &c.
Quàm nostro illius labatur pectore vultus.

Philip.

Philip. 2. "Si inter cœnam in tuis immanibus illis poculis hoc tibi accidisset, quis non turpe duceret? In cœtu verò populi R. negotium publicum gerens, magister equitum," &c.

C A P. XXI.

De Similibus.

HActenus comparatio in quantitate fuit. Sequitur "comparatio in qualitate, qua res comparatæ quales dicuntur."

Qualitas enim Logica non solum est habitus, aut dispositio, aut potentia, vel impotentia naturalis, aut denique figura aut forma exterior, quæ Aristot. species qualitatis sunt, & in aliis artibus tractandæ, sed est affectio quælibet sive ratio, quâ res inter se comparatæ quales, nempe similes aut dissimiles dicuntur. Nulla autem res est, quæ si alteri qualitate conferatur, non sit ei similis vel dissimilis.

Similia sunt quorum eadem est qualitas.

Sic enim definit Aristoteles, Phil. 8. 15. & Boethius, 1. 2. in Cic. Top. "similitudo," inquit, "est unitas qualitatis." Argumentum igitur similitudinis est, quando simile explicatur à simili. Magna quidem est affinitas parium cum similibus; verum ut ex definitionibus eorum perspicere licet, in hoc maximè differunt, quòd paria non admittunt elationem aut summisionem, similia admittunt: possunt enim etiam similia maiora esse vel minora; quod paria non possunt.

Similitudo proportio dicitur, Græcè ferè "analogia;" & similia proportionalia, Græcè "analogia." Proportio autem nihil aliud est quàm duarum rationum similitudo: ratio autem est duorum inter se terminorum sive rerum collatio. * Monendum autem est similia sive contractæ formæ sive explicatæ urgenda non esse ultra eam qualitatem quam in utrisque eandem esse propositum assimilanti erat ostendere: sic magistratus assimilatur cani, sola nimirum fidelitate custodiæ: unde illa in scholis, "nullum simile est idem, simile non currit quatuor pedibus, omne simile claudicat."

Similia nunc notis brevius indicantur, nunc partibus plenius distinguuntur; hoc enim comparatis omnibus commune est. Notæ similitudinis contractæ "quæ uno verbo concluditur," sunt vel similitudinis propriæ vel dissimilitudinis negationes. Propriæ similitudinis sunt vel nomina, ut "similis, effigies, imago, more, ritu, instar, in modum;" vel adverbia, "tanquam, veluti, quasi, sicuti;" vel verba, "imitari, referre," &c. 1. Æneid. "Os humerósque Deo similis." Philip. 9. "Quanquam nullum monumentum clarius Servius Sulpitius relinquere potuit, quàm effigiem morum suorum, virtutis, constantiæ, pietatis, ingenii, filium." 1. Trist.

Namque ea vel nemo, vel qui mihi vulnera fecit,
Solut Achilleo tollere more potest.

In Pis. "Unus ille dies mihi quidem instar immortalitatis fuit, quo in patriam redii." Verr. 1. "Sed repente è vestigio ex homine, tanquam aliquo poculo Circæo, factus est Verres." Pro lege Manil. "Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis En. Pompeium, sicut aliquem, non ex hac urbe missum, sed de cœlo delapsum intuentur." Negationes dissimilitudinis sunt, "haud secus, non aliter, non absimilis," &c. Æneid. 3. "Haud secus ac iussi faciunt." Terent. in Phor. "Ego isti nihilo sum aliter, ac fui."

Ad contractam similitudinis formam pertinet etiam metaphora: metaphora enim, ut docent Rhetores, est ad unum verbum contracta similitudo sine notis quidem, quæ tamen intelliguntur. Pro Sest. "Cujus ego patrem Deum atque parentem statuo fortunæ nominisque mei." i. e. "tanquam Deum.

"Similitudinis partes deinceps explicantur, & quidem disjuncte vel continue.

"Similitudo disjuncta est, quando termini" sive res "quatuor reipsa distinguuntur." i. e. quando duo termini sive res distinctæ in propositione comparantur duobus terminis sive rebus distinctis in redditione. Occurrit autem hæc forma & cum notis & sine notis. Notæ sunt, "qualis, talis;" illa propositionis, hæc redditionis nota est. Ita "quemadmodum, ut, sicut," propositionis; quibus respondent, "Sic, eodem modo, similiter," redditionis. Ecl. 5.

Tale tuum carmen nobis, divine poeta,
Quale fopor fessis in gramine.

Carmen ad auditorem, ut fopor ad fessum, termini quatuor distincti sunt. Ad Frat. 1. "Quemadmodum gubernatores optimi vim tempestatis, sic sapientissimi viri fortunæ impetum persæpe superare non possunt." Hic quatuor sunt item termini, ut gubernator ad tempestatem, sic sapiens ad fortunam. 1 Trist.

Scilicet ut fulvum spectatur in ignibus aurum,
Tempore sic duro est inspicienda fides.

Cicero 2 Phil. "Sed nimirum ut quidam morbo & sensus stupore suavitatem cibi non sentiunt; sic libidinosi, avari, facinorosi, veræ laudis gustum non habent." In vita Virgil.

Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores:
Sic vos non vobis nidificatis aves:
Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes: &c.

In hoc exemplo redditio sine nota præcedit. Particula autem "Sic" quæ nota solet esse redditionis, hic propositioni attribuitur.

"Aliquando nulla prorsus est nota." Virgilius Ecloga 2.

O formosæ puer, nimium ne crede colori.
Alba ligustra cadunt, vaccinia nigra leguntur.

"Continua similitudo est, quando est ut primus terminus ad secundum, ita secundus ad tertium." Leg. 3. "Ut magistratibus leges, ita populo præfunt magistratus." Hic termini sunt tres; lex, magistratus, populus. Sed medius bis adhibetur, & in omni proportionem continua continuatur; estque posterior terminus propositionis, prior redditionis. In omni enim proportionem termini esse debent ad minimum quatuor. Ordo hujus sic est: ut leges magistratibus, ita magistratus populo præfunt.

Quamquam autem similia magis ad illustrandum quàm ad probandum accommodata sunt, & Plato in Phædone, "Ego," inquit, "sermones qui ex similibus demonstrationes sumunt, probe novi ad ostentationem comparatos esse; & nisi quis caveat ab iis, facile imponunt," quod ad regulas tamen consequentiarum attinet, ex definitione similium perspicitur, similium similem esse rationem; valere igitur similia in utramque partem. Unde Aristot. Top. 24. "Quod in aliquo simili valet, in aliis quoque similibus valebit; & quod non in aliquo, nec in cæteris."

Quoniam autem similitudo non solum est propositionis & redditionis, sed terminorum etiam inter se. Idcirco si quædam similia sunt, inverse quoque similia erunt, & alternè.

alternè. Et inversè quidem duobus modis; inversione scilicet vel propositionis & redditionis quæ aliorum comparatorum communis est; vel terminorum, quæ videtur similibus propria. Exempli gratia; ut gubernator ad tempestatem, sic sapiens ad fortunam: inversè ergo; ut sapiens ad fortunam, sic gubernator ad tempestatem. Hæc propositionis & redditionis inversio est. Rursus, ut tempestas ad gubernatorem, sic fortuna ad sapientem: hæc inversio est terminorum. Alternatio est quando antecedens propositionis antecedenti redditionis & consequens consequenti comparatur. Regula ergo hîc est; si quædam similia fuerint, alternè similia erunt. Ut gubernator ad tempestatem, sic sapiens ad fortunam: ergo, alternè; ut gubernator ad sapientem, sic tempestas ad fortunam. Inversionum hujusmodi & alternationum in Mathematicis proportionibus usus maximus est: sed proportio non Mathematica solum, verum etiam Logica est, ut supradiximus, rerum omnium communis; ejus ergo regulæ non erant hîc omittendæ.

Ficta similitudo parem vim habet superioribus illis, sed præcipuè in hac explicata similitudine Æsopici apologi excellunt.

Horat. 1 Epist.

Quod si me populus Romanus fortè roget, cur
Non ut porticibus, sic judiciis fruar iisdem?
Nec sequar aut fugiam quæ diligit ipse vel odit?
Olim quod vulpes ægroto cauta leoni
Respondit, referam, quia me vestigia terrent
Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.

Huc etiam refertur parabola Socratica vulgò dicta; quæ est inductio similibus interrogationib. ferè constans. "Illa autem," inquit Fabius, "hanc habuit vim; ut cum plura interrogasset Socrates, quæ fateri adversario necesse esset, novissime id, de quo quærebatur, inferret, cui simile adversarius concessisset." Vide pag. 269. ad*.

C A P. XXII.

De Similibus.

HActenus similia, quorum qualitas est eadem. "Diffimilia sunt comparata, quorum qualitas est diversa."

Contrariorum enim eadem scientia est. Et Cic. in Top. "ejusdem est," inquit, "diffimile & simile invenire." In hoc differunt diffimilia à diversis, quod diffimilitudo sit differentia comparata, & non idem, eodem saltem tempore, sed diversis plerumque subjectis attribuatur. Itaque diversorum uno negato, alterum affirmatur; diffimilia sive diversa sive opposita, simul affirmari aut negari possunt. Diversa autem qualitas est non eadem; sive diversa sit sive opposita: quasi dicas diffimilium diffimilis est ratio. Argumentum igitur diffimilitudinis est quando diffimile arguitur à diffimili.

Contractæ diffimilitudinis notæ sunt "diffimile, dispar, differens, aliud, secus:" Pro Planc. "Diffimilis est debitor pecuniæ & gratiæ." Ennius: "O domus antiqua, heu quàm dispari dominare domino." Dispar autem est non impar, sed diffimilis. Cæsar 1. bell. Gal. "Hi omnes linguâ, institutis, legibus inter se differunt," 2. Agrar. "Alio vultu, alio vocis sono, alio incessu esse meditabatur." Cic. 2. Nat. "Quoniam coepi secus agere, atque initio dixeram.

Diffimilitudinis notæ etiam sunt per negationem similibus, ut non similis, non talis, non idem, non tanquam," &c. 3 de Orat. "Non est Philosophia similis artium reliquarum." 2 Æneid.

At non ille, fatum quo te mentiris, Achilles,
Talis in hoste fuit Priamo.——

Horat. 1. Epist. "Non eadem est ætas, non mens." 1. ad Frat. "Sit annulus tuus, non tanquam vas aliquod, sed tanquam ipse tu." Hoc argumento pastor ille errorem suum confitetur. Eclog. 1.

Urbem (quam dicunt Romam) Melibœe, putavi,
Stultus ego huic nostræ similem.——

Et mox,
Sic canibus catulos similes, sic matribus hædos
Noram, sic parvis componere magna solebam.

Ut nec canibus catuli, nec matribus hædi, sic nec Mantua Romæ similis est. In hoc exemplo erroris confessio pro negatione similibus est.

Explicata diffimilitudo itidem cum notis est vel sine notis. Notæ sunt hîc etiam negationes similibus. 3. Philip. "Certus dies non ut sacrificii sic consilii expectari solet.

Nota plerumque nulla est, cum diffimilitudo plenius explicatur.

Quintil. 1. 5. c. 11. "Brutus occidit liberos proditorem molientes. Manlius virtutem filii morte mulctavit." Catullus.

Soles occidere & redire possunt:
Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda.

Diffimilitudo est diei & vitæ nostræ. Redditio est vitam semel amissam non restitui. Illustratur à dissimili, quæ propositio est, soles occidere & redire possunt.

C A P. XXIII.

De Conjugatis.

HActenus prima argumenta sunt exposita: quorum tria genera fuere; consentanea, dissentanea, & comparata.

Sequuntur "orta de primis; quæ ad id quod arguunt perinde sunt ut prima unde oriuntur: ut conjugata & notatio, distributio & definitio."

In se itaque habent vim arguendi ut argumenta artificialia, & eandem quidem cum iis unde oriuntur: non autem à se, quia non prima, ut in capite secundo jam dictum est. Definitionem autem vix aliam requirunt præter ipsum nomen quod naturam eorum satis per se explicat: unde illud consuetarium, "Orta argumenta perinde esse ad id quod arguunt, ut sunt prima unde oriuntur."

Quatuor hæ species ortorum, in duo genera, anonyma licet, distinguuntur, cum propter dichotomiæ studium, tum quia conjugata & notatio sub eodem genere continentur, propter illam quæ inter ea intercedit communionem. Cicero itaque in Top.
locum

locum ex conjugatis notationi finitimum esse dixit. Et in multis exemplis conjugata à notatione & nomine nihil aut parum differunt. Communio autem illa duplex est: primò quòd sunt argumenta nominalia sive à nomine petita. Sed in hoc differunt, ut etiam tradit Boet. l. 4. in Top. Cic. quod notatio expositione nominis, conjugatio similitudine vocabuli ac derivatione perficitur. Neque idcirco ad Grammaticam pertinent: ex vi enim nominum argumenta petere, Logici est, non Grammatici. Secunda communio est, quòd sunt orta simplicia: neque enim ex pluribus primis simul conjunctis, sed ex uno aliquo argumento primo singula eorum exempla oriuntur, nisi in nominibus compositis: compositorum enim nominum composita interdum ex pluribus argumentis notatio est. Distributio autem & definitio sunt argumenta realia, i. e. in rerum explicatione versari solent, & composita, i. e. ex pluribus argumentis primis simul conjunctis originem suam trahunt. Si ergo ortorum genera, quæ anonyma esse diximus, nominibus distinguere lubet, orta erunt vel nominalia & simplicia, ut conjugata & notatio, vel realia & composita, ut distributio & definitio: nisi hoc fortè excipiamus, quod definitio ex uno primo, i. e. ex sola forma nonnunquam constare potest. Ex his autem duobus generibus prius tractandum est illud cui conjugata & notatio subjiciuntur, quia ferè simplicius est. Atque in hoc genere conjugata priorem sibi locum vendicant, quod ex solis consentaneis oriantur, cùm notatio ex quovis argumento primo petatur. Fabius l. 5. c. 10. Conjugata nihili facit: Aristoteles autem & Cicero in Topicis suis aliter sentiunt: quorum ille, l. 3. c. 4. & l. 7. c. 2. locos ex dissentaneis, conjugatis & casibus plurimu[m] ait valere; & ad plurima esse utiles.

“Conjugata sunt nomina ab eodem principio variè deducta.” “Ut” justitia, justus, justè. Aristoteles & Cicero conjugata, ille, nomina ejusdem conjugationis; hic, ejusdem generis esse definiunt: sed neque ille quasi jugum ipsum conjugatorum, neque hic genus, neque noster principium ipsum sive originem & thema conjugatorum numero excludit. Conjugata autem sunt omnia non solum nomina tam substantiva quàm adjectiva, sed etiam verba, &, quæ Aristoteles casus vocat, adverbia, cùm paronyma, i. e. derivata, tum ipsa themata, servatis tamen istis conditionibus. 1. Si ut idem sonant, sic idem etiam significant. 2. Si in eadem significationis ratione sumantur. Nam si unum significat potentiam sive facultatem aut habitum, alterum verò actum & ex potentia sive habitu arguatur actus aut contra, captio est. 3. Si in iis symbolum sit consentaneorum argumentorum, i. e. si à consentaneis orta sunt: quorum vim & affectionem in arguendo aliis nominibus iisque conjugatis referant: quorum etiam ad inventionem nominalis hujusque conjugationis indicio ducamur: unde elucet non contemnendus hujus loci usus, præsertim in definitionibus.

Sequuntur exempla; ut justitia, justus, justè. Cujusmodi in exemplis observandum est, abstractum quod vocant, causam esse concreti, & concretum adverbii. Ut justitia est causa, cur aliquis sit justus: & quia justus est, idcirco justè agit. Quod tamen non est ubique verum: sanum enim, i. e. quod efficit aut conservat sanitatem, causa est sanitatis, concretum scilicet abstracti, ut notat Aristot. top. 2. 3. Propert. lib. 2.

Libertas quoniam nulli jam restat amanti,
Nullus liber erit, si quis amare velit.

Hic libertas quæ causa est cur sis liber, quia non restat, ergo nullus, &c. Cicero 3. de Nat. Deor. cùm de Dionysio tyranno loquitur: “Jam mensas argenteas de omnibus delubris jussit auferri, in quibus quòd more veteris Græciæ inscriptum esset” bonorum deorum, “uti eorum bonitate velle se dicebat: dii boni sunt: eorum igitur bonitate est utendum.” Hic ex effectis ad causas est disputatum; ut vult Ramus: ut mihi quidem videtur à causis ad effecta. Terent. “Homo sum, humani à me nihil alienum puto.” Ex subjecto est ad adjunctum. In Pison. “Cum esset omnis illa

illa causa consularis & senatoria, auxilio mihi opus fuerat & consulis & fenatus." Ex adjunctis est ad subjectum. Phil. 2. "Non tractabo ut consulem, ne ille quidem me ut consularem." Ex effecto est ad causam: nam esse consulem causa est ut quis postea sit consularis: unde sic arguitur; non agnoscit is in me effectum, non agnoscam ergo in eo causam. Notandum est nonnulla sensu duntaxat, non sono esse conjugata: ut, "somnus, dormiens; morbus, æger."

C A P. XXIV.

De Notatione.

"**N**Otatio est nominis interpretatio." i. e. reddita ratio cur quidvis ita nominatum sit. Definitio autem hæc est "Boëthi, l. 1. in Cic. Top. Notatio inquit Cic. in Top. Græcis etymologia dicitur," i. e. verbum ex verbo veroloquium: "nos autem novitatem verbi non satis apti fugientes, genus hoc" notationem "appellamus, quia sunt verba rerum notæ." Hæc ille. Ex iis igitur quæ supradicta sunt, intelligi potest, notationem esse argumentum ortum adeoque symbolum alicujus primi; esse nominale, i. e. ut Cicero loquitur, argumentum ex vi nominis elicatum.

"Quippe nomina sunt notæ rerum & cujuslibet nominis vel derivati vel compositi, siquidem notatione vera nomen inditum fuit, ratio reddi potest ex aliquo argumento primo."

"Ut homo ab humo." Hæc à materia est notatio. Sed linguæ, cùm prima illa quam Adamus in Edene, tum illæ variæ atque à prima fortassis ortæ, quas conditores turris Babelicæ subito acceperunt, divinitus proculdubio datæ sunt; unde vocum primitivarum ratio si ignoretur, mirum non est: quæ autem voces derivatæ sunt aut compositæ, vel earum origines ex aliis linguis antiquis jamque obsoletis petendæ sunt, vel ipsæ vetustate aut infimæ plebis inquinata fere pronuntiatione ita immutatæ, mendose etiam scribendi consuetudine ita quasi oblitteratæ, ut vera vocum notatio raro admodum teneatur. Unde argumentum à notatione, nisi ea fortè manifestissima sit, fallax admodum & sæpe ludicrum est.

Nunc reliqua exempla videamus. Ovid. 6. Fast.

Stat vi terra sua; vi stando Vesta vocatur.

Terra dicitur Vesta ab effecto suo naturali, propterea quod vi sua stat.

At locus à flammis & quod foveat omnia dictus.

Ex effectis est notatio. Item "Verr. 4. O Verrea præclara! Quo enim accessisti, quo non attuleris tecum istum diem? Etenim quam tu domum, quam urbem adiisti, quod fanum denique, quod non eversum atque extersum reliqueris? Quare appellantur fanè ista Verrea, quæ non ex nomine, sed ex moribus naturaque tua constituta esse videntur." Ex effectis item est notatio. Ovid. 1. Fast.

Prima dies tibi, Carna, datur, dea cardinis hæc est.

Numine clausa aperit, claudit aperta suo.

Notatio hæc è subjecto est, cardine scilicet, in quo versando dea illa exercebatur. Hinc illa cavillatio in Antonium generum: "Tuæ conjugis, bonæ foeminæ, locupletis quidem certè, Bambalio quidam pater, homo nullo numero, nihil illo contemptius; qui propter

propter hæsitantiam linguæ stuporémque cordis, cognomen ex contumelia traxerit." Ex adjunctis est notatio hæc Bambalionis, quia balbus & stupidus. E dissentaneis autem sunt illa apud "Quintil. l. i. c. 6. Lucus, quia umbra opacus parum luceat: & ludus, quia sit longissimè à lusu: & Dis quia minimè dives." Est etiam è comparatis notatio pyropi, quòd ignis quondam speciem præbeat.

Atque hætenus de notatione: nunc aliquid de nomine adjiciendum est. "Est enim ut notationi ad suum nomen, sic nomini ad notationem sua affectio:" Hoc est, ut notatio arguit nomen, sic nomen vicissim arguit notationem. Ut animi plenus, ergo animosus; & contrà, animosus, ergo animi plenus. Nam & nomen quoque ortum argumentum est; ex quo autem fonte oriatur, notatio declarat. Hæc autem appendicula de nomine idcirco est adjecta, quia cum alia argumenta inter se affecta, quot quidem eodem nomine ac definitione non sunt comprehensa, sua seorsum capita sibi habuerint, & tantillum esset quod de nomine dicendum erat, non videbatur caput novum ob id esse instituendum. In hoc igitur capite duo loci inventionis continentur, notationis & nominis: inter quos si comparatio fiat, potior videtur nominis. Unde tota hæc categoria ab "Aristotele locus à nomine" dicitur. Sæpiùsque & firmitus à nomine quàm à notatione argumentum ducitur; ut homo est, ergo ex humo; focus est, ergo foveat. At non eadem vi argumentum à notatione deducitur; ex humo est, homo igitur; foveat omnia, ergo focus est.

C A P. XXV.

De Distributione.

Reliquum est ex ortis aliunde argumentis argumentum distributionis & definitionis.

"In qua utraque affectio reciprocationis est, illic partium omnium cum toto, hic definitionis cum definito."

Reciprocatio autem hoc loco est qua prorsus idem, eadèmq, ut ita dicam, essentia utrinque significatur: nam partes omnes simul sumptæ, i. e. rite compositæ, idem sunt quod totum, & definitio idem, quod definitum; quod de nullo præterea genere argumentorum dici potest. Unde nascitur hæc regula utrique huic argumento communis, ut in distributione ac definitione "nequid desit, nequid redundet:" nam ubi reciprocatio, ibi quoque æqualitas requiritur. Hinc eximia illa distributionis & definitionis laus effloruit; ex iis nempe artium institutiones maxima ex parte constare. Cùm n. omnia artium præcepta constare debeant ex argumentis reciprocis, reciprocatio autem nusquam alibi reperitur nisi inter formam (quæ ipsa in definitionibus comprehenditur) & formatum, inter subjectum & proprium adjunctum; hinc factum est ut præcepta omnia vel definitiones sint vel distributiones vel regulæ quædam sive confectaria, quæ proprietatum explicationes dicuntur.

"Distributio est, cum totum in partes distribuitur.

Totum est, quod continet partes.

Pars est, quæ continetur à toto."

Totum Logicè & generaliter dicitur, quicquid quocunque modo distribuitur & partes continet: pars, quæ quocunque modo continetur à toto.

"Atque ut distinctio totius in partes, distributio; sic collectio partium ad constituendum totum, inductio dicitur."

Inter hanc autem inductionem & distributionem nullum aliud discrimen est, nisi quod distributio à toto ad partes, hæc verò à partibus ad totum progreditur. Quamobrem,
ut

ut supra, nomen ad notationem, ita hîc inductio ad distributionem referenda est; non ad syllogismos, ut plerique volunt; cùm non alio modo ab inductione argumentemur atque à distributione: siquidem eadem est via Thebis Athenas quæ Athenis Thebas. Inductionis autem auctorem Aristoteles agnoscit Socratem; ejusque necessitatem tantam esse testatur, ut cùm scientia universalium sit, universalia cognoscere nequeamus nisi per inductionem. Inductionis ergo ope præcepta artium inventa sunt; ut in proæmio monuimus.

“ Distributio sumitur ex argumentis toti quidem consentaneis, inter se autem dissentaneis.”

Sed dissensio illa non est distributionis dissensio (nunquam n. dissentaneum in dissentaneum distribuitur) sed partium distributarum.

“ Itaque tanto accuratior erit distributio, quanto partium & cum toto consensio & inter se dissensio major fuerit.”

Hinc efficitur, eam distributionem accuratissimam esse, quæ in duas partes fit; eaque “dichotomia” dicitur: dissensio enim inter duo maxima est; & contrariorum unum uni tantum opponitur. Platonis itaque regula est: “ oportet in quàm proximum fieri potest numerum semper dividere.” Quod si dichotomiam invenire non queamus, difficile n. est eam semper invenire, species bisbinas ponere interdum præstat, quasi sub duobus generibus, licet anonymis, quàm quatuor sub uno. Hæc n. distributionis forma, licet non sit optima, est tamen optimæ proxima, Hac ratione suprâ cap. 3. Ramus divisit causas, in duo genera anonyma nempe “ efficientem & materiam, aut formam & finem.” Eff. Ubi autem dichotomia nullo modo commodè adhiberi potest, “ multis protinus differentiis res dividenda est, ut Aristoteles” monet. Neque enim propter dichotomiæ studium distributio vel mutilanda vel implicanda aut confundenda est.

C A P. XXVI

De Distributione ex causis.

“ **D**istributio prima est ex absolutè consentaneis, causis nempe & effectis. Distributio ex causis est, quando partes sunt causæ totius.”

“ Hîc distributio integri in sua membra præcipuè laudatur.”

“ Integrum est totum, cui partes sunt essentielles.” i. e. quod partibus totam suam essentiam complectentibus constituitur; ideóque symbolum est effecti ex materia per formam existentis.

“ Membrum est pars integri.”

Nimirum integro suo essentialis. Sive ut Aristot. Phil. 8. 15. “ Membra sunt ex quibus integrum componitur.” Et membra quidem symbola sunt causarum essentialium, materiæ nimirum & formæ, in quibus tota integri essentia consistit: singula n. membra materiam continent; cuncta simul, ipsam quoque formam. “ Sic Grammatica in etymologiam & syntaxin; Rhetorica in elocutionem & actionem; Logica in inventionem & dispositionem argumentorum dividitur. Ab his n. partibus artes illæ constituuntur;” non tanquam ex causis, sed tanquam ex causarum symbolis. Cùm enim essentia Dialecticæ partim communis sit materia scilicet, i. e. præcepta, & forma etiam nempe methodica illorum præceptorum dispositio; partim propria, quæ in bene differendo posita est, tota hæc Dialecticæ essentia in inventionem & dispositionem comprehenditur. Nec tamen partes istæ sunt ipsa materia, i. e. præcepta, nec ipsa forma communis, i. e. methodica præceptorum dispositio, nec propria, i. e. ipsa facultate differendi; sed ex præ-

præceptis methodicè dispositis conflatae sunt, & ipsa facultas differendi inventionis & dispositionis finibus continetur.

Quæ sequuntur apud authorem nostrum exempla duo, alterum ex Virgilio, Georg. 1. alterum ex Cicerone pro Muræna, objectis utraque distinguuntur, non causis; ideoque ad cap. 28. ad distributionem nempe è subjectis, ad quam etiam præmissa illa annotatio de usu pertinet.

“Quinetiam aliter tractatur hoc argumenti genus, vel à partibus ad totum, vel à toto ad partes.”

Hac de re Aristoteles Top. 6. 6. Regulas quasdam tradit. Primo à partibus: “affirmatis partibus cunctis, affirmatur totum:” & contrà; “sublatis partibus cunctis, tolli totum.” Item ab una parte: “una parte sublata, totum tolli.” Secundo à toto ad partes: “toto affirmato, affirmantur partes.” Verùm hæc omnia ex illa reciprocationis regula superioris capitis initio tradita satis intelliguntur. Nam quæ reciprocantur, eorum alterum ex altero vicissim & necessariò affirmatè & negatè concluditur. Hoc verò, ut Aristoteles etiam notavit, non sequitur; sublato integro, partes tolluntur.

Utriusque generis (nempe affirmationis & negationis à partibus ad totum) exemplum habemus apud Catullum.

Quintia formosa est multis : mihi candida, longa,
 Recta est: hæc ego sic singula confiteor :
 Totum illud, formosa, nego. Nam nulla venustas,
 Nulla in tam magno est corpore mica falis.
 Lesbia formosa est : quæ cum pulcherrima tota est,
 Tum omnibus una omnes furripuit veneres.

Est & alia distributio ex causis & meritò quidem imperfectior dicta, cum non tam ipsius rei quàm ejus causarum distributio sit : ut ab efficiente, testimonium est divinum vel humanum. Sic statuæ veteres aliæ factæ erant à Phydia, aliæ à Polycleto, &c. Distributio hæc quædam est totius in partes ; ubi tamen non tam partes ipsæ ponuntur quàm pro iis earum efficientis, quibus inter se distinguuntur. Sic statuæ aliæ erant aureæ, aliæ argentæ, aliæ æneæ, aliæ eburneæ, &c. Distributio est ex materia. Aliæ ad hominum, aliæ ad brutorum effigiem factæ ; est distributio à forma externa. Aliæ factæ sunt ad usum religiosum, aliæ ad civilem ; est distributio à fine.

C A P. XXVII.

De Distributione ex effectis, ubi de genere & specie.

“**D**istributio ex effectis est, quando partes sunt effecta.

Distributio generis in species hic excellit.”

Nonnulli ex Cicerone distributionem integri in membra “partitionem” vocant ; generis in species “divisionem.” Nec de nihilo fanè : membra enim copulari, species disjungi solent.

“Genus est totum partibus essentiale.”

In quo contrarium est integro : illic enim toti partes, hîc totum partibus est essentiale : unde constat, illam ex causis, hanc ex effectis distributionem rectè dici. Genus autem “est totum partibus essentiale,” quia illam essentiam nempe materiam & formam, quæ speciebus omnibus æquè communis est, significatione sua complectitur : vel brevius, quia symbolum est communis essentiæ. Neque enim genus propriè essentiam speciebus communicat (cum in se extra species revera nihil sit) sed earum duntaxat essentiam

significet. Quod enim essentialiale est & speciebus omnibus commune, ejus notio genus dicitur. Et idæa sæpe à Græcis, non separata quidem à rebus illa, ut velunt Platonica, quæ nugæ sunt, teste Aristot. Phil. 1. 7. & v. 5. Sed quod cogitatione & ratione unum & idem est speciebus multis commune in quibus re & natura est singulatim, ut Plato in Menone. Stoici etiam Idæas, ut refert Plut. de Placit. 1. 10. nostras notiones esse dixerunt.

“ Species est pars generis.”

Sic etiam Aristoteles, Phil. 8. 25. Et Cicero, Invent. 1. “ Pars quæ generi subest. Ex definitione autem generis intelligimus speciem ejusmodi partem esse cujus essentia communis in generis significatione contineatur. Propriam autem essentiam species, per quam est id quod est, à propria forma habet, quæ generis significatione minime contineatur. Sic etiam “ Aristot. Phil. 7, 12. Genus non videtur particeps esse differentiarum: simul n. contrariorum idem particeps esset; differentia n. contrariæ sunt.” Unde illud; Plus est in specie quam in genere: & illud “ Porphyrii; differentia est qua species superat genus.” Tota igitur generis essentia singulis æqualiter inest speciebus; at tota essentia speciei non est in genere, nisi potentia, ut inquit Porphyrius. Hinc ut species est pars generis, ita genus pars esse speciei quodammodo videtur: quod & Plato in Politico notavit. Sic animal genus hominis & bestię dicimus. Animal enim est totum, cujus essentia, nempe corporea, animata, sentiens, ad hominem & bestiam communiter attinet. Sic dicimus hominem & bestiam species animalis; quia partes sunt animali subjectæ, quæ animalis essentiam communem habent.

Genus est generalissimum aut subalternum.

Species subalterna aut specialissima.

Genus generalissimum, cujus nullum est genus.

Ut in Logica inventione argumentum est genus generalissimum artificialium & inartificialium.

“ Subalternum genus, ut subalterna item species, quod species hujus, illius autem genus est.”

Id est, quod nunc genus est, nunc species: genus, si ad species sibi subjectas referatur; species, si ad suum genus.

Sic causa, genus est materiæ & formæ; species, argumenti absolute consentanei. Sic homo est genus subalternum, sive species subalterna: species quidem, si ad animal referas; genus, si ad singulos homines.

“ Species specialissima est, quæ individua est in species alias.”

Ut materia & forma quæque singularis. Sic homines singuli sunt species specialissimæ hominis, & singuli leones leonis.

Logicorum quidem pars maxima hominem speciem specialissimam, singulos homines individua vocant, non species. Verum ut animal est totum cujus essentia communis, nempe corporea, animata, sentiens, ad hominem & bestiam communiter attinet; sic homo est totum, cujus communis essentia rationalis communiter ad singulos attinet homines; atque ut homo & bestia species sunt animalis, quia partes sunt animali subjectæ, quæ animalis essentiam communem habent; ita singuli homines species sunt hominis, quia partes sunt homini subjectæ, quæ hominis essentiam communem habent: ergo homo non minus est singulorum hominum genus quàm animal hominis; homines singuli non minus sunt hominis species quàm homo animalis. Singuli enim homines propria forma differunt: quæ autem forma differunt propria, differunt & specie; teste Aristot. Phys. 1. 7. Deinde, quicquid differt, aut genere differt aut specie; teste eodem Aristot. Phil. 10. 3. differre autem genere singulos homines nemo dixerit; differunt ergo specie. Nam quod aiunt hominem esse speciem singulorum hominum, id planè absurdum est: species enim pars est ejus cujus est species; ut ex ejus definitione constat: genus porro & species cum relata sint, genus utique erit speciei genus; species, generis erit species. Si igitur homo, ut vulgò volunt, est species singulorum hominum; singuli

guli homines erunt genus hominis ; quod nimis absurdum est. At inquit singuli homines numero tantum differunt, non forma. Verum quæ numero differunt, forma quoque differre, jam supra capite de Forma satis ostendimus ; etsi formæ cujusque propriæ differentia nobis non nisi per externa quædam effecta, & accidentia, quæ vocant, dignosci potest. Deinde, singuli homines inter se disparantur, ergo opponuntur : quæ autem inter se opponuntur, eorum eadem forma esse non potest ; forma ergo differunt non numero tantum. Itaque apud Laertium, in Zenone, Stoici docent, Socratem esse speciem specialissimam. Immo Aristot. de Part. 1. 4. Socratem & Coriscum species infimas vocat. Sic juriscònsulti, hominem genus appellant ; Stichum & Pamphilum species.

“ Genus verò & species notæ sunt causarum & effectorum.”

In animali n. est essentia corporea, quæ materia est ad species communiter attinens : tum facultas vitæ & sensus, quæ forma item communiter ad species spectat. Quare “ genus continet causas, quæ communiter ad ipsius species attinent : contra itaque etiam species effecta generis sui continent.”

“ Hinc universale est insigne ac præstabile : quia causam declarat.”

Idem ait Aristot. Poster. 1. 24.

“ Distributio generis in species valdè quidem excellit, sed difficilis est & rara inventu.”

Excellit quidem quia quicquid in artibus ex causis & effectis sumitur, id totum ferè generis & speciei notionibus comprehenditur : difficilis est, cum quia formæ, unde species oriuntur, difficiles itidem inventu sunt ; tum etiam propter vocum penuriam, quibus genera & species apte nominentur.

Attamen illustrationis & exempli gratia afferemus quod poterimus. Ovidius 1 Metam. dividit animal in quinque species, stellas, aves, bestias, pisces, homines : stellis animam tribuens, ut etiam quidam Philosophi tribuerunt.

Neu regio foret ulla suis animalibus orba,
Astra tenent cœleste solum formæque deorum, &c.

Sic Cic. Offic. 1. Virtutem dividit in species quatuor, prudentiam, justitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam ; quæ tamen ipsæ non ponuntur in distributione, sed, quod idem est, earum formæ. “ Sed omne quod honestum est, id quatuor partium oritur ex aliqua : aut enim in perspicentia veri solertiæque versatur, aut in societate hominum tuenda, tribuendoque suum unicuique, & rerum contractarum fide ; aut in animi excelsi atque invicti magnitudine ac robore ; aut in omnibus quæ fiunt, quæque dicuntur, ordine & modo, in quo inest modestia & temperantia.”

Hæc quidem, ut dixi, est “ distributio generis in specierum formas ; ” quæ perinde est ac si in ipsa species esset ; “ quia forma cum genere constituunt suas species.”

“ Genus & species non solum tractantur hac simplici divisionis formula, sed etiam separatim alterum ex altero.”

Hoc est, quod de toto genere, id de omnibus etiam speciebus rectè affirmatur. Sic Cicero, pro Archia, poëticam cum eloquentia comparans, quæ sunt species artis, cognatas esse ait inter se, quia idem de artibus in genere, humanioribus præsertim, affirmatur. “ Etenim omnes artes, quæ ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum, & quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur.”

“ Contra genus tractatur per species.”

Hoc est, quod de omnibus speciebus, id de genere quoque rectè affirmatur. Sic Ovidius probat, virtutem in rebus adversis clariorem esse, per inductionem specierum : quoniam scilicet virtus militis, nautæ, medici, rebus adversis spectatur, 4 Trist.

Hectora quis nosset, felix si Troia fuisset?

Publica virtutis per mala facta via est:

Ars tua, Tiphys, jacet, si non sit in æquore fluctus:

Si valeant homines, ars tua, Phæbe, jacet.

Quæ latet, inque bonis cessat non cognita rebus,

Apparet virtus arguiturque malis.

Cum itaque genus tractetur etiam per species, ut superiore regula docemur, & exempla specialia species eorum sint, quorum exempla sunt; hinc sequitur, "exempla speciali suo generi accommodata, hujus esse loci;" sive unum solum, sive per inductionem plura adhibeantur: specialia inquam, exempla enim vel similia sunt, quæ similia arguunt; vel specialia, quæ arguunt suum genus; qualia fuerunt in singulis argumentorum capitibus ex poetis & oratoribus desumpta. Exemplorum autem specialium, non solum in artibus cum inveniendis tum tradendis usus planè est necessarius (nam inductione exemplorum præcepta colliguntur, & eorum usu illustrantur) verum etiam in omni sermone, quoties res lucem desiderat. Cujusmodi est illud Cic. ad Atticum: "Urbem tu relinquis? Ergo idem si Galli venirent. Non est, inquit, in parietibus respublica. at in aris & focis: fecit idem Themistocles: fluctum enim totius barbariæ ferre urbs una non poterat. At idem Pericles non fecit, annum ferè post quinquagesimum, quum præter mœnia nihil teneret: nostri olim urbe reliqua capta, arcem tamen retinuerunt." Hic ab exemplo speciali in utramque partem differtur. Themistocles deseruit Athenas; ergo urbem deferere licet. Pericles non deseruit Athenas; nec Romani Gallis venientibus Romam; ergo urbs non est deferenda. Quod si hoc modo argumentaretur, Themistocles urbem reliquit, ergo mihi licet; argumentum esset à simili: nam exempla, cum ad alia specialia accommodantur, similia sunt vel dissimilia. Hujus autem loci ea demum sunt, quæ generi suo accommodantur.

Est & alia imperfectior distributio ex effectis, quando partes non sunt propriè effecta totius, sed ipsarum partium. Ut Cic. de Senect. "Nautarum alii malos scandunt, alii per foros curstant, alii sentinam exhaustiunt; gubernator autem clavum tenet in puppi." In hoc exemplo totum est nauta, quod est singulorum nautarum genus; partes, malum scandere, curstare, &c. Quæ tamen nautæ ut totius sive generis partes sive species non sunt, sed specierum, i. e. singulorum nautarum effecta sive officia, quibus ipsæ species, i. e. singuli nautæ inter se distinguuntur. Verum quanto hæc distributio imperfectior est, tanto est frequentior. Usus autem illius præcipuus est, ut perfectioris raritatem suppleat; cum distributio generis in species, ut supradictum est, tam difficilis inventu sit.

C A P. XXVIII.

De Distributione è subjectis.

"**R**eliqua distributio est modo quodam consentaneorum, ut subjectorum & adjunctorum. Distributio è subjectis est, cum partes sunt subjecta." Id est quando veræ partes intellectæ subjectis distinguuntur vel adumbrantur.

Ut apud Catallum:

Virginitas non tota tua est: ex parte parentum est.

Tertia pars matri data, pars data tertia patri:

Tertia sola tua est: noli pugnare duobus,

Qui genero sua jura simul cum dote dederunt.

Virgi-

Virginitas puellæ vel jus potius virginitatis in tres partes dividitur subjectis distinctas, matre, patre & ipsa puella. Alterum exemplum ex cap. 26. huc transfertur, Virgil. 1. Georg. Ubi poëta exorditur opus suum à divisione in quatuor partes, subjectis suis occupantibus distinctas, fegetes, arbores, pecora, apes.

Quid faciat lætas fegetes, quo fidere terram
Vertere, Mæcenas, ulmisque adjungere vites
Conveniat : quæ cura boum, qui cultus habendo
Sic pecori, atque apibus quanta experientia parcis,
Hinc canere incipiam ———

Tertium exemplum ex eodem etiam capite huc transfertur. Cic. pro " Muræna : Intelligo Judices, tres totius accusationis partes fuisse : & earum unam in reprehensione vitæ, alteram in contentione dignitatis, tertiam in criminibus ambitus esse versatam." Hic tota accusatio in tria membra distribuitur, subjectis suis occupantibus distincta : atque in his tribus exemplis totum est integrum. Quartum exemplum est generis in species ex Cic. 5. Tuscul. " Sint fanè illa tria genera bonorum, dum corporis & externa jaceant humi, & tantummodo quia sumenda sunt, appellantur bona. Alia autem, divina illa, longè latèque se pandant, cœlùmque contingant." Hic Cicero bona in tres species, quas ille genera vocat, dividit, subjectis suis distinctas ; nempe animi, corporis & fortunæ.

C A P. XXIX.

De Distributione ex Adjunctis.

" **D**istributio ex adjunctis est, quando partes sunt adjunctæ."

Ut hominum alii sani, alii ægri : alii divites, alii pauperes.

Sic Virgil. 1. Georg. mundum dividit in quinque partes ; mediam torridam, duas extremas frigidas, & reliquas duas temperatas :

Quinque tenent cœlum zonæ, quarum una corusco
Semper sole rubens, & torrida semper ab igni, &c.

Cæsar 1. Belli Gall. " Gallia est omnis divisa in tres partes : quarum unam incolunt Belgæ, aliam Aquitani, tertiam, qui, ipsorum lingua Celtæ, nostra, Galli appellantur."

In distributionibus hujusmodi imperfectis advertendum est id quod videtur distribui. Nam si id totius rationem habet, integri vel generis, distributio est ; si non habet rationem totius, sed simplex aliquod argumentum est, ut causa, effectum, subjectum, adjunctum, non est distributio sed enumeratio potius, vel causarum plurium ejusdem effecti, vel effectorum plurium ejusdem causæ, vel subjectorum plurium ejusdem adjuncti, vel denique adjunctorum plurium ejusdem subjecti. Hoc genere distributionis imperfecto argumenta sæpe quorum veræ species nullæ apparent, modis quibusdam distinguuntur, modos autem supra in adjunctis posuimus. Sic in causis, " procreans & conservans, modi" efficientis, non species, dicuntur : quia non differunt inter se ut species per differentias oppositas, sed ita ut uni & eidem efficienti convenire queant ; quandoquidem quæ causa procreat, eadem ferè conservat ; potestque efficere idem vel solus, vel cum aliis ; nonnulla vel per se, vel per accidens,

C A P. XXX.

De Definitione.

Definitio in tradendis artibus est usû quidem prior distributione (prius enim definitur unaquæque res quàm distribuitur) natura tamen & inveniendi ordine est posterior: genus enim, quo non adhibito, si quod sit, nulla definitio constitui potest, à distributione, qui proprius generis est locus, mutuum accipit.

“Definitio est, cum explicatur quid res sit.”

Definitio vocatur, eo quòd rei cuiusque essentiam definit, eamque suis quasi finibus circumscribit.

“Atque ut definitio arguit sive explicat definitum, sic vicissim à definito argui potest.” Quæ quanquam argumentorum omnium affectio communis est arguere inter se vicissim & argui, hîc tamen eandem ob causam facta mentio est definiti, ob quam in capite notationis facta est nominis; ne argumentorum numero excludi videatur, cùm neque ejusdem sit nominis cum definitione quam arguit, neque caput sibi peculiare obtineat; sicut alia argumentorum paria, quæ nominis ejusdem non sunt. Ad reciprocationem autem quod attinet, quæ definitioni cum distributione communis est, ea definitionis & definiti manifestissima est: Logica enim est ars bene ratiocinandi; & vicissim, ars bene ratiocinandi est Logica. Atque ad hunc modum omnis definitio, ut nonnulli rectè monuerunt, conversione examinanda est: unde Boëthius, Top. 5. “omnis definitio rei, quam definit, adæquatur.

“Definitio est perfecta aut imperfecta: illa propriè definitio, hæc descriptio dicitur.”

“Definitio perfecta est, quæ constat è solis causis essentiam constituentibus.” Redundat ergo in definitione perfecta quicquid præterea ponitur.

“Causæ autem illæ genere & forma comprehenduntur.”

Genus enim & forma (quæ sunt quasi corpus & anima definitionis) totam rei essentiam constituunt. Non ita tamen necessariò requiritur in definitione perfecta genus, ut perfecta non sit nisi genus habeat: primùm enim, summorum generum, ut argumenti in Logica inventionem, genus nullum est; sed tota eorum essentia sub ipsa forma continetur; quæ etiam materiam iis convenientem complectitur; deinde fieri potest ut ipsæ causæ facilius occurrant quam earum symbolum genus. Itaque si ex ipsis causis definitio constat, perfecta erit; si ex genere, succinctior tantum. Genus autem proximum, non remotum, in definitione semper est ponendum: qui enim proximum ponit, remotiora etiam posuit: nisi proximum fortè anonymum sit; tum enim & quotiescunque generis, sive anonymum sit sive non, paulo ante facta mentio est, abesse genus in definitione, & rectè subintelligi potest: ut in hac ipsa definitionis definitione, genus remotum, nempe ortum argumentum; tum etiam proximum, nempe reale & compositum, subintelligitur. Quam autem hîc formam in definitione appellamus, plerique differentiam vocant. Sed differentia formæ fructus est: & nisi in rerum collatione, quæ in definitione nulla est, non apparet; & forma ipsa est unde præcipua rerum explicatio sumitur; præcipuum ergo in definitione locum habet.

Atque hoc modo definitur homo, animal rationale: nempe genere, “animal,” intelligimus, ut dictum est, essentiam corpoream plenam vitæ & sensus, quæ materies hominis est, & pars formæ: cui si addas “rationale,” totam formam hominis comprehendes, vitæ, sensus, rationis facultate.

Itaque “perfecta definitio nihil aliud est, quàm universale symbolum causarum essentiam rei & naturam constituentium.”

Tales definitiones sunt artium. Grammatica est ars bene loquendi. Rhetorica bene dicendi. Logica bene ratiocinandi. Arithmetica bene numerandi. Geometria bene metiendi. Nam genere "ars" intelligimus præceptorum ordine dispositorum comprehensionem, quæ materies est cujusque artis & pars formæ, sive forma communis, cui si addas formam cujusque artis propriam (quæ finem quoque sub se comprehendit, ut dictum est cap. 8.) habes totam artis essentiam explicatam, quæ perfecta definitio est.

Ad regulas consequentiæ quod attinet, nempe à definitione ad definitum; & contrà, affirmatè vel negatè; hæc omnia reciprocatio, quæ distributionis quoque fuit, satis clarè suo loco exposuit.

C A P. XXXI.

De Descriptione.

Definitiones perfectæ propter causarum & præsertim formarum obscuritatem, difficiles inventu sunt: ad supplendam igitur earum raritatem, "descriptio" inventa est.

"Descriptio est definitio imperfecta, ex aliis etiam argumentis rem definiens." Id est, ex quibuscumque aliis rem quoquo modo explicans.

Ubi itaque forma haberi non potest (nam genera ferè notiora sunt) proprietas loco formæ seu differentiæ accipienda est: ut, "angelus est substantia incorporea; equus est animal hinnibile," &c. Adjuncta sive accidentia, quæ vocantur (quia substantiæ solæ, ut inquit Arist. l. 6. Metaph. c. 5. Primariò definiuntur, accidentia secundariò tantum propria quidem genere, subjecto, causâque proxima vel efficiente, vel finali, vel utràque definiuntur.) Genere & subjecto solo; ut, "finitas est curvitas nasi:" subjecto & efficiente; ut, "tonitru est sonus fractæ nubis, ob ignem oppressum; quantitas continua est adjunctum corporis, ab extensione materiæ:" finali; ut, "sensus est facultas naturalis in animali, ad judicandum de singularibus:" vel utraque; ut, "respiratio est attractio & expulsio aëris reciproca à pulmonibus facta, ad cordis refrigerationem." Omititur enim sæpe subjectum in definitione priorum, quippe quòd ex genere vel ex causa intelligitur: ut, "memoria est sensus internus conservans imagines rerum cognitarum." Non dicitur "sensus internus animalis," addito nempe subjecto, quia id mentione "sensûs" intelligitur. Potentiæ naturales actione sua & causa efficiente definiuntur: ut, "risibilitas est facultas ridendi, orta ab anima rationali." Habitus vel fine vel objecto quæ sæpe coincidunt definiuntur: fine; ut, "Logica est ars bene ratiocinandi:" objecto; ut, "Physica est scientia rerum naturalium." Qualitates patibiles definiuntur subjecto & efficiente: ut, "color est qualitas corporis mixti, orta ex contemperatione lucidi & opaci." Actiones ferè subjecto efficiente & fine definiuntur. Relationes relatis inter se & fundamento sive causa: ut, "paternitas est relatio patris ad filium, ex procreatione orta."

Adjuncta communia objecto, efficiente, finali, vel ex his quot sunt ex usu, definiuntur: ut, "albedo est color, ortus ex lucido opacum superante."

Illud modo generatim in descriptionibus cavendum, ne causa pro genere habeatur: ut cum dubitatio describitur, æqualitas rationum; sanitas, symmetria humorum; dolor, solutio continui; eclipsis lunæ, interpositio terræ: aut subjectum; ut, ventus est aër motus; justitia est voluntas constans; vulnus est pars carnis dilacerata; peccatum originis est natura corrupta, & similia.

Cæterum in his certæ regulæ dari non possunt. Aliquando enim ex remoto solum contrario fit descriptio: ut,

Virtus

Virtus est vitium fugere, & sapientia prima
Stultitia caruisse.—— Aliquando plane arbitraria est.

Hinc etsi unica rei definitio, plures tamen descriptiones esse possunt.

Ut autem definitio definito, quod suprà monuimus, ita etiam descriptio descripto vicissim argui potest. Verùm non affectio solùm hæc mutua inter descriptionem & rem descriptam intercedit, sed etiam reciprocatio; juxta communem illam distributionis ac definitionis regulam, suprà, cap. 2. traditam; quâ descriptio quoque propria rei descriptæ & reciproca esse debet. Quamvis enim in descriptionibus, multa sæpe congeruntur, quorum aliqua fortè latius patent, quàm id quod describitur, juncta tamen æquantur descripto descriptionemque propriam reddunt; sin minus, vitiosa atque inutilis descriptio censenda est. Ut, “homo est animal mortale, capax disciplinæ.” Hic cum aliqua causa (materia scilicet & communi forma, quæ sub genere “animal” continetur) miscentur duæ circumstantiæ sive adjuncta, alterum commune, scilicet “mortale,” alterum proprium, “capax disciplinæ.” At quorsum, inquis, illud “mortale,” cum nullum animal non sit mortale? Quia nempe Aristot. cujus hæc descriptio est, Top. 5. 1. animalia quædam ait esse immortalia, Top. 4. 2. & in eodem capite, Deum ipsum ζων ἀθάνατον, i. e. “immortale animal” vocat.

“Sed hæc succincta brevitās non est in hac specie perpetua; quæ sæpe illustriorem & copiosorem explicationem desiderat.”

Succinctæ descriptiones quæ perfectas æmulantur definitiones, usum habent præcipuè in artibus tradendis ac disputationibus. Prolixiores illæ, utpote ad aures vulgi magis accommodatæ, apud oratores ac poëtas frequentius occurrunt.

Sic gloria describitur in Miloniana: “sed tamen ex omnibus præmiis virtutis, si esset habenda ratio præmiorum, amplissimum esse præmium gloriam: hanc unam, quæ brevitatem vitæ posteritatis memoria consolaretur; quæ efficeret, ut absentes, adessemus; mortui, viveremus: hanc denique esse, cujus gradibus etiam homines in cælum videantur ascendere.” Descriptio hæc gloriæ constat ex genere, “præmio” nempe “virtutis;” adjuncta amplitudine, eaque aucta à minore, quod sit omnium amplissima; quatuor deinde effecta ejus adjiciuntur.

Sic 4 Æneid. fama describitur:

Ex templo Lybiæ magnas it fama per urbes,
Fama malum; quo non aliud velocius ullum
Mobilitate viget, virésque acquirit eundo, &c.

Describitur fama, 1. à genere, “malum:” 2. ab adjuncta velocitate, quæ illustratur à majore negato, “quo non aliud velocius:” tum duplici effecto aliarum rerum dissimili, quòd

Mobilitate viget, virésque acquirit eundo.

3. Ab adjuncta varietate, quæ ostenditur ex aliis adjunctis, quòd sit primò “parva,” idque arguitur causa, scilicet “metu,” & circumstantia temporis, “primò” nempe; tum subitò grandior facta incremento exigui temporis incredibili, idque ostenditur trib. effectis, quæ singula subjectis suis illustrantur,

——Mox sese attollit in auras:

Ingreditúrque solo, & caput inter nubila condit.

4. A causa procreante, “illam terra parens,”——mater scilicet gigantum; & efficiendi modo, consilio nempe sive impetu naturali, “ira irritata deorum,” qui gigantes occide-

occiderant; causa autem procreans communis illustrata tempore adjuncto, & communi testimonio,

Extremam, ut perhibent, Cæo Enceladóque sororem
 Progenit. Rursus illustratam ab adjunctis,
 — Pedibus celerem & pernicibus alis,
 Monstrum horrendum, ingens —

Deinde à partibus corporis & membris, iisque paribus.

— Cui quot sunt corpore plumæ,
 Tot vigiles oculi subter, mirabile dictu,
 Tot linguæ, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit aures.

Tum ab effectis nocturnis, iisque partim affirmatis quæ subjectis locis illustrantur,

Nocte volat cœli medio, terræque per umbram
 Stridens; partim negatis, nec dulci declinat lumina somno.

Tum diurnis, eaque illustrantur & subjectis locis, & adjuncto situ sedendi,

Luce sedet custos, aut summi culmine tecti,
 Turribus aut altis, & magnas territat urbes.

Ab adjunctis denique paribus;

Tam ficti pravique tenax quam nuntia veri.

Tales sunt descriptiones plantarum, animalium in Physicis; item fluminum, montium, urbium apud Geographos & Historicos; personarum denique apud Poëtas & Oratores.

C A P. XXXII.

De Testimonio divino.

“E Xposito artificiali argumento, sequitur inartificiale.

“Argumentum inartificiale est quod non sua natura, sed assumpta artificialis alicujus argumenti vi arguit.

“Id uno nomine Testimonium dicitur.” Nempe, ut inquit Cic. in Top. quod ab aliqua externa re sumitur ad faciendam fidem.”

Inartificiale autem dicitur, non quod artis ope & auxilio non inveniatur (siquidem de eo inveniando, ut inquit Cicero, Partit. in arte præcipitur) sed quod ex se suæque natura artis hujus & facultatis arguendi expers sit. Potest etiam assumptum dici, quod assumpta vi arguit, non sua. Argumentum enim inartificiale naturam rei non attingit, nedum arguit, ut artificiale solet, neque rei affectio, sicut artificiale, est; sed est nuda cujuspiam aliqua de re attestatio, sive attestantis affirmatio aut negatio. Res autem neque propter affirmationem sunt, neque propter negationem non sunt: testimonium igitur ex se suæque natura non arguit; “sed assumpta artificialis alicujus argumenti vi.” Vis autem hæc est testantis auctoritas, à qua omnis testimonii fides

pendet. Auctoritas autem variis in argumentis consistit, sed in effectis testantis & in adjunctis præcipuè cernitur.

“Itaque cum exquisita rerum veritas” sive natura “subtiliùs exquiritur, perexiguam probationis vim testimonium habet.”

Hinc Cic. 1. de Nat. “Non tam auctores,” inquit, “in disputando, quàm rationum momenta quærenda sunt.”

“In civilibus autem & humanis rebus,” ubi de facto queritur, “plerumque hoc argumentum præcipuam fidem è moribus arguentis efficit, si prudentia, probitas & benevolentia affuerint.”

Horum unum aliquod si deest, vel per imprudentiam testis, vel propter improbitatem, vel inimicitiarum denique aut nimis gratiæ causa, falsum sæpe pro testimonio dicitur.

Testimonium est divinum vel humanum.

Et rectè quidem in species efficientibus suis causis distinctas dividitur. Ab efficientibus enim maximè testimonium suas vires assumit. Effectum itaque est, si ad testem spectas; testimonium, si ad rem testatam. Perexiguam autem vim probationis in exquisita veritate & natura rerum pervestiganda communiter tribui testimonio quod tam ad divinum quàm ad humanum pertinere videatur, id cur quempiam offendat, non video: testimonium enim sive divinum sit sive humanum, peræque vim omnem ab autore, nullam in se habet. Et divinum quidem testimonium affirmat vel negat rem ita esse, facitque ut credam; non probat, non docet, non facit ut sciam aut intelligam cur ita sit, nisi rationes quoque adhibeat.

Testimonium divinum est quod Deum habet autorem.

In divinis testimoniis numerantur non solum deorum oracula, sed etiam responsa vatum & fatidicorum.

Vera hæc sint an ficta, veri numinis an falsi, Logicus non laborat, sed quam modò vim arguendi unumquodque habeat. Itaque in civilib. etiam & humanis rebus testimonium divinum perinde vim probationis habet, ut ejus author verus est aut falsus Deus.

Hujusmodi sunt ista Catilin. 3. “Nam ut illa omittam, visas nocturno tempore ab occidente faces, ardorémque cœli; ut fulminum jactus, ut terræ motus, cæteraque, quæ ita multa, nobis consulibus, facta sunt, ut hæc, quæ nunc fiunt, canere dii immortales viderentur.”

C A P. XXXIII.

De Testimonio humano.

Testimonium humanum est, quod autorem habet hominem.

Estque commune aut proprium.

Distributio hæc proponitur, non ut accurata aliqua divisio (neque enim testimonio propria est) sed ut distinctio qualiscunque subalternarum specierum, ad quas inferiores species testimonii & exempla possint revocari. Atque, ut superior illa distinctio in divinum & humanum, ab efficiente quoque sumitur, qui sit persona publica sive communis, aut propria sive privata.

Testimonium commune est, ut lex & illustris sententia.

Hæc enim duo exempla sunt potius quàm species: quibus adjungi potest Fama; quam Cic. in Top. quoddam multitudinis testimonium appellat; alii, consensum civitatis & publicum testimonium vocant.

“Legis

“Legis autem & non scriptæ & scriptæ testimonium est pro Milone: Est enim, iudices, non scripta, sed nata lex; quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus; verum ex natura ipsa arripuimus, hausimus, expressimus: ad quam non docti, sed facti; non instituti, sed imbuti sumus: ut, si vita nostra in aliquas insidias, si in vim, in tela, aut latronum aut inimicorum incidisset, omnis honesta ratio esset expediendæ salutis.” Et ibidem, “Quod si duodecim tabulæ nocturnum furem quoquo modo, diurnum autem, si se telo defenderit, interfici impunè voluerunt, quis est, qui,” &c.

Restat illustri sententia; cujus generis sunt proverbia. Ut pares cum paribus facillime congregantur. Spartam nactus es, hanc exorna. Tum dicta sapientum: ut, Nosce teipsum. Ne quid nimis. Sponde, præsto est detrimentum. Quanquam enim hæc dicta singula à singulis fortasse auctoribus orta sunt, tamen quia omnium in ore versantur, quasi omnium fiunt, & ad commune testimonium rectè referuntur.

Proprium testimonium est: ut Platonis illud, 1 ad Q. fratrem: “Atque ille quidem princeps ingenii & doctrinæ, Plato, tum denique fore beatas respub. putavit, si aut docti & sapientes homines eas regere cœpissent, aut qui regerent, omne suum studium in doctrina ac sapientia collocassent.

Talia sunt in poetis. *Æneid. 6.*

Discite justitiam, moniti; & non temnere divos.

Sic Homericis illis versibus.

Αἶας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγειν δυοκαίδεκα νηῆς.

Στῆσε δ' ἄγων ἰν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσαντο φάλαγγες.

Ajax autem ex Salamine duxit duodecim naves.

Constituit verò ducens, ubi Atheniensium stabant phalanges.

Victi sunt in iudicio Megarenses, quo contenderunt cum Atheniensibus de Salamine insula, utrique fortè civitati æquè vicina.

Atque hæc veterum fuere & absentium testimonia, & ferè mortuorum; quæ de jure potissimum afferuntur.

Viventium & præsentium, quæ de facto plerunque testantur, non tantum sunt “cùm quæritur de fundo aut cæde & ejusmodi negotio aliquo, sed etiam obligationis, confessionis, jurisjurandi testimonia sunt.”

Obligationis exemplum est Philipp. 5. “Promitto, recipio, spondeo. P. C. Cæsarem talem semper fore civem, qualis hodie sit, qualémque eum maximè velle & optare debemus.”

Pignus etiam obligatio quædam est.

Ut apud Virgil. *Ecl. 3.*

Vis ergo inter nos quid possit uterque vicissim

Experiamur? Ego hanc vitulam (ne forte recuses,

Bis venit ad mulctram, binos alit ubere foetus)

Depono: tu dic, mecum quo pignore certes.

Confessio est vel libera, in qua cujusvis testimonium pro se levissimum contra se gravissimum censetur. Vel est expressa tormentis, quæ propriè quæstio dicitur.

Tale fuit argumentum contra Milonem, quòd à Cicerone deridetur: quia cruciatus non sæpius veritatem quàm mendacium exprimit atque extorquet. “Age verò, quæ erat aut qualis quæstio: Heus, ubi Ruscio? ubi Casca? Clodius insidias fecit Miloni? Fecit; certa crux. Nullas fecit. Sperata libertas.”

Huc etiam referri potest argumentum, quo utimur cùm affirmationis nostræ approbationem & experientiam adversario proponimus.

Verr 4. "Ecquis Volcatio, si sua sponte venisset, unam libellam dedisset? veniat nunc, experiatur: tecto recipiet nemo."

Terent. Eunuch.

Fac periculum in literis,
Fac in palæstra, in musicis; quæ liberum
Scire æquum est adolescentem, solertem dabo.

Ovid. 3. Trist.

Quod magis ut liqueat, neve hoc ego fingere credar,
Ipse velim pœnas experiare meas.

Jusjurandum etiam testimonium est.

Quale est Æneid. 9.

Per superos, & siqua fides tellure sub ima est,
Invitus, regina, tuo de littore cessi.

Quamvis autem in juramentis divinum quodammodo testimonium invocetur, juramenti tamen fides autoritate & moribus jurantis nititur.

Reciprocatio hîc obscurior est ad rem testatam, quod est hîc alterum argumentum affectum; ut quia testatum verum sit, testis sit etiam verax.

Ut autem non sua vi testimonium, sed auctoritas testis arguit rem testatam; ita vicissim res testata non arguit ipsum testimonium, sed auctoritatem testis.

ARTIS LOGICÆ

Ad Petri Rami methodum concinnatæ,

Liber Secundus.

De Argumentorum dispositione.

C A P. I.

Quid sit argumentorum dispositio.

ADhuc prima artis Logicæ pars fuit in argumentorum inventione : pars altera sequitur in eorum dispositione.

Quemadmodum Grammaticæ pars prima est de singulis vocibus, secunda de syntaxi earum ; sic Logicæ pars prima de argumentis inveniendis fuit, secunda est de disponendis, i. e. quæ doceat argumenta rectè disponere : ita dispositio quasi syntaxis quædam argumentorum est ; non tamen ad bene judicandum duntaxat, ut vult Ramus, quod nimis angustum est, sed ad bene ratiocinandum, qui finis est Logicæ generalis, ad quem unum finem omnia artis præcepta referenda sunt. Iis itaque non assentior, qui iudicium secundam esse partem Logicæ volunt : cum ipsorum sententia iudicium sit secundæ hujus partis nempe dispositionis finis & fructus : non potest autem res eadem esse finis & id cuius est finis, fructus quod effectum est & ejus fructus causa, quæ dispositio est. At inquirunt, iudicium ut doctrina est pars Logicæ ; finis est ut habitus bene judicandi. Immo verò inquam, dispositionis doctrina suam operam confert non solum ad bene judicandum, sed ad bene ratiocinandum ; iudicium autem & dispositionem pro eodem non dixerim cum Ramo : si enim certa, ut ipse Ramus ait, dispositionis regula unumquodque judicatur, dispositio utique ac iudicium si idem erunt, idem erit & regula, & id cuius regula est : doctrina deinde iudicii docet nihil aliud quàm bene judicare ; doctrina dispositionis pro sua disponendi parte, etiam bene ratiocinari : sive id sit intelligere, sive judicare, sive disputare, sive meminisse. Certa enim dispositionis regula unumquodque munus ratiocinandi excolitur.

Cum itaque simplicem argumentorum inter se affectionem aliquid per se conferre ad iudicium rectumque ratiocinium initio proposuerim, nunc eorum dispositionem aliquanto plus, adeoque clarius ad idem conducere propono.

Prius autem quàm ad partes dispositionis accedimus, generalis quædam dispositionis affectio, quæ Crypsis dicitur, attingenda est ; ut quæ ad omnes species dispositionis communiter pertineat. Crypsis autem sive occultatio ista, est triplex ; dispositarum scilicet partium vel defectus, vel redundantia, vel inversio. Quod itaque semel hic monendum est, siqua propter has crypses dubitatio contingit, explenda quæ defunt, amputanda quæ supersunt, & pars quæque in suum restituenda est locum.

C A P. II.

De Axiomatis affirmatione & negatione.

“**D**ispositio est axiomatica vel dianoetica.

Axioma est dispositio argumenti cum argumento, qua esse aliquid aut non esse indicatur.”

Axioma sæpe Aristoteli significat propositionem sive sententiam ita claram, ut quasi digna sit cui propter se fides habeatur. Aliàs axiomata & propositionem sive sententiam quamlibet pro eodem is habet: & rectè quidem: ut enim sententia à sentio, i. e. existimo vel arbitror, ita axiomata à verbo Græco quod idem significat, derivatur. Atque hujus vocis generalem hanc significationem apud veteres Dialecticos receptam fuisse, ex Cicerone, Plutarcho, Laertio, Gellio, Galeno lib. 16. c. 8. constat.

Latine “enuntiatum, enuntiatio; pronuntiatum, pronuntiatio; effatum” Varroni profatum, & proloquium, apud Gellium lib. 16. id est sententia in qua nihil desideratur. Ex Græco etiam “oratio & propositio” dicitur.

Cur ergo, inquis, Græcanica, & hæc præ aliis, vox placita est? Quia, inquam, commodissima. Nam “oratio & sententia” voces latiores sunt; ideòque Græci qui λόγον sive “rationem” vocant, addunt ferè “primam, brevissimam” aut “enuntiativam.” Deinde “propositio” ambigua vox est; significat enim nunc priorem partem plenæ comparationis, nunc primam partem syllogismi. Latina autem illa, “enuntiatum, enuntiatio,” &c. orationis exterioris videntur magis quàm rationis interioris esse: cum dispositio hæc Logica rationis omnino sit tam mente conceptæ quàm ore prolata; utque voces symbola sunt & notæ simplicium notionum, ita enuntiatum videtur esse symbolum axiomatis mente concepti. Sic tamen retineri possunt voces Latinæ “enuntiatum, enuntiatio,” &c. si distinguimus cum Aristotele sermonem in exteriorem, qui ore profertur; & interiorem, qui mente solum concipitur.

Genus autem axiomatis rectè statuitur dispositio, non iudicium, quod ut supra retuli, dispositionis effectum est, & hic quidem specialiter quo aliquid esse aut non esse iudicatur.

Argumentum autem cum argumento est id quod arguit cum eo quod arguitur.

Finis dispositionis est, ut per eam esse aliquid aut non esse indicetur, sive ut, aliquid de aliquo dicatur aut non dicatur. Hinc illud Arist. Phil. 9. 10. “esse est componi, & unum esse; non esse autem est non componi, sed plura esse.” Et simplicia quidem argumenta per se considerata significant aliquid; non autem esse, aut non esse aliquid, nisi disposita. Solo autem modo indicativo esse aliquid aut non esse indicatur; non reliquis, nisi ad indicativum reductis: ut, “abi,” i. e. jubeo te abire. “Fiat voluntas tua,” i. e. precamur ut fiat. “Utinam dissolverer,” i. e. cupio dissolvi. “Quid est Dialectica,” i. e. quæro quid sit.

Cum autem in axioma argumentum cum argumento disponatur, horumque unum necesse sit antecedere, alterum sequi; hinc partes axiomatis (Aristot. terminos vocat) duæ sunt, antecedens & consequens: illa vulgò minor terminus, sive subjectum, hæc terminus major seu prædicatum nominatur; quia id continet, quod de subjecto prædicatur sive dicitur. Verum hæc nomina angustiora sunt, quàm illa, ut infra patebit.

Axiomatis affectio communis est crypsis illa triplex, de qua deque ejus triplici medela capite superiore diximus: defectus, cum pars aliqua deest; ut, “excessit; erupit, evasit;” Catilina scilicet vel quis alius: “pluit, tonat;” Deus nempe vel cælum. Redundantia, quæ & amplificatio dicitur, est, cum argumentum ejusque synonymum ponitur;

aut

aut ad id illustrandum quidvis aliud: prioris exemplum est, Logica sive Dialectica est
 “ars bene ratiocinandi:” posterioris est hoc,

Livor iners vitium mores non exit in altos.

Inversio est, cum antecedentis loco ponitur consequens: ut, “quæstus magnus est pietas cum animo sua sorte contento,” i. e. pietas cum animo sua sorte contento est magnus quæstus.

Duæ sunt reliquæ axiomatis affectiones; quarum altera ex dispositione oritur, altera ad iudicium pertinet. Nam intellectus cum disponit argumenta, vel componit ea inter se, vel dividit: compositio autem illa & divisio nihil aliud sunt quam affirmatio & negatio. Cum verò de dispositione illa iudicium fert, iudicat eam vel veram esse vel falsam. Quemadmodum autem dispositio est prior iudicio, sic esse & non esse prius quiddam est & simplicius quam affirmare & negare, & utrumque hoc quam verum aut falsum iudicare.

“Axioma igitur est affirmatum aut negatum.”

Duplex est hic modus enuntiandi, non duæ sunt species enuntiati sive axiomatis: contradictione enim idem axioma affirmatur & negatur: sed affirmatio & negatio enuntiationis, i. e. enuntiandi species sunt, non enuntiati; nam & affirmatio & negatio dici potest enuntiatio, enuntiatum verò nequaquam; axiomatis igitur utraque est affectio, non axioma.

“Axioma affirmatum est quando vinculum ejus affirmatur: negatum, quando negatur.” Vinculum n. axiomatis forma est; vinculi vi axiomatis materia disponitur & quasi animatur; vinculo affirmato aut negato, axioma ipsum affirmatur aut negatur: affirmatio itaque & negatio sunt vinculi affectiones, adeoque axiomatis ejusque specierum. Vinculum autem est vel verbum vel grammatica conjunctio, ut postmodum patebit, cum axioma in species dividetur.

Affirmatio autem hæc & negatio nihil aliud est, ut supra diximus, quam compositio & divisio: affirmatur enim axioma, cum ejus consequens per affirmationem vinculi cum antecedente componitur; negatur, cum negato vinculo, consequens ab antecedente dividitur. Negatio igitur axiomatica non est, quemadmodum erat topica non ens, sed entis tantummodo ab ente divisio.

“Hinc nascitur axiomatum contradictio, quando idem axioma affirmatur & negatur.”

C A P. III.

De vero & falso.

“Axioma deinde est verum aut falsum.”

Hoc scilicet ex affirmatione & negatione fit iudicium: cum enim affirmantur quæ affirmanda sunt, & negantur quæ neganda, axiomata judicantur vera; & contrà. Unde Aristot. de Interpret. 1. “in compositione & divisione est verum aut falsum.” Falsum autem non docetur hoc modo in arte, sed judicatur: nam enuntiatio falsa non minus axioma est, quam vera, eadem enim utrobique dispositio est: non idem de syllogismo ac methodo dici poterit.

“Axioma verum est, quando pronuntiat uti res est: falsum, contrà.”

Sic enim Plato, in Cratylo. Ad iudicium itaque faciendum, non modò artis documenta, sed etiam rerum ipsarum cognitio requiritur; quia res ipsa veritatis norma & mensura est.

“Axioma verum est contingens aut necessarium. Contingens, quando sic verum est, ut aliquando falsum esse possit. Ut, audentes fortuna juvat.”

“Itaque veritatis hujus contingentis iudicium, opinio dicitur.” Quæ præteritorum & presentium homini certa esse potest, futurorum per naturam non admodum potest. Deo autem etsi tempora omnia præsentia non sunt, ut vulgò receptum est, præsentia enim mutare potest, præterita non item; opinio tamen in Deum non cadit, quia per causas æque omnia cognoscit.

De contingentibus autem, præteritis etiam, & præsentibus humanum iudicium certa quidem opinio dicitur, non tamen scientia: ea enim ex argumentis, quorum est immutabilis affectio, oritur; cujusmodi in contingenti axioma non disponuntur. Neque idcirco non est opinio præteritorum & presentium, quòd manifesta sunt, immò tum maximè opinari contingentia dicimur; nam dubia si sunt, sive contingentia sive necessaria, ne opinamur quidem, sed dubitamus: & necessaria tametsi sunt atque certissima, si causam nescimus, etiam ea duntaxat opinamur.

At, inquires, præterita & præsentia non sunt contingentia, sed necessaria, quia sunt immutabilia; nam neque factum infectum fieri potest; & quicquid est, quandiu est, necesse est esse. Respondendum, necesse quidem esse, ut quod fuit, fuerit, & quod jam est, sit; nec tamen sequi, ut quod fuit vel est, sit propriè necessarium. In axioma enim contingenti, præterito, vel præsentì quæ videtur esse necessitas, absoluta non est, neque ex rerum dispositarum natura, sed ex conditione duntaxat & lege contradictionis pendet: dum enim aliquid est, non esse non potest; neque dum verum est, esse falsum: & tamen quod nunc verum est, fieri potest ut aliquando falsum fuerit, aut futurum sit. Idem de futuris dicendum; siquid futurum certò est, id necesse est fore quidem verum (omne n. axioma verum est aut falsum) non tamen necessarium. Id nisi teneatur, omne contingens futurum erit necessarium, quod implicat contradictionem. Hoc etiam monendum, futura quidem ipsa neque vera esse neque falsa, neque contingentia, neque necessaria, nondum n. sunt, sed affirmatio solùm de iis aut negatio in futurum, deque præteritis eodem modo sentiendum.

“Axioma est necessarium, quando semper verum est, nec falsum potest esse.”

Nec supervacua posterior hæc clausula est: semper n. esse verum etiam contingens potest, necessarium autem non modò semper est verum, sed falsum esse non potest. Sic etiam Aristot. Post. 1. 26.

“Contrà, quod semper falsum est, nec verum potest esse, axioma impossibile dicitur.” Sic etiam Aristot. Phil. 8. 12.

Hæc autem immutabilitas veritatis in necessario, & falsitatis in impossibili, ab argumentorum quæ in iis disponuntur vel summa consensione, vel infesta semper dissensione pendet. Pari ratione mutabilitas veri aut falsi in contingenti & possibili ex levi argumentorum in iis dispositorum consensione aut dissidio perspicitur.

Ex quo doctrina illa quatuor formularum modalium, “necesse est, impossibile est, possibile est, contingens est,” quàm inutiliter ab Aristot. introducta sit, facile apparet: ut, “necesse est hominem esse animal; impossibile est hominem esse equum; possibile est Socratem esse divitem; contingens est Socratem esse doctum.” Hæ quatuor modales dispositionem purarum enuntiationum quodammodo afficiunt: pura est, “omnis homo est animal; modalis, “necesse est omnem hominem esse animal:” hic “omnem hominem esse animal,” licet inverso ordine, subjectum est enuntiationis modalis, modus “necesse” est prædicatum. Verùm quid attinet quomodo partes axiomatis inter se affectæ sint, signis aut modis exprimere, cum id ex argumentis ipsis in eo dispositis possit rectius judicari, & ad hos modos alii complures, “facile, difficile, honestum, turpe,” &c. Non inutilius possint adungi?

Equidem secundarias, quas vocant modales, primariis hisce potiores existinem: quibus vulgò dividuntur enuntiationes in “exclusivas,” quarum notæ sunt “solus, tantum, duntaxat,” &c. ut, “sola fides justificat: exceptivas,” quarum notæ sunt “præter,

ter, præterquam, nisi," &c. Ut, "nemo præter te sapit: & restrictivas," quarum notæ sunt "qua, quatenus, quoad, secundum, quid, &c. Ut, homo qua animal, sentit." Et exclusiva quidem est vel subjecti vel prædicati: subjecti, quæ notâ exclusivâ præpositâ, excludit omnia subjecta alia à prædicato. Sed frustra hanc regulam ratio dictarit, si Logicis quibusdam modernis, & nominatim Keckermanno licebit, eam statim, conflato ad id ipsum canone, funditus evertere. "Exclusiva, inquit, subjecti non excludit concomitantia: ut, solus pater est verus Deus. Hic inquit, non excluditur concomitans, filius, & spiritus sanctus." At quis non videt subornatum hunc canonem, ad locum illum luculentissimum Joan. 17. 3. ludificandum? Haud paulò utilior est canon ille restrictivæ enuntiationis, quem tradit l. 2. c. 4. (restrictiva autem est quæ ostendit quatenus subjectum prædicato convenit) "prædicatum, inquit, contradictorium nulla limitatione subjecto conciliatur;" ex Aristot. 2. Top. c. ult. sect. 4. Quid evidentius dici potuit? & tamen reperti sunt qui interpositis quibusdam distinctiunculis, "accidens posse existere sine subjecto" (quod repugnat) "in cæna Domini" contendant: deinde, qui similib. confictis distinctiunculis, "humanam naturam Christi adeoque corpus infinitum esse" disputantes, parem contradictionem committant. Sed omissis Theologorum paradoxis, ad præcepta Logica redeamus.

"Axioma necessarium affirmatum appellatur *κατὰ παντός* de omni.

Id est, cum consequens sive prædicatum, ut vocant, axiomatis, de omni & toto antecedente sive subjecto semper verum est. Sic etiam Aristot. 1. prior. 1. & post. 1. 4. & hoc etiam nonnunquam *καθόλου*, i. e. de toto, vocat, Post. 2. 13.

Axiomata artium sic *κατὰ παντός* esse debent.

Nempe de omni & de toto vera, non falsa; necessaria, non fortuita, alioqui non scientiam pariunt, sed opinionem; affirmata denique, non negata: affirmatum enim est firmum, certum, brevissimum; negatum verò est vagum, incertum, infinitum, nihilque docet: ut si quis definiret Logicam, non esse artem bene loquendi, non doceret quid Logica sit, sed quid non sit; eaque definitio omnibus artibus præter Grammaticam æque ac Logicæ conveniret. Nonnulli addunt ex hac lege, axiomata artium debere etiam esse generalia. Verùm hæc regula non tantum de omni est, sed de toto: & multa in artibus præcepta specialibus de rebus occurrunt, ut in Theologia, de Christo; in Astronomia de sole & luna reliquisque planetis: in aliis artibus hujusmodi alia, in quibus, cùm sint specialia, etsi *κατὰ παντός* dici non possunt, *καθόλου* tamen possunt, quod satis est. Quòd si quis objicit, ne in generalibus quidem præcepta artium *κατὰ παντός* esse posse, propter exceptionum multitudinem, ut in Grammatica videre est; respondendum est, anomalium analogiæ conjunctam, *κατὰ παντός* instar esse.

Sed præcepta artium homogenea etiam & reciproca esse debent.

Axioma homogeneum est, quando partes sunt essentielles inter se.

i. e. Vel absolute, ut forma formato, genus speciei, membra integro, definitio definito; vel modo quodam, ut subjectum proprio adjuncto.

Id appellatur *καθ' αὐτὸ* per se.

Idcirco etiam partes axiomatis essentielles inter se esse debent, ut præceptum artis esse scientificum possit: accidentis enim, ut testatur Aristoteles, nulla est scientia; nulla nisi per essentiam & causam: idem, *τὰ καθ' αὐτὸ*, & *τὰ συμβεβηκότα*, i. e. accidentia, opponit, Post. 1. 4. Itaque non satis est, partes esse inter se consentaneas, sed essentielles: quod cùm ex argumentorum inter se summa consensione oriatur, ex qua necessarium quoque axioma esse ortum supradiximus, non video quid per hanc regulam *καθ' αὐτὸ* ad superiorem illam *κατὰ παντός* quod magni sit momenti, accedat; cùm nullum

axioma necessarium esse queat, quin ejus partes inter se sint etiam essentielles. Neque verò putem hîc præcipi, ne quid heterogeneous sive alienum in arte doceatur; neque enim huc pertinet dispositio præcepti cum præcepto, sed argumenti solum cum argumento, quæ axiomatis doctrina est, & ex homogenei definitione ipsa ejusque exemplis perspicitur.

“Axioma reciprocum est, quando consequens semper verum est de antecedente, non solum omni & per se, sed etiam reciprocè.”

Ut homo est animal rationale: numerus est par vel impar. Lupus est natus ad ululandum. Id appellatur *καθόλου πρῶτον*, de toto primum. Nempe quia de nullo prius dicitur; ideòque proximum est & immediatum, proprium & æquale; unòque verbo, reciprocum: ut risibile de homine: omnis enim homo est risibilis; & reciprocè, omne risibile est homo. Hæc regula nisi observetur, vitari tautologia in artibus non potest. Tum enim non reciprocatur axioma, cum antecedens consequenti non est æquale, aut contra; sed vel speciale alicui generi, vel generale alicui speciei attribuitur: generale autem de specie non dicitur primò; prius enim dicitur de genere. Cum autem id quod generis est, speciei attribuitur, idem in reliquis speciebus necessario est repetendum, quod in genere semel dictum oportuit. Ad hanc itaque regulam pertinet præceptum artis illud nobile *γενικὰ γενικῶς*, “generalia generaliter” & semel docenda sunt. Hæc lex brevitati, brevitatis autem intelligentiæ & memoriæ consulit.

Atque hæ tres sunt leges documentorum artium priorum. Prima *κατὰ παντός*, lex veritatis; propterea quòd necessariam affirmati axiomatis veritatem ex consentanea partium affectione postulat. Secunda *καθ' αὐτό*, lex justitiæ; quia justitiam requirit in essentiali partium cognatione. Peccant ergo in hanc legem, qui Rhetoricam in inventionem, dispositionem, memoriam, &c. distribuunt, cum Rhetoricæ partes attribuant; quæ Dialecticæ propriæ sunt. Tertia *καθόλου πρῶτον*, lex sapientiæ meritò dici possit; cum quia ejus judicium verissima scientia est, ut postea dicetur, tum quia vitia sapientiæ contraria prohibet, inæqualitatem sive inconvenientiam antecedentis cum consequente & tautologiam.

Dices, duas illas priores leges comprehendi sub hac tertia: & hoc fatendum quidem est: veruntamen ut trigonum tetragonus & tetragonum pentagonus comprehendit, neque idcirco tamen distinctæ figuræ non sunt; ita hæ leges etiam si posterior quæque priorem comprehendit, erant tamen perspicuitatis causa distinguendæ.

“Atque hujusmodi axiomatum ita reciprocorum judicium verissima & prima scientia est.” Prima, quia principiorum est, quæ per se indemonstrabilia, suæque luce manifestissima sunt, neque syllogismi aut ullius argumenti clarioris lucem ad scientiam faciendam desiderant: quæ inde verissima quoque sit necesse est.

C A P. IV.

De Axiomate simplici.

“Atque hæc de communibus axiomatis affectionibus; species sequuntur.
Axioma est simplex aut compositum.”

Sic etiam Aristot. de interpret. 1. 5. Vulgò propositio dividitur in categoricam & hypotheticam, eodem sensu. Sed categorica affirmatam duntaxat propositionem simplicem comprehendit, quæ scilicet de subjecto *κατηγορεῖται*, i. e. prædicatur.

“Axioma simplex est, quod verbi vinculo continetur.”

Cum enim vinculum, ut supradiximus, axiomatis forma & quasi anima sit, hinc efficitur, quemadmodum duæ sunt species vinculorum, verbum & conjunctio, illud simplicis

plicis axiomatis, hoc compositi, ut axioma quoque ex ista distributione vinculi, in oppositas formas sive species dividatur. Vinculum autem simplicis axiomatis, non solum est verbum substantivum, quod dicitur, sed quodvis verbum actionem aut passionem significans, vinculi in se vim inclusam habet; & vel totum consequens vel pars consequentis est; ut, Socrates scribit. Nam quod nonnulli putant, verbum omne in substantivum & participium resolvi oportere, ut ea ratione verbum substantivum esse vinculum appareat, scilicet, Socrates est scribens; id sæpe ineptissimum esse reperietur. Ut si quis hoc, Socrates docetur, sic solvat, Socrates est doctus: hoc enim aliud longe est. Quidquod etiam verbum substantivum nonnunquam & vinculum & totum consequens includit; ut, Socrates est; Mortui non sunt, i. e. non existunt. Quodsi in uno simplici axioma plura verba occurrunt, ut, Imparia sunt comparata, quorum quantitas non est una, sciendum est illud verbum axiomatis vinculum esse, quod Grammatici vocant principale.

“ Id si affirmatur, axioma simplex est affirmatum; si negatur, negatum.”

Negatur autem, si negationis nota verbum illud præcedit: Nam si sequitur, negatum non est, sed affirmatum: ut Socrates est leo non necessario, affirmatum est, quia negationis nota sequitur verbum; nec totum consequens negatur, sed modus.

Negationis autem notæ non solum sunt adverbia negandi, sed etiam particulæ exclusivæ (cujusmodi sunt “unicus & solus”) & verba diffensionem vel differentiam significantia; ut, “differre, opponi,” &c.

Exempla nunc videamus. Ignis urit; ignis est calidus; ignis est non aqua. Hic “ignis” est antecedens, “urit” consequens.

“ Atque hic est prima inventarum rerum dispositio, causæ cum effecto, ut in primo exemplo; subjecti cum adjuncto, ut in secundo; dissentanei, cum dissentaneo, ut in tertio.”

“ Quo modo argumenta quælibet inter se affecta enuntiari possunt, consentanea quidem affirmando, dissentanea negando.” Exceptis plenis comparisonibus, in quibus duo planè distincta axiomata sunt, propositio, & redditio. Nam distributiones, quas etiam excipit Ramus, ut, Argumentum est artificiale aut inartificiale, axioma simplici enuntiari possunt, ut infra docebitur: possunt & diversa, quæ excipiunt alii, si sic enuntias, Aliquis facundus non est formosus: & contraria; ut, virtus non est vitium, &c.

“ Axioma simplex est generale aut speciale.”

Hæc distributio est simplicis axiomatis ex adjuncta quantitate, quæ modos, non species constituit. In axioma composito, quantitatis nulla ratio habetur, sed tantum vinculi, ut infra dicemus.

“ Axioma generale est, quando commune consequens attribuitur generaliter communi antecedenti.

Vulgò etiam vocatur “universale.” Generaliter autem consequens antecedenti attribuitur, quando omni totique sive universo antecedenti attribuitur, omnibusque iis, quæ sub ejus significatione continentur. Ad axioma igitur generale, tria hæc requiruntur; consequens, & antecedens generale, & generalis attributio. Neque enim ex nota sive signo universali definiendum fuit axioma generale; cum & sæpissime non adsit nota, & cum adest, non causa sed signum tantummodo sit axioma esse generale. Indefinita igitur, quæ vulgò vocant, etsi notam non habent generalem, generalia tamen sunt; ut definitiones & reliqua artium præcepta, quæ nemo generalia esse inficiabitur; nec notam tamen generalem præfixam habent. Notæ axiomatis generalis tam affirmati quam negati hæc sunt: “omnis, nullus; semper, nunquam; ubique, nusquam,” &c.

“ Atque hic contradictio non semper dividit verum & falsum; sed contingentium utraque pars falsa potest esse:” ut,

Omnis in urbe locus bajis præluet amœnis.

Nullus in urbe locus bajis præluet amœnis.

Itèm non contingentium.

Ut, omne animal est rationale; nullum animal est rationale. Hæc enim non contingentia sunt, sed potius absurda; quia consequens speciale antecedenti generali generaliter attribuitur. Falsa igitur pars utraque generalis contradictionis esse potest, vera esse non potest; falsitas quippe multiplex, veritas una est.

“Axioma speciale est, quando consequens non omni antecedenti attribuitur.”

Speciale dicitur, quia de specie aliqua enuntiatur. Atque ut in generali axioma consequens generaliter, sive omni & universo antecedenti; ita in speciali specialiter, sive non omni attribuitur.

“In hoc axioma contradictio semper dividit verum à falso.”

Id est specialis contradictionis pars una semper vera, pars altera semper est falsa.

“Axioma speciale est particulare aut proprium.

Particulare, quando consequens commune antecedenti particulariter attribuitur.”

Est axioma speciale quia de specie aliqua, licet ea quidem incerta & indefinita, enuntiatur: particulariter autem consequens attribuitur, quando non universo antecedenti, sed ejus alicui parti attribuitur. Attributionis autem particularis notæ sive signa sunt, “quidam, aliquis, aliquando, alicubi;” & negationes generalium, nonnulli, nonnunquam, non semper, non omnis, &c. quæ particulari æquipollent. Commune autem consequens debet esse; ex illa regula, Consequens nunquam minus est antecedente, sed semper vel majus eo vel saltem æquale. Unde Aristoteles, prior. I. 28. negat “singulare de alio prædicari.”

Sequitur nunc contradictio particularium.

“Huic autem axiomata generaliter contradicuntur.

Aliquid ignoscendum est; nihil ignoscendum est: aliqua clementia non est laudanda; omnis clementia est laudanda.” Hic particulari affirmato, generale negatum; & particulari negato, generale affirmatum opponitur. Quodsi utraque pars particularis est, non modo nulla est axiomatum contradictio, sed ne oppositio quidem. Ut, Quidam homo est doctus, quidam homo non est doctus. Non enim eidem subjecto attribuuntur, quæ lex est oppositorum. Pars igitur utraque vera esse potest; sicuti etiam cum utraque affirmata est vel negata: ut, Omnis homo est rationalis, quidam homo est rationalis: nullus homo est irrationalis, quidam homo non est irrationalis. In his non modo contradictio nulla, sed consensus summa est, generis nempe & speciei.

“Axioma proprium” (quod alii singulare vocant) “est, quando consequens antecedenti proprio attribuitur.” Antecedens autem Logicè proprium dicitur quando rem vel personam singularem designat; sive proprio nomine exprimatur, sive non: qualia sunt etiam demonstrativa; ut, “hic homo.” Secundò, quæ per synecdochen generis dicuntur; ut Poëta pro Homero aut Virgilio, Philosophus pro Aristotele aut Platone & similia. Ad consequens autem hujus axiomatis quod attinet, id vel commune esse potest vel proprium.

Proprii contradictio est quando utraque pars est propria: in quo discrepat à particulari, cujus pars altera duntaxat particularis esse debet; consentit cum generali, cujus pars utraque generalis; ut, “Fabulla est bella:” cujus negatio & contradictio est, “Fabulla non est bella.” Atque hæc de axioma simplici.

A P P E N D I X.

AD has axiomatis simplicis affectiones addunt Aristotelici æquipollentiam & conversionem.

Æquipollentia definitur, “enuntiationum verbis discrepantium convenientia re atque sensu: sic aliquis homo est doctus, &, non omnis homo est doctus,” idem valent, & similia, ut supra in notis est dictum. Æquipollentia itaque cum in verbis duntaxat, non in rebus, posita sit, ad Grammaticam vel ad Rhetoricam & verborum copiam remittenda est.

Conversio est prædicati unius enuntiationis in locum subiecti transpositio ad probandam alteram enuntiationem, quæ ex ea transpositione sive conversione efficitur. Ea triplex affertur; simplex, per accidens, & per contrapositionem. Simplex, quæ fit manente eadem enuntiationis & quantitate & qualitate: fitque etiam tripliciter; in universali negante; ut “nullus homo est lapis, ergo nullus lapis est homo:” in particulari affirmante; ut, “aliquis homo est albus, ergo aliquod album est homo:” in affirmante denique universali & necessaria; ut “omnis homo est risibilis, ergo omne risibile est homo.” Et hæc est una omnium conversionum verissima, quæ & “reciprocatio” dicitur, proprii scilicet cum suo subiecto, definiti cum sua definitione.

Conversio per accidens mutat enuntiationis quantitatem; universalem scilicet affirmantem in particularem: ut, “omnis homo est animal, ergo quoddam animal est homo.” Per accidens hanc dici volunt, quia aliud prius sequitur, nempe, “quidam homo est animal,” ex quo hoc deinde, simplici conversione, “ergo quoddam animal est homo.”

Conversio per contrapositionem mutat enuntiationis qualitatem: universalem scilicet affirmantem in negantem: vel, in qua loco subiecti & prædicati, ponitur utriusque conversi contradictio: ut, “omnis homo est rationalis; ergo quodcunque non est rationale, non est homo: omne mortale est genitum; ergo quod non est genitum, non est mortale; vel, quod est non genitum, est non mortale: admittendi ad sacramenta, habent pœnitentiam & fidem; ergo qui hæc non habent, non sunt admittendi.” Tres hosce modos conversionum ex Aristot. petunt: duos priores ex 1. Prior. c. 2. tertium ex 2. Top. c. 1. syllogisticæ reductionis gratia, cujus inutiliter infra ostendetur, ab ipso inventos.

Conversione autem hac ne decipiamur fortè, neque enim fidissima est, cautiones quædam adhiberi solent: prima, ne termini sint figurati; ut, “panis est corpus Christi.” Secunda, ne quid mutiletur; ut, “quidam cernit cæcum, ergo cæcus cernit quendam:” totum enim prædicatum non est “cæcum,” sed “cernit cæcum;” ut etiam in hac; “omnis senex fuit puer, ergo quidem puer fuit senex;” non enim “puer,” sed “fuit puer” totum prædicatum est; convertendum ergo, “quidam qui fuit puer, est senex.” Tertia, ut casus obliqui à conversione facti, reddantur recti; ut, “aliqua arbor est in agro; ergo aliquod quod est in agro, est arbor,” non sic, “ergo aliquis ager est in arbore.”

Sed, omiſſis istis cautionibus, expeditior via est, conversionem omnem si dubia sit, tanquam sophisma petitionis principii rejicere; ut quæ sine medio termino probare rem dubiam conetur: de quo sophismate infra monebimus.

C A P. V.

De Axiomate copulato.

“ **A**xioma compositum est quod vinculo conjunctionis continetur.”

Hoc genus axiomatis Aristoteles totum prætermisit. Vulgò “propositio hypothetica” vocatur; i. e. conditionalis; angustè nimis; cum ea vox compositis non omnibus conveniat, ut suo loco patebit. Compositum autem dicitur, quia sententia est multiplex, quæ in plures resolvi simplices potest: nec tamen dicendum est, ex simplicibus axiomatis componi, sed ex argumentis, quæ conjunctionis vinculo composita, multiplicem sententiam efficiunt: idcirco autem axioma componitur, quia argumenta in eo conjuncta consentiunt & compositionem appetunt. Nulla autem hîc ratio habetur quantitatis, generale sit an speciale, sed tantum compositionis. Ut autem verbum fuit vinculum simplicis, ita conjunctio est axiomatis compositi, ejusque proinde forma & quasi anima est.

“Itaque à conjunctione affirmata vel negata, affirmatur vel negatur.” Conjunctione non negata, negatum axioma non erit, etiamsi partes omnes erunt negatæ.

“Contradictionisque pars vera est, pars falsa.” De qua vulgus Logicorum fileat.

“Enuntiatum compositum est pro sua conjunctione congregativum aut segregativum.”

“Congregativum est cujus partes tanquam simul veræ, conjunctione sua congregantur.” Conjunctione videlicet non solum illa Grammatica verum etiam sententiarum quavis relatione. Cum autem relatio ista, sive Grammatica sive Logica multiplex sit, essentiali, consequentiæ sive causæ, quantitatis, qualitatis, temporis, loci, relatio quidem essentiali (cujus notæ sunt “is qui, id quod”) & loci (cujus notæ sunt “ubi, ibi”) ad simplicia axiomata referenda est; de reliquis suo loco.

“Congregativum enuntiat omnia consentanea affirmando, omnia dissentanea negando.” Hoc est, si unum consentaneorum subiecto attribuitur, alterum quoque attribuitur; & contrà, uno negato, alterum negatur: si unum dissentaneorum de subiecto affirmatur, alterum negatur; & contrà. Ita semper consentanea simul hîc affirmanda vel neganda sunt, dissentanea non simul.

“Congregativum verò est copulatum aut connexum. Copulatum, cujus conjunctio est copulativa.” Ut *Æneid.* 1.

“Unà Eurûsque Notûsque ruunt, crebèrque procellis
Africus.”

Hîc igitur negatio erit & contradictio, negatæ conjunctione; “non unà Eurûsque Notûsque ruunt, &c. Socrates & doctus erat & formosus: Socrates non & doctus erat & formosus.” Quòd si hoc modo negaretur, “Socrates nec doctus erat nec formosus.” (qui modus contradictionis est adhibendus cum omnes partes sunt falsæ) contradictio non esset axiomatica; non enim vinculum negaretur, sed partes: copulatio enim significat utrumque simul verum esse, ejus negatio non utrumque; at hæc negatio neutrum: ac si dictum esset, “Socrates & non doctus & non formosus erat:” deinde, in axiomate composito contradictionis pars una vera, altera est falsa; hîc autem utraque: hoc ergo axioma, “Socrates nec doctus erat nec formosus,” est potius axioma copulatum affirmatum, cujus partes negantur. Copulati autem negatio per axioma etiam discretum fieri

fieri potest, cum partes non omnes falsæ sunt; ut infra intelligitur. Conjunctio denique hîc sæpe non adest, sed intelligitur.

“ Verum autem enuntiati copulati judicium pendet ex omnium partium veritate; falsum, ex una saltem parte falsa.” Hoc est axioma copulatum judicatur esse verum, si omnes partes simul veræ sunt; falsum, si vel una pars erit falsa. Idem tradit Gellius, l. 16. c. 8. In copulato enim axiomate, veritas omnium partium spectatur, quia partes omnes absolute enuntiantur tanquam simul veræ.

“ Huic generi affine est enuntiatum relatæ qualitatis, cujus conjunctio” Logica potius est quàm Grammatica, nempe “ ipsa relatio.”

Relata autem qualitas est plena similitudo: ut notæ ipsæ testantur; “ qualis, talis, quemadmodum, sic.” Eclog. 3.

Tale tuum carmen nobis, divine poëta,
Quale sopor fessis in gramine. —

Hîc copulatum judicium est tanquam diceretur, Sopor est fessis gratus, & sic tuum carmen nobis gratum est: cujus negatio, Non tale tuum carmen, quale sopor, &c.

Ad hunc etiam locum pertinet relatio quantitatis in plenis comparisonibus: quarum notæ sunt, cum à pari, “ idem quod, tam quam, tanto quanto, tot quot, eò quò;” tum à majori, “ non solum, sed etiam;” tum à minori, “ non modò non, sed ne” (quæ nota est copulati axiomatis affirmati, cujus partes negantur) “ cum tum.” Relatio autem hæc & qualitatis & quantitatis, si hypotheticè non absolutè enuntiatur, ad connexum potius referenda est.

Relationes autem loci ad axioma simplex rectius referuntur, ut supra est dictum. Neque enim in hujusmodi exemplo, “ ubi amici ibi opes,” est copulatum judicium, sed simplex & quidem generale; scilicet, omnem divitem amicos habere.

C A P. VI.

De Axiomate connexo.

“ **A**xioma connexum est congregativum, cujus conjunctio est connexiva. Ut, si, nisi” affirmative. Idem enim valet “ nisi,” quod “ si non:” quo non totum axioma, sed antecedens tantum negatur: ut Æneid. 2.

——— Si miserum fortuna Sinonem
Finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget.

Cujus negatio est, negata conjunctio, “ Non si miserum fortuna Sinonem finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget.”

“ Conjunctio etiam hæc interdum negatur apertius, negando consequentiam.” Ut non continuò, non illicò, non idcirco, non ideo: his enim formulis non consequens axiomatis, id n. contradictionem non efficeret, sed ipsa partium consequentia quæ Logica conjunctio est apertius negatur: ut pro Amer. “ Non continuò, si me in ficariorum gregem contuli, ficarius sum.” De Fato: “ nec si omne enuntiatum verum est aut falsum, sequitur illicò causas esse immutabiles.”

“ Affirmatio enim significat, si sit antecedens, etiam consequens esse. Negatio itaque & contradictio statuit, si sit antecedens, non ideo consequens esse.

Potest & connexo per axioma discretum contradici: ut, “ quamvis omne enuntiatum

tum sit verum aut falsum, non tamen causæ sunt immutabiles;” quod sequente capite liquebit.

“ Sed cùm judicabis connexum absolute,” i. e. per se suâque natura “ verum esse, necessarium quoque judicabis; & intelliges hanc necessitatem ex necessaria partium connexione oriri, quæ ipsa potest esse vel in falsis partibus.”

“ Ut, si homo est leo, est etiam quadrupes,” necessarium connexum est; quia argumentorum, quæ hîc connectuntur, leonis scilicet & quadrupedis, connexio est necessaria, speciei scilicet cum genere. Unde efficitur axioma generaliter verum ac proinde necessarium; “ omnis leo est quadrupes:” quod in connexo indicium est absolutæ veritatis. Sic, si “ Socrates est homo, est etiam animal,” absolutè verum est & necessarium, quia omnis homo est animal: hujusque connexi consequens falsum esse non potest, nisi antecedens quoque falsum sit, quod aliud signum est absolutæ veritatis.

Quòd si consequens falsum fuerit, falsum item est antecedens. “ Si illud, hoc: si non hoc, ne illud quidem.” Atque ita, ut jam demonstravimus, si connexio absolute vera est, erit quoque necessaria: sin ex conditione & pacto, sine quo connexum per se suâque natura verum non esset, erit tantummodò contingens.

“ Quod si connexio sit contingens, & pro sua tantum probabilitate ponatur, judicium ejus tantum opinio fuerit.

Ut Terent. Andr.

Pamphile, si id facis, hodie postremum me vides.

Hoc est, si Philumenam uxorem ducis, ego hodie moriar: quod nemo sequi existimaverit, nisi hoc posito, Charinum, qui hoc dicit, Philumenam perditissimè amare. Per se enim nulla est connexionis necessitas inter nuptias Pamphili & interitum Charini. Qui autem ex amoris vehementia sic existimabit, ejus judicium non erit scientia, sed opinio.

Ut autem judicare possimus, quæ connexio sit absolutè vera, quæ non, spectanda argumenta sunt, quæ in axiomate connectuntur, consentiant inter se nec ne, & quo modo. Ut “ si dies est, lux est,” connexum est necessarium, quia dies sive sol ortus est causa lucis. “ Si dies est, Dio ambulat,” connexum est falsum aut contingens; quia nulla est affectio absolutè consentanea inter diem & Dionem.

“ Connexo axiomati affinis est ista consequentiæ relatio:” quæ à nonnullis, “ relatio causæ” dicitur; & axioma efficit, quod “ Stoici causale” nominant; Laert. in Zenone:” quia nempe antecedens est causa consequentis, adeoque vinculum ejus conjunctio causalis “ cùm, quia, quoniam;” quibus respondet “ ideo” vel “ etiam: ut, cùm Tullius sit orator, est etiam peritus benè dicendi.” Quanquam autem relata ista connexis affinia sunt, non nihil tamen discrepant: in antecedente enim connexi quædam conditio est, in hoc relato nulla: connexum potest ex falsis partibus verum esse, relatum hoc sive causale non potest esse verum, nisi antecedens verum fuerit: ut, “ quia dies est, sol est supra horizontem.”

Affinis est & relatio temporis axiomati connexo, ut ait ipse Ramus infra c. 13.

Relatio autem temporis has habet notas, “ tum cùm, donec dum, quandiu tandiu:” ut apud Ovid. in epist.

Cùm Paris Oenone poterit spirare relicta

Ad fontem Xanthi versa recurret aqua.

Sic, Donec eris felix, multos numerabis amicos.

Potest etiam connexum enuntiari sine ulla non modò relationis, verum etiam connexionis nota; ut, “ posita causa, ponitur effectum. Fac hoc, & vives.” Ovid. in epist. “ fume fidem & pharetram, fies manifestus Apollo.” Nonnunquam etiam duob. negativis:

gativis : Cic. pro Milone, “ non hoc fragile corpus humanum mente regitur, & non regitur mente universum mundi corpus.”

C A P. VII.

De Axiomate discreto.

“ **A**xioma segregativum est, cujus conjunctio est segregativa.

Ideoque argumenta dissentanea enuntiat.

Enuntiatum segregativum est discretum aut disjunctum.”

“ Discretum, cujus conjunctio est discretiva.” Discretum dicitur, quod conjunctione illa segregativa discernuntur & segregantur, ea potissimum quæ leviter & ratione tantum dissentiunt.

“ Itaque è dissentaneis præcipuè diversa enuntiat.”

Præcipuè, quia diversorum notæ, “ non hoc, sed illud,” ut superiore libro dictum est, in diversis nonnunquam solent oppositis inservire. Ut autem diversorum ita etiam discreti axiomatis doctrina distinctionibus duntaxat, non conclusionibus, idonea est : & à reliquis propterea Dialecticis, qui omnia ad syllogismum referunt, omissa. Sed rationis usus quicumque in Logica prætermittendus non erat. Exempli gratia : Tuscul. 5. “ Quanquam sensu corporis judicentur, ad animum referri tamen.” Cujus negatio & contradictio est, “ non quanquam corporis sensu judicentur, tamen ad animum referri : vel, quanquam sensu corporis judicentur, non tamen ad animum referri.” Nam “ tamen” est hîc conjunctio præcipua. Quemadmodum autem copulati & connexi axiomatis negatio & contradictio discretum esse potest, ita vicissim copulatum vel connexum discreti : ut, “ quanquam culpa vacat, non tamen suspicione caret :” cujus per copulatum contradictio est, “ & culpa vacat, & suspicione caret ;” vel per connexum, “ si culpa vacat, etiam suspicione caret.”

“ Discretum enuntiatum judicatur esse verum & legitimum, si partes non solum veræ, sed etiam discretæ sint ; falsum vel ridiculum contra.”

Ut, “ quanquam Ulysses formosus erat, tamen non erat infacundus,” falsum est, quia antecedens est falsum. Sed si consequens modò verum est, axioma verum erit, etiam si antecedens verum esse tantummodo concedatur. Hoc autem, “ quanquam Menelaus formosus erat, tamen erat facundus,” non est discretum, sed ne segregativum quidem : omnis enim segregativi axiomatis partes tanquam non simul veræ segregantur, hic verò tanquam simul veræ congregantur. Quanquam Ulysses “ facundus erat, non tamen erat indifertus,” est ridiculum, quia partes non sunt discretæ sed oppositæ.

C A P. VIII.

De Axiomate disjuncto.

“ **A**xioma disjunctum est axioma segregativum, cujus conjunctio est disjunctiva.”

Ut, “ aut dies est, aut nox est. Aut vera est hæc enunciatio aut falsa.” Nam ut ex Cicerone citatur hoc exemplum, “ omnis enunciatio vera est aut falsa,” videtur esse distributio potius quàm disjunctio. Distributio autem quatenus de toto diviso partes enuntiantur, axioma simplex & generale est, adeoque non compositum nedum disjunctum. Neque enim distributionis partes, quamvis inter se oppositæ, oppositionem vel

disjunctionem ullam faciunt, sed eidem toti subjiciuntur, & in ejusdem simplicis axiomatis consequente verbi vinculo cum toto, quod antecedens est, consentiunt; at extra distributionem, ubi non de toto, sed de aliqua ejus parte vel specie enunciantur, tum demum axioma disjunctum efficiunt: ut, quod supra posuimus, “hæc enuntiatio aut vera est aut falsa.”

“Hic significatur è disjunctis unicum verum esse.”

Nempe quia opposita hic sola disponi debent. Atque id semper à differente significatur, tametsi aliquando accidit, ut disjunctorum vel plura uno, vel nullum omnino verum sit. Negatio igitur & contradictio erit, “non aut dies aut nox est.”

“Et contradictione significatur, non necessario alterutrum verum esse.”

“Nam si disjunctio absolute vera est, est etiam necessaria; partesque disjunctæ sunt opposita sine ullo medio.” De quibus vide superioris libri caput de contradicentibus.

“Veruntamen quamvis absolute vera disjunctio, necessaria quoque sit; tamen nihil necesse est partes separatim necessarias esse.”

Ut, “cras aut pluet aut non pluet,” disjunctio est necessaria, quia ex contradicentibus constat, quæ sunt contraria sine medio: & tamen, “cras pluet & cras non pluet,” utrumque contingens axioma est. Sic, “homo aut bonus est aut non bonus, &c.”

“Nam disjunctionis necessitas pendet è necessaria partium oppositione & disjunctione, non ex earum necessaria veritate.

Hinc argumentum illud dissolvitur Chrysippi Stoici aliorumque veterum, apud Ciceronem de Fato; quo probare sunt conati, futura omnia esse necessaria & quasi fatalia, eò quòd necesse sit ea aut vera esse aut falsa. Disjunctio quidem, ut diximus, necessaria est; pars tamen disjunctionis alterutra talis erit, qualis causa ejus est; sive necessaria, sive contingens, i. e. vel libera vel fortuita.

Atque hæc de necessaria disjunctione, cujus judicium scientia est.

“Disjunctio autem sæpe est ex conditione.”

“Ut si quæretur utrum Cleon venerit an Socrates, quia ita pactum si alterutrum tantum venturum esse.”

“Itaque si disjunctio sit contingens (contingens autem est, si partes medium habent) non est absolute vera, sed tantum opinabilis.”

Qualis est frequenter in hominum usu. Ut Cæsar ad matrem: “hodie me aut pontificem videbis, aut exulem. Ovid. in epistola Leandri.

“Aut mihi continget felix audacia salvo,
“Aut mors solliciti finis amoris erit.”

C A P. IX.

De Syllogismo & ejus partibus.

ATque ejusmodi dispositio est axiomatica sive noëtica axiomatis per se manifesti: sequitur dianoëtica.

“Dianoëtica est cum aliud axioma ex alio deducitur.”

Vox Græca *διάνοια*, mentis & rationis discursum significat; qui tum fit maximè cum sententia alia ex alia ratiocinando deducitur.

“Dispositio dianoëtica est syllogismus aut methodus.”

“Syllogismus est dispositio dianoëtica qua quæstio cum argumento ita disponitur, ut posito antecedente, necessario concludatur.”

Est

Est dianoia : est ergo discursus mentis ac rationis quo aliud ex alio ratiocinando colligitur : eam ratiocinantis quasi collectionem vox ipsa syllogismi significat : quæ quidem collectio sive deductio ab intellectûs humani imbecillitate profecta est : quæ cum rerum veritatem & falsitatem primo intuitu perspicere in axioma non potest, ad syllogismum se confert, in quo de consequentia & inconsequentia earum judicare possit.

“ Cum itaque axioma dubium est, quæstio efficitur, & ad ejus fidem tertio argu-
“ mento est opus cum quæstione collocato.”

Quæstionis partes vulgò termini appellantur ; & antecedens quidem minor terminus, consequens major terminus dicitur : quia antecedente latius ferè est consequens. Tertium autem argumentum ab Aristot. medium & medius terminus dicitur. Non quod semper medius inter duos quæstionis terminos in syllogismo collocetur, sed eò quòd quasi arbiter de consensu eorum inter se aut dissensu, disceptat & judicat. Atque hæc sunt tria illa argumenta, ex quibus solis omnis syllogismus conficitur ; duo scilicet quæstionis, & tertium argumentum ; quæ vulgò “ tres termini ” dicuntur. Termini autem isti non semper simplices sunt voces, sed orationes nonnunquam longiusculæ ; nec semper casibus rectis, sed obliquis interdum efferuntur.

“ Partes syllogismi duæ sunt ; antecedens & consequens. Antecedens syllogismi
“ pars est, in qua quæstio cum argumento disponitur.”

“ Syllogismi antecedens partes duas habet, propositionem & assumptionem : quæ
vulgò præmissæ nominantur.

“ Propositio est prior pars antecedentis, qua quæstionis saltem consequens cum argu-
“ mento disponitur.”

“ Saltem ; ” quia nonnunquam tota quæstio cum argumento in propositione disponitur, ut infra patebit.

Propositio vulgò “ major ” dicitur ; vel quia majorem vim habet (est enim argumentationis quasi basis & fundamentum) vel quia major terminus, i. e. consequens quæstionis in propositione collocatur.

“ Assumptio est secunda pars antecedentis, quæ assumitur è propositione.”

Assumitur enim inde vel tertium argumentum vel tota assumptio, ut infra perspicietur. Hinc itaque argumentum tertium, sive medius terminus, dignoscitur, quòd bis ponitur ante conclusionem. Assumptio vulgò “ minor propositio ” dicitur, vel quia minorem vim obtinet, ex propositione videlicet deductam ; vel quia minor terminus, i. e. antecedens quæstionis, in ea sæpe disponi solet, non semper, ut infra intelligemus.

“ Syllogismi autem pars consequens est, quæ complectitur partes quæstionis, eamque
“ concludit. Unde completio & conclusio dicitur.”

Hinc sequitur, conclusionem & verbis & terminorum ordine, eandem planè esse cum proposita quæstione oportere ; alioqui syllogismi fidem claudicare, & quasi depositum non reddere. Secundo hinc intelligitur illa regula, “ tertium argumentum sive medius terminus nunquam ingreditur conclusionem.” Ratio est, quia medium non est id quòd concluditur, neque de quo quicquam ; sed id, quo adhibito, quæstio concluditur, vel duo ejus termini inter se consentire aut dissentire judicantur. Medius itaque terminus aut ulla pars ejus in conclusione si sit, syllogismus vitiosum facit ; id facillime deprehenditur, si non solum quæstio proposita, sed præterea aliquid quod bis erat in præmissis repetitum, conclusionem intrat.

Cum autem in omni syllogismo, ut ex ejus definitione constat, quæstio cum argumento ita disponatur, ut posito antecedente, i. e. concessis præmissis, necessario concludatur : quæ necessitas non consequentis, sed consequentiæ, non materiæ, sed formæ est ; hinc intelligitur, nullam in syllogismi forma differentiam esse contingentis & necessarii, sed syllogismum omnem necessario concludere, teste etiam Aristot, Prior. 1. 33. eamque necessitatem ex legitima dispositione quæstionis cum tertio argumento, non ex necessaria partium in antecedente dispositarum veritate pendere. Unde & illi redarguuntur,

qui vulgò dividunt syllogismum in dialecticum & apodicticum, probabilem scilicet & demonstrativum, sive necessarium, cum & illa distinctio axiomatum sit, & syllogismi consequentia tam in contingenti, immo in falso necessaria sit, quàm in vero & necessario; immo ex falsis præmissis conclusio nunc vera nunc falsa necessario sequatur: ut, “omnis leo est quadrupes: Socrates est leo; ergo Socrates est quadrupes.” In quo simile quiddam habet syllogismus axiomati connexo, & fortasse originem ab eo ducit: nam ut connexum necessarium esse potest ex falsis partibus, modò ipsa connexio sit vera; ut, “si leo est quadrupes, & Socrates leo, Socrates necessario est quadrupes;” sic syllogismus necessario concludit ex veris quidem partibus nil nisi verum, ex falsis & falsum & verum, modò ipsa dispositio sit legitima.

Quòd autem Aristotelici syllogismum dividunt in verum & falsum sive apparentem; verum, cujus materia vera est; in dialecticum sive probabilem, cujus materia contingens est & apodicticum sive demonstrativum ac necessarium, eumque vel perfectum, quæ vocatur *διότι* sive à priori, quo accidens de subiecto per causam vel efficientem vel finalem positam quidem affirmatur, remotam verò negatur; & in imperfectum quæ vocatur *τὸ ὅτι* sive à posteriori, quo accidens de subiecto per effectum probatur; hæc quidem divisio, qualiscunque est, cum axiomatis propria sit, & vel ad formam syllogismi ut in dialectico & apodictico, vel omninò ad artem, ut in falso sive sophistico, nihil pertinèat, melius rejicitur.

APPENDIX de Paralogismis qui hac generali doctrina syllogismi redarguuntur.

ATque hæc syllogismi doctrina generalis fuit. Et rectum quidem index est sui & obliqui, & veritatis doctrina rectè tradita, errorem omnem ipsa per se indicat atque etiam redarguit. Verùm cum non sit ea cujusque hominis perspicacia aut ingenii felicitas, ut vel omnes technas adversarii animadvertere ex ipsis regulis, vel omnes artis regulas memoria tenere semper queat, alienum non erit de præcipuis captionibus quæ committere in hanc generalem syllogismi doctrinam solent, seorsim hîc aliquid monere.

Cum itaque syllogismi doctrina generali doceamur, tria duntaxat argumenta sive tres terminos in syllogismo disponi oportere, hinc faciliè perspicuum est, peccare omnem syllogismum in hanc doctrinam generalem, in quo termini vel plures ternis disponantur, vel pauciores: termini autem non tam sunt verba, quàm verborum sensus & significationes.

Peccatur autem terminis pluribus, vel apertius vel tectius. Apertius (ut puerilia de accentu, figurâ dictionis, plurium, quæ dicitur interrogationum, & similia omittam) cum tres termini distinctè numerantur in propositione: ut, “qui est bonus & dialecticus, is est bonus dialecticus; Cleanthes est bonus & dialecticus; ergo, est bonus dialecticus.” Hæc fallacia compositionis dicitur; quia divisa male componit. Contra; “qui est bonus dialecticus, is est bonus & dialecticus; Cleanthes, &c.” Hæc fallacia est divisionis; quia composita male dividit; vel quia composita proponit, divisa concludit. Idem committitur etiam sine conjunctione: ut, “bonus citharædus est bonus; Nero est bonus citharædus; ergo, bonus.” Bonus duplici significatione cum “citharædo” disponitur in propositione; quatuor ergo termini. Sic etiam cum non iisdem verbis aliud planè proponitur, aliud assumitur: ut, “dextera Dei est ubique; humanitas Christi sedet ad dextram Dei; ergo, humanitas Christi est ubique.

Tectius verò peccatur, vel “homonymia”, vel “amphibolia.”

Homonymia sive æquivocatio est, primò, cum simplicis vocis seu termini unius, significatio duplex ponitur: ut, “leo est bestia; leo est Papa; ergo, Papa est bestia.”

Secundò, cùm argumentum in una parte propriè, in altera tropicè ponitur; vel in una parte pro reipsa, in altera pro artificiali aliqua notione rei. Hujusmodi sunt artium vocabula: ut, “potens est participium; rex est potens; ergo, rex est participium.” “Animal est genus; homo est animal; ergo, homo est genus.”

Amphibolia sive ambiguitas vel in syntaxi est, vel in ipsa re. In syntaxi; ut, “pecunia quæ est Cæsaris, possidetur à Cæsare; hæc pecunia est Cæsaris; ergo, possidetur à Cæsare. Ambiguitas in ipsa re, quæ & “prava expositio” vocatur, fit, cùm affectio rei non eadem assumitur quæ proponitur; mutata autem affectione, mutatur argumentum; ut, “quas carnes emisti, comedisti; crudas emisti; ergo, crudas comedisti.” Hic propositio & de carnibus & de substantia carniū loquitur; assumptio, de qualitate earum: dicendum ergo erat, “quales carnes emisti, &c.” Eadem est fallacia cum id quod in “abstracto,” quod aiunt, proponitur, in “concreto” assumitur: ut, “candidum est disgregativum visus: paries est candidus; ergo, paries est disgregativum visus.” Etiam cùm in ipsa copula quartus terminus latet: ut, “fortitudo non est clementia; principis est fortitudo; ergo, principis non est clementia.” Hic verbum “est” in majore “esse,” in minore “habere” significat; casuūque mutationem rectorum in obliquos inducit; qui quatuor esse terminos declarant. “Nullus puer diu vixit.” Nestor fuit puer; ergo, Nestor non diu vixit.” Hic major de eo qui est, minor de eo qui fuit puer loquitur; qui duo termini sunt. Quatuor denique sunt termini cùm plus est in conclusione quàm in præmissis.

Pauciores autem termini sunt ternis, cùm tertium argumentum deest. Hoc fit quoties vel idem sensu vel æque obscurum pro argumento sumitur; (idem enim non est tertium; æque obscurum non est argumentum) quæ “petitio principii,” vel, ejus quod erat in principio nominatur; quia postulatur ipsa questio ut gratis, i. e. sine argumento concedatur: ut, “ensis est acutus; gladius est ensis; ergo, gladius est acutus. Vel, “quod omnis homo est, id singuli homines sunt; omnis homo est justus; ergo, singuli homines sunt justi.” Huc refer jactatum illud, Quæ non amisisti habes, cornua non amisisti, ergo cornua habes. Habere & amittere privantia sunt & quidem sine medio quatenus talia, ergo non amittere & habere sunt idem, nullus itaque hic est medius terminus, sed perinde ac si diceret; Quæ habes, habes, cornua habes, ergo habes. Hujus generis est, cùm tertium argumentum non integrum è propositione assumitur: ut, “omnes apostoli sunt duodecim; Petrus & Joannes sunt apostoli; ergo, Petrus & Joannes sunt duodecim.” Hic “omnes” collectivè sumptum, pars est tertii argumenti, quod totum erat in assumptione assumendum. Ad hoc sophisma referendæ sunt denique omnes conversiones enuntiationum; quoties rem dubiam non argumento sive medio termino, sed conversione sola probare contendunt: de qua suprà monuimus. Atque his ferè modis in formam syllogismi generalem peccatur.

Materia syllogismi vitiosa est, quoties antecedentis pars vel altera vel utraque est falsa: id fit tot modis, quot sunt argumentorum genera. Quorum cùm veritas tum falsitas quanquam in axioma judicatur, propterea tamen quòd argumenta ipsa in syllogismo disponuntur, qui modi præcipuè nominantur à Dialecticis vel materia sola, vel partim materia, partim forma vitiosi, eos hic breviter attingemus.

Primus est materiæ solius; diciturque “non causæ ut causæ.” Causæ autem nomen hic usurpatur pro quovis argumento, etiam non effecti ut effecti, non subjecti ut subjecti, & sic deinceps. Hanc captionem singulorum argumentorum definitiones facile refellunt.

Secundus est quæ vocatur fallacia “accidentis,” sive, quod idem est, à dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter: vel contrà, à dicto simpliciter ad dictum secundum quid; quoties id quod adjuncti est, subjecto attribuitur; aut contrà quod subjecti, adjuncto: ut, “quæ non restituenda sunt domino furioso, non restituenda sunt domino; arma non restituenda sunt domino furioso; ergo, non domino:” vel contra: “quæ restitu-

“ restituenda sunt domino, etiam domino furioso; arma domino; ergo, domino furioso.” In his propositio semper falsa est.

Tertius est “ignoratio elenchi;” (“elenchus” autem est redargutio quælibet siue vera siue falsa) cum leges oppositionis non observantur eidem numero, secundum idem, ad idem, & eodem tempore: ut, “cæci vident; qui carent visu, sunt cæci; ergo, qui carent visu, vident.” Propositio distinguenda est; nempe, qui fuerunt cæci, nunc vident. Sic; “is qui non videt cæcus est; dormiens non videt; est ergo cæcus.” Ad idem non est: propositio enim de potentia, assumptio de actu videndi loquitur; vel quatuor sunt termini, & prava expositio dici potest. Aliis ignorantia elenchi est, cum vel planè mutatur & torquetur status controversiæ, vel conclusio adversarii non directè opponitur nostræ thesi secundum canones legitimæ oppositionis.

Quartus est fallacia “consequentis,” siue comparatorum, quæ è contrariis quidem sunt orta, sed parium collatione tractata, cum disputatur contraria esse contrariorum consequentia: quam regulam esse fallacem, l. 1. c. 18. copiose ostenditur: ut, “quæ eidem æqualia, inter se æqualia; ergo quæ eidem sunt inæqualia, inter se sunt inæqualia.” Ut, 2. & 2. sunt inæquales ad 5; ergo sunt inter se inæquales. Duo latera quadrati symmetra non sunt diagono; ergo non sunt inter se.

C A P. X.

De Syllogismo simplici contracto.

“**S**yllogismus est simplex aut compositus.”

“Simplex, ubi pars consequens quæstionis disponitur in propositione, pars antecedens in assumptione.”

Ut syllogismi forma generalis erat dispositio quæstionis cum argumento, ita specialis quæque dispositio quæstionis cum argumento cuiusque speciei forma est. Ex. gr. “homo est animal: Socrates est homo; ergo Socrates est animal.” Hinc facile perspicitur, si quæstionis terminus major non disponatur in propositione maiore, minor in minore, syllogismus non esse legitimum. Quòd si aliquando usu venit, ut antecedens quæstionis in propositione & consequens in assumptione disponi videatur, intelligere debemus syllogismi partes inverti: ut, “Socrates est homo: homo est animal; ergo Socrates est animal.”

Sequitur jam syllogismi simplicis distinctio in adjunctos modos, qui ex partium, i. e. axiomaticum affectione oriuntur.

“Syllogismus simplex est affirmatus è partib. omnib. affirmatis. Negatus ex negata antecedentis parte altera cum complexione.” Non ex omnib. negatis, ut affirmatus ex omnibus affirmatis; nisi enim argumentum tertium cum altera parte quæstionis consentiat, nihil probat.

Ut autem syllogismorum tota ratio intelligatur (quod hoc loco fieri commodissimè posse arbitror) sciendum est eam duab. præcipuè legibus fundari; altera parium, altera generis ex loco petita. Ex parium loco; “quæ conveniunt in uno aliquo tertio, conveniunt inter se; & contrà, quæ non in uno tertio, non inter se.” Ex loco generis; “quod generi generaliter attribuitur, id omnibus etiam attribuitur speciebus quæ sub eo genere continentur.” Hæc regula vocatur in scholiis, “dictum de omni & nullo. Illa à Geometris primum sensu præeunte facilius inventa est; & præcipitur Aristot. 1. Prior. c. 1. Ut enim illic norma, “si duab. lineis æque conveniat, eas lineas demonstrat convenire inter se siue esse æquales;” eodem planè modo medius terminus si duob. conclusionis terminis conveniat, velut norma demonstrat, convenire duos illos inter se, & contrà. Itaque si quæstio affirmanda est, quærendum est per omnes inventionis

tionis locos argumentum quod utrique parti quæstionis conveniat : si neganda est, quærendum quod uni parti conveniat, ab altera dissentiat ; nam si ab utraque parte dissentit, tertium argumentum esse non poterit, nihil n. probabit. Ex. gr. quæritur “ an Socrates sit animal ? ” Si affirmanda est hæc quæstio, ad illa duo argumenta quæ in quæstione sunt, “ Socrates & animal, ” quærendum aliquod tertium argumentum est, quod cum utraque parte quæstionis consentiat. Ejusmodi autem est homo : nam homo convenit cum “ animali, ” ut species cum suo genere ; cum Socrate, ut genus cum sua specie ; ergo Socrates & “ animal ” conveniunt inter se ; adeoque Socrates “ est animal. ” Sin neganda est quæstio, ut, Socrates “ non est bestia, ” quærendum est argumentum tertium, quod ab altera tantum parte dissentiat. Hujusmodi autem est “ homo : homo “ n. non est ” bestia, at Socrates est homo ; ergo Socrates non est bestia. ” Sin medius cum neutro quæstionis termino conveniat, neutrius norma esse potest ; neque ostendit, inter se conveniant, necne ; neque “ de omni ” dicit neque “ de nullo ; ” adeoque nec probat quicquam nec refellit. Unde illa regula ; “ ex utraque præmissa negata nihil concluditur : Aristot. 1. Prior. c. 24. ut, “ nullus lapis est animal ; nullus homo est lapis, nullus igitur homo est animal. ” Excipitur tamen ab hac regula, si medius terminus sit negatus, vel duplex negatio sit in majore : ut, “ quod non sentit, non est animal : planta non sentit ; ergo planta non est animal. ” Hic enim major, quæ videtur esse negata, æquipollet affirmatæ ; eadēque est ac si diceret, “ omne quod sentit est animal : ” negationesque istæ topicæ potius & infinitæ, quàm axiomaticæ sunt, partiumque negationes non totius axiomatis, hoc potius modo enuntiandi, “ quod est non sentiens, est non animal : ” & hoc affirmatum planè axioma est. Sed hac de re plura dicemus infra cap. 12. ad secundam speciem explicati. Cur autem complexio, negata antecedentis parte altera, negata quoque esse debet, ratio est, trita illa regula, “ conclusio sequitur partem debiliorem : ” negatumque debilius est affirmato, particulare generali, contingens necessario. Regulæ autem ratio est, quia conclusio est præmissarum quasi effectum : nullum autem effectum est toto genere dignius aut fortius sua causa. Fallit ergo hic paralogismus : “ qui non differt à bruto differt à Sophronisci filio : Socrates non differt à Sophronisci filio ; ergo non à bruto. ” Hæc conclusio non sequitur, uti debuit, assumptionem negatam, sed propositionem affirmatam : & enim “ non differt à bruto ” non propositionis totius, sed antecedentis duntaxat ejus est negatio : idēque valet, ac si affirmatum sic esset ; “ qui idem est cum bruto. ” Sequitur autem conclusio sive consequens partem antecedentis negatam non affirmatam, quia si partes conclusionis non consentiunt in argumento tertio, non consentiunt inter se : sequitur partem specialem, non generalem, quia genus concludit speciem, non species genus ; juxta illud superius dictum “ de omni & nullo. ”

“ Syllogismus simplex (nimirum qui ex simplicibus axiomatis constat) est vel generalis, vel specialis, vel proprius.”

“ Generalis è propositione & assumptione generalibus.”

Non ex generali etiam conclusione, ut patebit infra.

“ Specialis est ex altera tantum generali.”

Hæc enim regula firmissima quoque est, “ ex utraque præmissa particulari nihil concluditur. ” Exigit enim dictum “ de omni & nullo ” partem antecedentis unam saltem generalem : nec non in duabus particularibus quatuor sunt termini : cum enim individua, quæ vocant, “ vaga, ” particulares propositiones faciunt, fit ut de alio subjecto major, de alio minor ferè loquatur : ut, “ quoddam animal est homo : quoddam animal est brutum ; ergo quoddam brutum est homo. Quidam sunt divites : quidam sunt docti ; ergo quidam sunt divites. ”

“ Proprius est ex utraque propria.”

Cur autem ex utraque propria cum non ex utraque particulari, quia nempe hæc certa sunt & de eodem dicta, illa vaga, “ ut suprà. ”

Hinc

Hinc liquet, cur ut axioma, ita syllogismus specialis in particularem & proprium dividi non potuerit, cum syllogismus proprius non sit species syllogismi specialis. Quare autem partes omnes non sint propriæ, i. e. axiomata propria, infra etiam apparebit. Et syllogismus quidem proprius, etsi ab Aristotele neglectus, ab aliis rejectus sit, usum tamen frequentissimum habet.

“ Simplex syllogismus est contractus partibus, vel explicatus.”

Aristoteles in tres figuras dividit syllogismum; primam, secundam, & tertiam. Verum hanc Rami dichotomiam esse commodiorem & naturæ ordini aptius respondere res ipsa demonstrabit.

“ Contractus syllogismus est, cum exemplum pro argumento ita subjicitur particulari quæstioni, ut utramque ejus partem antecedere & assumptione affirmatum esse intelligatur.”

Exempli gratia: “ quædam confidentia est virtus, ut constantia. Quædam confidentia non est virtus, ut audacia.”

In his, ut cernimus, primò quæstio particularis duntaxat proponitur; generale enim, ut inquit Aristot. pr. 1. 6. & 2. 7. in hac specie, quæ tertia nimirum Arist. figura est, concludere non licet: addo etiam, neque proprium; quæ ratio est, cur syllogismus generalis non ex omnibus generalibus & proprium non ex omnibus propriis definitur, cum in hac specie consequens sive conclusio debeat semper esse particularis, etiamsi utraque pars antecedentis generalis aut propria fuerit: unde sequitur, particulares duntaxat quæstiones in hac specie concludi. Deinde exemplum speciale pro argumento subjicitur sive subjungitur, ut “ Constantia.”

Hujus autem syllogismi dispositio specialis hæc esse intelligitur, si contractum explicamus (tamen si nunquam ferè nisi contractus in usu occurrit) ut exemplum sive argumentum tertium, primò utramque partem quæstionis in præmissis, quod aiunt, antecedit, sive præmissæ utriusque subjectum sit.

“ Hic autem argumentum sive exemplum utramque partem quæstionis antecedere intelligitur,” quia quæstionis pars utraque argumento sive exemplo attribuitur, i. e. de eo vel affirmatur vel negatur; perinde quasi explicatè diceretur, “ constantiam esse virtutem, & esse confidentiam; ergo quandam confidentiam esse virtutem.” Item, “ audaciam non esse virtutem, & tamen esse confidentiam; ideòque quandam confidentiam non esse virtutem.” Exemplum ergo sive argumentum tertium in contracto, etsi quæstioni subjicitur, tamen si contractum explicas, & propositionis & assumptionis antecedens sive subjectum esse reperitur. Est autem contractus enthymematis quædam species, quæ, cum explicatur, in peculiarem quandam syllogismi formam resolvitur, ideòque erat specialiter docenda. Secundò, postulat hujus syllogismi dispositio, ut assumptio semper affirmetur. Cum enim tertium argumentum speciale exemplum sit, adeòque species antecedentis sive minoris termini quæstionis qui in assumptione semper disponitur, atque ita antecedens sit tertii argumenti genus; necesse est, genus de specie semper affirmari.

“ Atque ista expositio quæstionis per exemplum quod subjicitur, principium syllogismi partibus explicati ab Aristot. 1. pr. 6. &c. efficitur, tanquam per se pleno syllogismi judicio clarior & illustrior.”

Prior ergo est ordine syllogismus contractus explicato, cum quia clarior, tum quia simplicior: est autem ita clarus, ut mens eum, sicuti est contractus, antè percipiat, quàm partibus explicari possit; ideòque usus differendi contracta hac forma contentus, formam explicatam rarissime solet adhibere. Claritas autem ejus eximia vel hinc perspicitur; quòd cum duo duntaxat hujus speciei sint sophismata, eorum inanitatem contracta hujus syllogismi forma facilius detegit quàm explicata, “ ut infra ostendetur.”

Ad tollendum itaque dubitationem, non hic supplendæ syllogismi partes, ut in enthymemate, sed contrahendæ; contractum quippe explicatio hic est explicatius, & ab judicio syllogismi ad axiomatis clarius judicium hic est quasi provocandum & regrediendum.

Quod

Quod ad modos attinet hujus speciei, si contractam tantummodo formam spectamus, pluribus non est opus quàm duobus, uno affirmato, altero negato: quia non refert, utrum exemplum subalterna sit species an specialissima. Sin explicatam hanc speciem spectamus, plures habet modos quàm species reliquæ: quatuor autem sunt affirmati, totidem negati; quorum duo sunt generales quatuor speciales, duo proprii: quatuor autem sunt in hac specie speciales modi, cùm in reliquis bini tantum sint; quia in hac specie propositio potest esse vel generalis vel particularis, in reliquis verò nunquam particularis est. Exempla hæc sunt.

Primus modus est affirmatus generalis: ut, “constantia est virtus: constantia est confidentia; ergo quædam confidentia est virtus.”

Secundus est negatus generalis: ut, “audacia non est virtus: audacia est confidentia; ergo quædam confidentia non est virtus.”

Affirmatus specialis duplex est; tertius & quartus. Tertius, cujus propositio est particularis: ut, “quidam sapiens est dives: omnis sapiens est laudabilis; ergo quidam laudabilis est dives.”

Quartus, cujus propositio est generalis: ut, “omnis sapiens est laudabilis, quidam sapiens est pauper; ergo quidam pauper est laudabilis.”

Negatus item specialis est duplex; quintus & sextus. Quintus, cujus propositio est particularis: ut, “quidam stultus non est fortunatus: omnis stultus est contemptus; ergo quidam contemptus non est fortunatus.”

Sextus, cujus propositio est generalis: ut, “stultus non est beatus: quidam stultus est fortunatus; ergo quidam fortunatus non est beatus.”

“Reliqui duo proprii sunt, cùm exemplum est species specialissima sive individuum. Affirmatus est, “Socrates est Philosophus: Socrates est homo: ergo quidam homo est Philosophus.” Negatus est, “Thersites non est Philosophus: Thersites est homo; ergo quidam homo non est Philosophus.”

Contracti syllogismi duo vitia sive sophismata sunt, quæ definitione præcaventur. Unum, si quæstio sive conclusio particularis non sit: ut, “omnis homo est rationalis: omnis homo est animal; ergo omne animal est rationale,” ratio est, quia id quod non generaliter attribuitur in assumptione (non enim omne animal est homo) non potest esse generale subjectum conclusionis. Alterum est cùm assumptio est negata: ut, “homo est animal: homo non est bestia; ergo bestia non est animal.” Quæ duo sophismata in contracta hujus syllogismi forma, facilius, ut suprâ dixi, deteguntur, & primo statim intuitu ridentur: ut, “omne animal est rationale, ut homo: quædam bestia non est animal, ut homo.

C A P. XI.

De Prima specie syllogismi simplicis explicati.

SYllogismus explicatus præter ipsum nomen aliam definitionem non desiderat. Dicitur “explicatus,” non quod semper omnibus occurrat partibus explicatus, sic enim vix millesimus quisque syllogismus occurrit, sed quod partes non modo in forma integra, verum etiam in enthymemate semper distinctas habet.

“In syllogismo explicato propositio est generalis aut propria; & conclusio similis antecedenti aut parti debiliori.”

Similis, nempe & qualitate & quantitate: “antecedenti,” utrique scilicet ejus parti, propositioni & assumptioni, si ipsi inter se similes sunt sive affirmatæ sive generales sive propriæ, sin dissimiles, parti debiliori, ut suprâ.

“Syllogismi explicati species duæ sunt. Prima ubi argumentum semper sequitur, negatum in altera parte.”

Hæc prima species explicati, “figura secunda” ab Aristotele dicitur. Prior autem hæc species efficitur, quia dispositio ejus est simplicior, ut ex altera specie collata compariemus. Sequitur autem semper argumentum partem utramque quæstionis, consequentem in propositione, antecedentem in assumptione: unde ab Aristot. pr. 1. 5. prædicatum de ambabus” dicitur. Negatum autem dicitur argumentum in altera parte quia pars altera vel propositio nempe vel assumptio semper est negata. Unde cum negata etiam conclusio semper necessario sit, sequitur, hujus speciei modos omnes negatos esse, & negatas duntaxat quæstiones hac specie concludi, quæ omnis in refutationibus est posita.

Modi hujus syllogismi sex sunt; et omnes quidem, ut diximus, negati; duo generales, duo speciales, duo proprii.

Generalis primus, cujus propositio negatur; “Turbatus non bene utitur ratione: sapiens bene utitur ratione; sapiens igitur non est turbatus.” Hoc exemplum in sua crypsi sic apud Ciceronem est 3 Tuscul. “Quemadmodum oculus conturbatus non est probè affectus ad suum munus fungendum, & reliquæ partes totumque corpus à statu cum est motum, deest officio suo ac muneri; sic conturbatus animus non est probè affectus ad exequendum munus suum. Munus autem animi est ratione uti: & sapientis animus ita semper affectus est, ut ratione optimè utatur; nunquam igitur est perturbatus.” Crypsis hinc unica redundantia est: nam ordo partium rectus est, nec ulla pars deest: prosyllogismus unus est propositionis: illustratur enim propositio similitudine plena, cujus redditio est ipsius propositionis sententia.

Generalis secundus, cujus assumptio negatur “res mortalis est composita: animus non est compositus; animus igitur non est mortalis.” Hinc syllogismus crypsi involutus est apud Cic. 1. Tuscul. quo is judicat animum immortalem esse. “In animi autem cognitione, inquit, dubitare non possumus, nisi fortè in physicis plumbei sumus, quin nihil sit animis admixtum, nihil concretum, nihil coagmentatum, nihil duplex. Quod cum ita sit, certè nec secerni, nec dividi, nec discerpi, nec distrahi potest; nec interire igitur: est enim interitus quasi discessus & secretio ac diremptus earum partium quæ ante interitum junctione aliqua tenebantur.” In hoc exemplo partium ordo invertitur: nam postremo in loco propositionis sententia ponitur, interitum esse scilicet rerum compositarum, assumptio occurrit prima, “in animi autem cognitione, &c.” Et ornatur synonymis: conclusio media est atque à causa illustratur, “ergo nec secerni, &c. nec interire igitur.

Specialis primus est, cujus propositio negatur: “lividus non est magnanimus, maximus est: Maximus igitur non est lividus.” Hoc judicio Ovidius 3. de pont. eleg. 3. concludit.

Livor, iners vitium, mores non exit in altos;

Utque latens ima vipera serpit humo.

Mens tua sublimis supra genus eminet ipsum.

Grandius ingenio nec tibi nomen inest.

Ergo, alii noceant, miseris, optentque timeri,

Tinctaque mordaci spicula felle gerant.

At tua supplicibus domus est assueta juvandis;

In quorum numero me precor esse velis.

Hujus etiam exempli crypsis redundantia sola est: propositio suos habet prosyllogismos, & livor pro livido ponitur, adjunctum pro subjecto; & illustratur à contrario abjecto;isque à simili, “vipera:” assumptio, i. e. Maximi magnanimitas, illustratur partim à minori totius generis magnanimitate, partim à notatione nominis ejus, i. e. Maximi; cujus parem esse animi magnitudinem demonstrat: conclusio negat Maximum esse lividum, partim quia dissimilis sit lividorum, quos describit ab effectis, “ergo alii noceant, &c.” partim, quia ipse faciat quæ magnanimus consuevit, qui disparatus à livido est; “at tua supplicibus, &c.”

Specialis

Specialis secundus est, cujus assumptio negatur: "Saltator est luxuriosus: Muræna non est luxuriosus; Muræna igitur non est saltator." Cic. pro Muræn. "Nemo enim ferè saltat sobrius, nisi fortè insanet: neque in solitudine neque in convivio moderato atque honesto. Intempestivi convivii, amœni loci, multarum deliciarum comes est extrema saltatio. Tu mihi arripis id quod necesse est omnium vitiorum esse postremum: relinquis illa quibus remotis, hoc vitium omnino esse non potest: nullum turpe convivium, non amor, non comessatio, non libido, non sumptus ostenditur: & cum ea non reperiantur quæ voluptatis nomen habent quæque vitiosa sunt, in quo ipsam luxuriam reperire non potes, in eo te umbram luxuriæ reperturum putas?" Hujus etiam syllogismi partes prosyllogismis exornantur. Propositionis sententia his verbis continetur, "intempestivi convivii, &c." quam prosyllogismus præcedens illustrat à contrariis, "nemo ferè saltat sobrius, &c." assumptio per partes explicatur, "nullum turpe convivium, &c." & à minoribus quibusdam illustratur: cujus etiam prosyllogismus præcedit, reprehensio nempe Catonis, quòd postulare consequens, non probato antecedente: postremo loco ponitur conclusio, quæ negat Murænam esse saltatorem repetendo quædam quæ in assumptione præcesserant; & interrogatione fortius negando.

Hoc judicii modo Ovidius 1. Trist. eleg. 1. tripliciter concludit dum carminum suorum excusationem exponit:

Carmina proveniunt animo deducta sereno;
Nubila sunt subitis tempora nostra malis.
Carmina secessum scribentis & otia querunt.
Me mare, me venti, me fera jactat hyems.
Carminibus metus omnis abest; ego perditus ensen
Hæsurum jugulo jam puto jamque meo.
Hæc quoque quæ facio, judex mirabitur æquus;
Scriptaque cum venia qualiacunque leget.

Tres hîc syllogismi sunt qui in unum sic reduci possunt: "Ut quis possit carmina bona scribere, oportet is lætus sit, otiosus, securus: ego nec lætus sum, nec otiosus, nec securus; ergo bona carmina non scribo. Pro assumptionibus prosyllogismi à dissidentibus & impediens causis ponuntur. Deinde conclusio sequitur, non ipsa quidem sed ejus confectarium; mirum esse si bona sunt; sed potius cum venia esse legenda, quia non sunt bona.

Proprius primus est, cujus propositio negatur; ut, "Agefilaus non est pictus ab Apelle: Alexander est pictus ab Apelle; Alexander igitur non est Agefilaus."

Proprius secundus est, cujus assumptio negatur: ut, "Cæsar oppressit patriam: Tullius non oppressit patriam; ergo Tullius non est Cæsar."

Sophismata hîc duo sunt; quorum unum utrique explicati speciei commune est, alterum primæ speciei proprium. Commune est, cum propositio est particularis; quæ ex communi explicatorum regula generalis aut propria esse debuit.

Sophisma prima speciei proprium est, cum argumentum tertium in altera parte antecedentis non negatur, ut definitio primæ speciei præcipit: unde illud vulgò dictum, Ex duabus affirmatis in secunda figura, nihil concluditur. Excipiendum tamen est, si propositio fortè axioma reciprocum sit: ut, "homo est animal rationale: Socrates est animal rationale; ergo Socrates est homo." Verum hîc potius inversio partium propositionis intelligenda est; "animal rationale est homo;" atque ita ad sequentem speciem syllogismi referetur.

C A P. XII.

De Secunda specie Syllogismi simplicis explicati.

“**S**ECUNDA species explicata syllogismi est, quando argumentum antecedit in propositione, sequitur affirmatum in assumptione.”

Hæc species ab “Aristotele, prima figura” dicitur; sed naturæ ordine est postrema. Cum enim in reliquis speciebus dispositio questionis cum argumento tertio simplex & uniusmodi sit, in hac specie duplex est; in propositione enim argumentum antecedit quæstionis consequentem, utpote specialius; in assumptione sequitur quæstionis antecedentem, utpote generalius; unde fortè medius terminus in hac solùm figura propriè dicitur. Quòd autem propositio nunquam particularis, conclusio semper antecedenti similis aut parti debiliori est, id habet commune cum explicata specie priore; hoc etiam cum contracta, affirmatum esse in assumptione; nisi in contracta, quæstionis antecedens ut generalius de argumento; in hac, argumentum de antecedente quæstionis affirmatur.

Hæc maxime figura fundatur dicto illo “de omni & nullo:” antecedens enim sive subiectum propositionis continet genus, adeoque est semper generalis, subiectum assumptionis continet speciem quæ de illo genere affirmatur. Assumptio itaque semper esse debet affirmata. Ex quo sequitur, quicquid de genere in propositione dicitur, id de eo quod in assumptione species esse illius generis affirmatur, in conclusione rectissimè concludi. Quod si genus illud subiectum scil. propositionis termino infinito negante, seu topicè contradictorio exprimitur, non negata continuò censenda erit assumptio quamvis esse videatur; assumit n. tantummodo genus ex propositione termino illo topicè duntaxat contradictorio expressum, ipsa nihil axiomaticè negat: ut, “quisquis non credit, damnatur: aliquis Judæus non credit; ergo aliquis Judæus damnatur.” Hic propositionis subiectum est genus “quisquis non credit,” i. e. omnis non credens sive infidelis: Judæus est ex numero sive specie non credentium, id quod assumptio non negat, sed affirmat æque ac si sic diceret, “aliquis Judæus est non credens.”

Ex hac autem affirmatione sequitur, nullum argumentum ab antecedente quæstionis dissidentaneum, in hac secunda specie locum habere. De cætero, hæc species neque ad particulares quæstiones, ut contracta, neque ad negatas, ut prior species explicati, restringitur; sed ad omnia quæstionum genera concludenda rectè adhibetur.

Restant hujus speciei modi; qui quanquam partim affirmati sunt partim negati, plures tamen non sunt quàm in altera specie, ubi omnes erant solùm negati. Æqualitatis ratio est quòd assumptionis affirmatio, & solius inde propositionis negatio negatorum numerum minuit. Modi igitur hujus speciei sex itidem sunt; tres affirmati, tres item negati; utrique rursus sunt generales speciales & proprii.

Primus est affirmatus generalis: ut, “omne justum est utile; omne honestum est justum, omne igitur honestum est utile.” Quod Cic. 2. Off. ita concludit: “quicquid justum sit, id etiam utile esse censent: item quod honestum, idem justum: ex quo efficitur, ut quicquid honestum sit, idem sit utile.” Propositionis prosyllogismus à testimonio Stoicorum primo in loco ponitur, deinde omnes partes ordine sequuntur. Partes hujus syllogismi sunt axiomata relatæ essentiæ quæ simplicium axiomatum vim habent.

Secundus

Secundus modus est negatus generalis: "Timidus non est liber: avarus est timidus; avarus itaque non est liber." Hoc ita concluditur & judicatur ab Horatio, epist. l. 1. 16.

Quò melior servo quò liberior sit avarus,
In triviis fixum, cùm se demittit ob affem,
Non video. Nam qui cupiet, metuet quoque: porro
Qui metuens vivit, liber mihi non erit unquam.

In hoc exemplo duplex est crypsis, inversio partium & prosyllogismus. Primo in loco ponitur conclusio, eaque duabus prosyllogismis illustratur; primò à pari, quod "avarus" non "sit liberior servo:" secundò ab effectis, quod "se demittit ob affem." Tum ponitur assumptio "qui cupiet, metuet quoque." Propositio postremo in loco ponitur,

Qui metuens vivit, liber mihi non erit unquam.

Sic Terent. in Eunuch. concludit & judicat: "consilii expers, consilio regi non potest: amor est consilii expers; consilio itaque regi non potest." Syllogismus his verbis sequitur:

Here, quæ res in se neque consilium neque modum
habet ullum, eam consilio regere non potes.
In amore hæc omnia insunt vitia; injuriæ,
suspiciones, inimiciæ, induciæ,
bellum, pax rursus: incerta hæc si tu postules
ratione certâ facere, nihilo plus agas,
quàm si des operam, ut cum ratione insanias.

In hoc exemplo propositio suo loco est "quæ res in se," &c. Pro assumptione ponitur ejus prosyllogismus variorum amoris adjunctorum quæ consilium impediunt; amor consilii expers est, "quia in amore hæc insunt vitia," &c. Conclusio sequitur "incerta hæc," &c. Cujus sententia comparatione parium comprehenditur, ergo si amorem consilio regere vis, "nihilo plus," &c.

Tertius modus est affirmatus specialis: "Consules propter virtutem facti, studiose remp. tueri debent: Cicero est propter virtutem factus consul; Cicero igitur studiose remp. tueri debet." Sic orator diligentiam suam, Agr. 2. concludit & judicat: "Nam cùm omnium consulum, ait, gravis in repub. custodienda, cura ac diligentia debet esse, tum eorum maximè, qui non in incunabulis, sed in campo sunt consules facti. Nulli populo Rom. pro me majores nostri sponsonderunt mihi creditum est: à me petere quod debeo, me ipsum appellare debetis. Quemadmodum cùm petebam, nulli me auctores generis mei vobis commendarunt: sic siquid deliquero, nullæ sunt imagines, quæ me à vobis deprecentur. Quare modò ut vita suppetat (quanquam ego sum is qui eam possim ab istorum scelere insidiisque defendere) polliceor vobis, Quirites, bona fide, remp. vigilantini homini, non timido, diligenti, non ignavo, commisitistis." Partes hujus syllogismi prosyllogismis ornantur. Propositio à minori illustratur: cujus sententia est comparationis redditio, diversis illustrata: "nam cùm omnium consulum gravis, &c. tum eorum maximè:" diversa sunt, "non in incunabulis, sed in campo." Assumptio sequitur, "nulli populi Rom." &c. quæ iisdem rursus diversis illustratur, & à simili; meis, non majorum meritis; in campo, non in incunabulis: similitudo his verbis continetur; "quemadmodum cùm petebam," &c. Tandem conclusionis sententia sequitur illustrata, primùm testimonio promissi, obligationis vim habentis, "polliceor," &c. Deinde diverso & disparato; "quare modò," &c. Ergo Cicero erit vigilans, non timidus; diligens, non ignavus.

Aliud

Aliud exemplum: "quod optatum redierit, gratum est: Lesbia Catullo optata rediit; grata igitur est."

Si quicquam cupidoque optantique obtigit unquam &
 Insperanti, hoc gratum est animo propriè.
 Quare hoc est gratum, nobis quoque charius auro,
 Quod te restituis, Lesbia, mi cupido.
 Restituis cupido atque insperanti ipsa refers te
 Nobis; ô lucem candidiore nota!
 Quis me uno vivit felicior, aut magis hac quid
 Optandum vita dicere quis poterit?

In hoc exemplo propositio videtur esse composita, simplex tamen est, & syllogismus simplex; quia simplex est dispositio argumenti cum partibus quæstionis. Duplex hic cryptis est, reversio & redundantia. Primo loco est propositio "si quicquam cupido," &c. i. e. quicquid cupido; "si" enim non semper connexi nota est. Assumptio est in quarto & quinto versu, Lesbia Catullo optata rediit. Conclusio est versu tertio illustrata à minori, "quare hoc est gratum & auro charius." Tribus postremis versibus iteratur sententia conclusionis, primum ab adjuncto tempore, "ô lucem:" deinde à pari, "nemo me felicior, aut magis hac quid," &c.

Quartus modus est negatus specialis: "deceptor amantis puellæ non est laudandus: Demophoon est deceptor amantis puellæ; Demophoon igitur non est laudandus. Phyllis apud Ovidium ita iudicat Demophoontem laudandum non esse.

Fallere credentem non est operosa puellam
 Gloria: simplicitas digna favore fuit.
 Sum decepta tuis & amans & fœmina verbis;
 Dii faciant laudis summa sit ista tuæ.

Propositio suum obtinet locum cum prosyllogismo adjunctæ simplicitatis, ut causæ cur deceptor non sit laudandus. Assumptio sequitur, sum "decepta tuis," &c. Conclusionis sententia imprecatione continetur, "dii faciant, &c."

Quintus modus est affirmatus proprius: ut, "Octavius est hæres Cæsaris; ego sum Octavius; sum igitur hæres Cæsaris."

Sextus modus est negatus proprius: ut, "Antonius non est filius Cæsaris: tu es Antonius; non es igitur filius Cæsaris."

Hujus itaque speciei laus est præ cæteris, quod omnia quæstionum genera concludat; nempe generales, speciales vel proprias, easque vel affirmatas vel negatas; & præsertim generales affirmatas: ob quam potissimum causam Aristoteles speciem hanc & reliquis anteposuit, quod primus ejus modus nempe "affirmatus generalis" sit maximè scientificus, post. l. 1. 1. cum præcepta artium solus demonstrat, & reductionem reliquarum ad hanc figuram sive speciem laboriosè & subtiliter excogitavit, verum non sic præstat hæc species cæteris duabus, ut earum idcirco ad hanc reductio cum tanta ut fit, alphabeti vexatione elaboranda fuerit, quandoquidem & reliquæ species non imperfectæ sunt, nec minus necessariò concludunt, id enim syllogismi speciebus commune cunctis est, quæstiones denique illas, quæ ad ipsarum judicium rectè referuntur, interdum aptius concludunt, quam in hac specie concludi queunt. Merito itaque Galenus. l. 2. de placit. Hippoc. & Plat. reductionem hanc omnemque ejus suppellectilem abecedariam tanquam vanissimæ subtilitatis doctrinam inanem ac futilem post Antipatrum & Chrysippum explodit. Et Keckermannus ipse, in P. Ramum ferè iniquior, reductionem tamen illam quam vocant "per impossibile," ad eos duntaxat refutandos inventam, homines sanè absurdos & rarò admodum repertos, qui utraque præmissa concessa, conclusionem negent, fatetur

fatetur se potius propter consuetudinem scholarum, quàm propter magnum ejus usum retinuisse. At consuetudo certè gnauiter nugandi ejicienda è scholis potius, quàm retinenda erat.

Tres hîc paralogismi refellendi sunt; quorum duo sunt utrique speciei explicatæ communes, propositio nimirum particularis, & conclusio partis non debilioris: utriusque exemplum hoc esse potest: “quoddam animal est rationale: bestia est animal; ergo bestia est rationalis.” Et præterea totum medium, nempe “quoddam animal,” non assumitur.

Proprius in hac specie paralogismus est argumenti negatio in assumptione: ut, “omnis homo est animal: equus non est homo; ergo equus non est animal.”

Hîc etiam “solus & unicus” pro negandi particulis habendi sunt; paritèrque reddunt assumptionem captiosam: ut, “quicquid est in mea domo, est in oppido: unicus fons est in mea domo; ergo unicus fons est in oppido. Sic, quicquid est risibile, est animal: solus homo est risibilis: ergo solus homo est animal.” Tam enim hæc particulæ quàm negatio in minore, ostendunt non reciprocum esse majorem; adeoque conclusionem ex majore per minorem, vel generale ex proprio non sequi.

Expendenda porro hîc definitionis verba sunt; quæ non tam assumptionem ipsam quàm argumentum in assumptione affirmatum significant. Cùm enim propositionis antecedens (quod tertium argumentum est) negatione infinita topica duntaxat exprimatur, assumptionis consequens (quod etiam tertium argumentum est) eandem negationem retinere debet; alioqui non sequeretur argumentum affirmatum in assumptione, sed contradictione sublatum. Negatio autem hæc non dicenda est vel assumptionis vel argumenti negatio, sed argumenti infiniti affirmatio: tum enim demum negatur in assumptione argumentum, cùm illius negatio propositionis affirmationi opponitur. Exempli gratia: “qui non est dives, contemnitur: Posthumus non est dives; ergo Posthumus contemnitur.” Assumptionem hîc non negari probat affirmatio conclusionis: sed perinde est ac si hoc modo argumentaretur: “omnis homo qui non est dives, contemnitur: Posthumus est homo qui non est dives; ergo Posthumus contemnitur.” Vel hoc modo: “omnis non dives contemnitur: Posthumus est non dives; ergo contemnitur.” Sed hæc ex iis etiam quæ suprà ad definitionem ipsam hujus speciei diximus, puto, non esse obscura.

Præterea in quibusdam exemplis, quorum propositio est reciproca, videtur interdum syllogismus iste habere assumptionem negatam; cùm dicendum sit potius, partes propositionis inverti: quæ si in ordinem reuocentur, syllogismus erit in prima specie explicati: ut, “Joan. 8. 47. Qui ex Deo est, verba Dei audit: vos ex Deo non estis; ergo verba Dei non auditis.” Propositio invertenda est: “qui verba Dei audit, is ex Deo est: vos non estis ex Deo; ergo verba Dei non auditis.”

C A P. XIII.

De Syllogismo connexo primo.

Adhuc simplex syllogismus fuit.

“**S**Yllogismus compositus est syllogismus ubi tota quæstio est pars altera propositionis affirmatæ & compositæ; argumentum est pars reliqua.”

Negat Aristoteles ullam esse syllogismi speciem præter tres figuras; & tamen ipse sæpe utitur composito, qui ad nullam ex tribus figuris referri potest: Verùm usus, optimus magister docet, sæpius in communi hominum sermone ac disputationibus, compositos adhiberi.

hiberi fyllogismos, quàm simplices : ut qui multas quæstiones, multa argumenta commodè satis disponant, quæ fyllogismi simplices respuunt. Theophrastus etiam & Eudemus, Aristotelis discipuli, quin etiam Stoici, & post eos Cicero & Boëthius, usum præceptorem secuti, compositos non omiserunt. Syllogismus autem compositus dicitur non tam quod ex compositis axiomatis, nam & simplex potest ex compositis, nimirum relatis constare, sed à composita dispositione quæstionis totius cum tertio argumento in propositione; unde assumptio tota etiam assumitur; & conclusio non partim ex propositione partim ex assumptione, sed tota ex propositione deducitur: propositio enim cum sit composita, duas reliquas fyllogismi partes (quæ axiomata simplicia sunt) conjunctionis vinculo conjunctas complectitur: pars illa efficit assumptionem quæ argumentum continet, altera conclusionem. Propositio autem debet esse affirmata, quia negata si esset, composita esse desineret, ipsa enim compositio negatione dissolveretur. Propositionem autem negatam efficit, ut de axioma composito supra dictum est, non partium sed conjunctionis negatio: ut, “ si non est animal, non est homo;” hæc propositio ex omnibus etiam partibus negatis affirmata est: rectè igitur inde assumitur atque concluditur, “ at non est animal, ergo neque homo.” Sin hoc modo dicerem, “ non si non est animal, idcirco non est homo,” ex hac negata propositione nihil omnino deduci aut concludi posset. In syllogismis itaque compositis ex ipsa conjunctionis vi deducuntur assumptio & conclusio. Ex duobus enim quæ propositione junguntur, aut unum assumitur ut alterum concludatur, aut unum tollitur ut alterum tollatur.

“ Tollere autem in syllogismo composito, non est negare, sed specialem contradictionem ponere.”

Specialis autem contradictio, ut in axioma simplici jam diximus, particularis est aut propria. Tollere igitur propositionis partem aliquam in assumptione aut conclusionem, est ejus contradictionem particularem aut propriam ponere. Particulari autem generaliter contradici, generali particulariter, ibidem etiam docemur. Exemplis rem planam suo quamque loco faciemus.

Sequitur nunc compositi syllogismi distributio: cujus genera ex propositionum compositione oriuntur: propositiones axiomata composita semper sunt: ex quatuor autem axiomatum compositorum generibus copulatum si affirmatum sit, non habet locum in composito syllogismo; si negatum, æquipollet interdum disjuncto: discretum syllogismi expers est, quia diversa ex quibus constat, nec planè consentiunt, & tamen ita leviter dissentiant, ut uno posito vel remoto, non tamen sequatur alterum poni vel removeri; aut vim habet connexi.

“ Syllogismus itaque compositus est connexus aut disjunctus.”

“ Syllogismus connexus est syllogismus compositus propositionis connexæ.” Vel cujus propositio est axioma connexum.

Cum autem axiomati connexo affine sit relatum temporis, ut ibidem ostendimus, etiam syllogismi connexi propositio poterit relata esse temporis: nam quantitatis, qualitatis, loci propositiones relatæ in simplicibus syllogismis locum habent; quia in iis propositionibus quæstionis duntaxat consequens cum argumento disponitur. Relatum denique consequentiæ, de quo supra cap. 6. syllogismus idoneus non est.

“ Syllogismus connexus est duorum modorum.

Primus modus syllogismi connexi est, qui assumit antecedens & consequens concludit.”

Quo modo Cicero judicat & concludit l. 2. de divinatione: “ si dii sunt, divinatio est: sunt autem dii; divinatio est igitur.”

Aliud ex 3. Offic. “ Atque si etiam hoc natura præscribit, ut homo homini, quicumque sit, ob eam ipsam causam, quod is homo sit, consultum velit, necesse est secundum eandem naturam, omnium utilitatem esse communem. Quod si ita est, una continemur

tinemur omnes & eadem lege naturæ. Idque ipsum si ita est, certè violare alterum lege naturæ prohibemur. Verum autem primum ; verum igitur & extremum."

Propositio hujus syllogismi est sorites (de quo infra) trium graduum, " si hoc natura præscribit, ut, &c."

" Frequenter hîc non assumitur idem sed majus."

Ut i Catil. " Si te parentes odissent, discederes : nunc patria te odit (quæ communis est omnium nostrum parens) multo magis ergo discedes." Sed "majus illud" facile contineri in propositione poterit hoc modo ; si propter odium parentum discederes, multo magis propter odium patriæ. " At illud ; ergo hoc multo magis."

Simili ratione concluditur etiam majus vel minus : ut Cic. pro Quint. " Etsi vadium deferuisset, non debuisses tamen ad extrema jura descendere : " at non deferuit ; multo minus ergo debuisti, vel multo magis non debuisti.

" Concludendi modus," ut supradiximus, " hîc idem est quando propositio est relata temporis."

Ut, " cùm Paris Oenonem deferet, Xanthus recurrit ; Paris Oenonem deferet ; Xanthus ergo recurrit."

Sed tamen relata temporis ut & reliqua axiomata composita, id quod supra monuimus, ad syllogismum simplicem pertinebunt quoties non tota quæstio in propositione disponitur : quod quidem semper fit, cùm de certo & definito tempore quæstio est : ut si quæritur an hoc tempore sit æstas, hujusmodi erit syllogismus : " cùm sol est in cancro, æstas est : at hoc tempore sol est in cancro ; ergo hoc tempore æstas est."

C A P. XIV.

De Syllogismo connexo secundo.

" **S** Ecundus modus connexi tollit consequens, ut tollat antecedens."

Hæc enim vis connexi axiomatis est, si consequens non sit, nec esse antecedens. Sic Cicero 4. de fin. " docent nos," inquit, Dialectici, &c. " Si illud, hoc : non autem hoc ; igitur ne illud quidem."

Sequuntur exempla : " si ulli rei sapiens assentietur unquam, aliquando etiam opinabitur : nunquam autem opinabitur ; nulli igitur rei assentietur." Hîc consequens contradictione speciali in assumptione tollitur, " aliquando, nunquam ; " conclusio etiam antecedenti specialiter contradicit ; " ulli rei, nulli rei."

Eodem syllogismo Ovid. 2. de Trist. stultitiam suam judicat :

Si faperem doctas odissem jure sorores,

Numina cultori perniciofa suo.

At nunc (tanta meo comes est insania morbo)

Saxa memor refero rursus ad icta pedem.

Propositio est, " si faperem, Musas odissem : " cujus prosyllogismus est ab adjuncta perniciæ. Assumptio, at non odi ; quæ à simili exprimitur, " at nunc saxa memor," &c. ergo non sapio : cujus conclusionis sententia in parenthesi est ; " tanta meo," &c. Atque in hoc exemplo est contradictio propria.

" Hæ duæ syllogismi species sunt omnium usitatissimæ."

Non enim ea solum argumenta quæ in simplicibus & disjunctis syllogismis disponi non possunt, in connexis facile disponuntur, sed etiam ex iis quæ possunt aliis formis concludi, multa in his speciebus facilius & promptius concluduntur : immo nullum omnino argumentum, quod in syllogismum usum habet, has connexi species respuit.

Præter hos duos connexi syllogismi modos nonnulli duos alios adjiciunt; quorum prior tollit antecedens ut tollat consequens, posterior assumit consequens ut concludat antecedens. In quos modos etsi communis fortè sermo, boni etiam authores nonnunquam incidunt, tamen cum in syllogismo non veritas partium sed necessitas consequentiæ spectetur, tenendum est, vitiosos esse eos modos qui ex veris verum juxta & falsum possunt concludere. Prior ergo hic modus qui tollit antecedens est prioris legitimi modi paralogismus, affinis negatæ assumptioni in secunda specie explicati: ut, “si homo est leo, sentit: non est leo; ergo non sentit.” Et hoc: “si Dio est equus, est animal: at non est equus; ergo non est animal. Si orator est, homo est: non est orator; ergo nec homo.” Hoc si sic resolves in secundam speciem explicati, “omnis orator est homo,” fallacia patebit. Immo sine ista reductione per se etiam patet: tollit enim antecedens, quod minus est, ut tollat consequens, quod majus est: à minore autem ad majus nulla est hujusmodi consequentia.

Modus posterior, qui assumit consequens ut concludat antecedens, est captio posterioris legitimi modi, affinis paralogismo ex omnibus affirmatis in prima specie explicati: ut, “si homo est leo, sentit: at sentit; ergo est leo.” Utrumque hunc paralogismum Aristoteles appellat fallaciam consequentis; quæ toties fit quoties propositio non est reciproca.

Sed est etiam aliud sophisma secundi modi, cùm assumptio non tollit contradictione speciali; id est, quando consequenti vel generali generaliter, vel particulari particulariter contradicit. Generalis contradictionis exemplum est, “si omne animal est irrationale, omnis etiam homo est irrationalis: at nullus homo est irrationalis: nullum ergo animal est irrationale.” Particularis hoc: “si homo est rationalis, aliquod animal est rationale: sed aliquod animal non est rationale; ergo nec homo.

C A P. XV.

De Syllogismo disjuncto primo.

“**S**Yllogismus disjunctus est syllogismus compositus propositionis disjunctæ.

Modi duo sunt. Sic etiam Cic. in Top. & Stoici apud Laërtium.

Primus tollit unum, & reliquum concludit.

Ut, aut dies est, aut nox: at dies non est; ergo nox est. Vel, nox non est; dies ergo est.”

Ciceronis pro Cluentio judicium tale est: “sed cùm esset hæc illi proposita conditio, ut aut justè pièque accusaret, aut acerbè indignèque moreretur; accusare quoquo modo posset, quàm illo modo mori maluit.” Disjunctio clarior sic erit: “aut accusandum aut moriendum: non moriendum; accusandum igitur.” In hoc exemplo, ut est apud Cic. est partium inversio, totusque syllogismus in axioma relato consequentiæ involvitur. Propositio non est absolutè vera, sed ex conditione. Assumptio & conclusio per comparisonem minoris ponuntur; ita, ut conclusio præcedat.

Sic idem 2 Phil. ratiocinatur: “nunquamne intelliges tibi statuendum esse, utrum illi qui istam rem gesserunt, homicidæ sint an vindices libertatis? Attende, &c. Nego quicquam esse medium. Confiteor illos nisi liberatores populi Rom. conservatoresque reip. sint, plus quàm sicarios, plus quàm homicidas, plus quàm parricidas esse: siquidem est atrocius patriæ parentem, &c. Si parricidæ, cur honoris causa à te sunt & in hoc ordine & apud populum Rom. semper appellati? Cur, &c. Atque hæc acta per te. Non igitur homicidæ. Sequitur ut liberatores tuo judicio sint; quandoquidem tertium nihil potest esse.” Quæstio hîc proponitur initio de Cæsaris intersectoribus,

“utrum”

“utrum,” &c. Propositio proponitur axiomate connexo, “confiteor illos nisi,” &c. quod æquipollet disjuncto; “aut vindices sunt libertatis aut plusquam homicidæ:” illustratur enim ea pars disjunctionis à majori: & præcedit prosyllogismus, quo ostenditur disjunctionem hanc esse sine medio, & proinde necessariam. Assumptio sequitur, “non sunt homicidæ;” idque confirmatur prosyllogismo à testimonio & factis ipsius Antonii. Prosyllogismus concluditur in secundo connexo, si parricidæ, cur, &c? “at hæc acta per te; non igitur homicidæ.” Conclusio denique sequitur, “ut liberatores fuerint;” idque repetito propositionis prosyllogismo confirmatur, “quandoquidem tertium sive medium nihil potest esse.”

“Si partes disjunctæ propositionis sint duabus plures, judicandi concludendique ars erit eadem.”

Quamvis autem disjunctionis partes esse possint sæpenumerò plures quàm duæ, id quod in disparitis accidit, ipsius tamen propositionis duæ tantummodo partes sunt; quarum una est quæstio, altera est argumentum. In hoc modo ubi quæstio semper concluditur, tertium argumentum plura opposita comprehendit, quæ omnia in assumptione tollenda sunt, ut quæstio concludatur: nam oppositorum plura simul affirmari nequeunt, negari plura simul queunt.

Sic Cic. judicat “Rabirium cum consulibus esse oportuisse. Aut enim cum consulibus, aut cum seditiosis, aut latuisse: at nec cum seditiosis fuisse, nec latuisse; fuisse ergo cum consulibus. Pro Rabir. Atqui videmus ait hæc in rerum natura tria fuisse, ut aut cum Saturnino esset, aut cum bonis, aut lateret. Latere autem, mortis erat instar turpissimæ: cum Saturnino esse, furoris & sceleris; virtus & honestas & pudor cum coss. esse cogebat.” Propositio per se clara est. Assumptionis partes prosyllogismis illustrantur, primo à simili, deinde ab adjunctis. Conclusio prosyllogismo ab efficiente illustratur.

Notandum est in hoc modo non ita exigi specialem contradictionem, ut in reliquis; neque enim ad consequentiæ necessitatem pertinet in hoc modo, ut in reliquis, sed ad assumptionis solius veritatem. Si ergo assumptio generalem contradictionem ferre potest, per consequentiam licebit uti: ad consequentiæ enim rationem sufficit, alterum quovis modo tolli, ut reliquum concludatur, eademque conclusio erit, sive specialis sive generalis in assumptione contradictio fuerit, in altero verò modo secus erit, ubi contradictio in ipsam conclusionem cadit.

C A P. XVI.

De syllogismo disjuncto secundo.

“**D**isjunctus secundus è propositione partibus omnibus affirmata assumit unum, & reliquum tollit.”

Secundus efficitur, quia minus generalis est primo, utpote proprietatibus quibusdam astrictus, quibus prior immunis erat. Proprietates autem hæ sunt, 1. partium omnium propositionis affirmatio, non totius modò propositionis, id enim syllogismis omnibus compositis commune est; & affirmari quidem propositio vel omnibus negatis partibus potest. 2. Assumptio affirmatur, quoniam in propositione affirmata fuerat. 3. In conclusione semper est negatio, eaque specialis contradictio: in primo quidem conclusio nonnunquam negatur; sed hoc tum sit cum pars propositionis quæ concluditur negata fuit. Exempli gratia: “aut dies est, aut nox: dies est; ergo nox non est.”

“Ejusmodi syllogismus efficitur è propositione copulata negata, quæ negata complexio,” vel, quod Græcis idem est, negata copulatio dicitur, “& disjunctionis affirmatæ vim obtinet.”

“ Non & dies, & nox est : at dies est ; non igitur nox est.” De hac negata copulatione sic Cic. in Top. “ non & hoc, & illud : hoc autem ; non igitur illud.”

Pertinet autem ad hunc secundum duntaxat modum negata copulatio ; quod cum in hujusmodi propositione quævis opposita disponi possint, ex uno eorum negato, nisi in iis qui medio carent, non necessario alterum affirmatur & concluditur, quod fit in primo modo, sed ex altero affirmato alterum negatur, quæ communis est regula omnium oppositorum, & fit duntaxat in hoc secundo.

Ad sophismata quod attinet horum modorum, primi quidem nullum occurrit. Secundi quæ sunt, ex definitione redarguuntur. Primum est, si aliqua pars propositionis negata erit : ut, “ leo aut animal est, aut non est homo ; at non est homo, ergo nec animal.” Secundum est, si assumptio sit negata ; ut in exemplo superiore. Tertium est, si specialis contradictio non erit in conclusione : ut hoc ; “ aut homo est animal, aut omne animal est irrationale ; sed homo est animal, ergo nullum animal est irrationale.”

Appendix de enthymemate, dilemmate, & sorite.

EXpositis omnibus cum simplicis tum compositi syllogismi speciebus, sequitur axiomatis & syllogismi communis affectio, vel potius anomalia, de qua antediximus, crypsis. Quæ in omni cum loquendi usu tum scribendi genere tam frequens est, idque brevitatis plerumque causa, ut nemo ferè syllogismos integros sine crypsi aliqua vel loquatur vel scribat.

Sed quoniam crypsis ejusque triplex modus syllogismorum omnes species afficiunt, ea re dicendi locus de syllogismi crypsibus antè non erat, quàm de syllogismi speciebus cunctis dictum esset.

“ Si qua pars syllogismi defuerit, enthymema dicitur.”

Ut ab exemplo : “ Themistocli licuit urbem relinquere ; ergo mihi.” Addatur propositio ; “ quod Themistocli licuit, licet & mihi.” Ab inductione : “ inventio & dispositio in argumentis versantur ; ergo Logica tota.” Addatur Assumptio ; “ Logica tota est eorum inventio & dispositio.”

Hoc etiam perpetuò observandum est, si conclusionis prædicatum deest, deesse majorem ; si subjectum, minorem : si utrumque, syllogismi compositi majorem vel potius majoris antecedentem, quæ cum tota quæstione ut cum consequente disponitur ; quod indicat plenum syllogismum fore compositum, & antecedens pars enthymematis erit antecedens majoris ; totumque enthymema convertetur in majorem propositionem syllogismi connexi : ut, “ virtus reddit beatos ; vitium ergo miseros.” In antecedente hujus enthymematis nec antecedens nec consequens quæstionis apparet : totum igitur converte in axioma connexum aut disjunctum, plenum syllogismum compositum esse intelliges ; ut, “ si virtus reddit beatos, vitium reddit miseros ; at illud ; hoc igitur. Non est nox ; ergo est dies.” Totum converte in axioma disjunctum, majorem supplebis, & syllogismum plenum disjunctum conficies : “ aut dies est, aut nox ; non nox, ergo dies.”

“ Si quid ad tres illas syllogismi partes accesserit, prosyllogismus dicitur.” Est enim ad partem aliquam syllogismi addita probatio.

“ Partium etiam ordo sæpe confunditur.” Quod utrumque accidit in dilemmate & sorite.

Dilemma est specialis quædam crypsis non syllogismi, sed syllogismorum ; à duplici propositione dictum, quam “ lemma Stoici” vocant, vulgò “ disjunctivus biformis & syllogismus cornutus,” quasi cornibus feriens : cujus vis in duobus axiomatis connexis citra syllogismi formam satis manifesta est : ut illud Martialis ;

Hæc, si displicui, fuerint solatia nobis;
Hæc fuerint nobis præmia, si placui.

Et illud in evangelio: “ si bene locutus sum, cur me cædis? si male, testare de malo.” Et reciprocum illud insigne Protagoræ magistri ad Euathlum discipulum, apud Gellium, l. 5. c. 10. & 11: “ si contra te lis data erit, merces mihi ex sententia illa debebitur, quia ego vicerò; sin vero secundum te iudicatum erit, merces mihi ex pacto debebitur, quia tu viceris.” Cui contra “ Euathlus; & ego bone magister, utrovis modo vicerò,” &c. Hujusmodi est etiam illud apud Aristot. Rhet. 3. 23. “ non agendum esse cum populo; quia, si iusta dixeris, hominibus invisus eris; si iniusta, Deo.” Immo agendum esse cum populo: “ nam, si iniusta dixeris, hominibus gratus eris; si iusta, Deo.”

Explicatur autem hæc crypsis axiomate disjuncto; tot deinde syllogismis connexis vel etiam categoricis, quot erant disjuncti axiomatis membra: ut illud Biantis consilium de uxore non ducenda: “ aut formosam ducēs, aut deformem; si formosam, communem; si deformem, pœnam: neutrum autem bonum; non est igitur ducenda uxor.” Vel categoricè sic; “ communis non est ducenda; formosa erit communis; ergo, &c. pœna non est ducenda; deformis erit pœna; ergo, &c.” Sed axioma illud disjunctum partes omnes disjunctas non enumerat: est enim media quæ nec formosa nec deformis est; & neutrius connexi consequens est vera; fieri enim potest, ut nec formosa communis, nec deformis pœna sit futura.

Sorites & syllogismus crypticus multarum propositionum continua serie ita progredientium, ut prædicatum præcedentis propositionis perpetuò sit subiectum sequentis, donec tandem consequens propositionis ultima concludatur de antecedente primæ: ut, “ homo est animal; animal est corpus sentiens; corpus sentiens est vivens; vivens est substantia; ergo homo est substantia.” Græcè autem sorites, “ acervalis Latine à Cicerone” dicitur; quia minutatim addit, & quasi acervum efficit.

Adhibetur ferè vel ad summum genus de infima specie, vel ad causam primariam, licet remotam, effecto attribuendam; & illud quidem per genera subalterna, ut in exemplo superiore; hoc per causas medias, ut in exemplo sequente: “ quos Deus prænovit, eos prædestinavit; quos prædestinavit, eos vocavit; quos vocavit, eos justificavit; quos justificavit, eos glorificavit; ergo, quos prænovit, eos glorificavit.”

Utitur autem sorites & subalternis generibus & subordinatis causis quasi tot mediis terminis ad probandum conclusionem; tot nempe quot sunt termini inter subiectum primæ propositionis & prædicatum conclusionis: quot autem termini medii, tot sunt syllogismi.

Est itaque progressio enthymematica syllogismos uno pauciores continens quàm propositiones. Syllogismus principalis habet pro majore propositionem conclusioni proximam; pro minoris termino minore, subiectum conclusionis pro termino majore; subiectum propositionis majoris: ex. gr. “ quos justificavit, glorificavit; quos prænovit, justificavit; quos ergo prænovit, glorificavit.” Reliqui sunt minorum prosyllogismi, & præcedens quisque probatio sequentis.

Unde intelligitur soritæ crypsis triplex, & defectus, & redundantia, & inversio. Si igitur partium, sive species sive causæ sint, non erit recta subordinatio firmaque connexio, sorites probus non erit: ut; “ ex malis moribus existunt bonæ leges; ex bonis legibus salus reip. ex reip. salute bona omnia; ergo ex moribus malis bona omnia.” Hic causæ per se male subordinantur causæ per accidens.

Fallit hic etiam: “ si nullum tempus esset, nox non esset; si nox non esset, dies esset; si dies esset, aliquod tempus esset; ergo, si nullum tempus esset, aliquod tempus esset.” Nam si nullum tempus esset, certè nec dies esset: fallit ergo in propositione secunda, quæ

quæ non vere continuatur ; sed ponit effectum, sublata causa. Cætera sorites vitia habet cum aliis syllogismi speciebus communia.

C A P. XVII.

De Methodo.

Methodus est dispositio dianoëtica variorum axiomatum homogeneorum pro naturæ suæ claritate præpositorum, unde omnium inter se convenientia iudicatur, memoriæque comprehenditur.”

Methodi permagnus est in omni vita usus, magna proinde laus. Hanc Plato, in *Philebo*, esse ait “ donum hominibus divinitus datum.” Aristoteles etiam “ ordinem in maximis bonis” numeravit. Fabius, ‘Nec mihi,’ inquit, “ errare videntur, qui ipsam rerum naturam stare ordine putant ; quo confuso, peritura sunt omnia.”

Est autem methodus dispositio variorum axiomatum homogeneorum, i. e. eorum quæ ad eandem rem pertinent, eandemque ad finem referuntur. Homogenea nisi fuerint, subordinata sibi invicem esse non poterunt, adeoque ne ordinata quidem. Itaque Arithmeticum in Geometria, Geometricum in Arithmetica veluti heterogenium & alienum methodus excludit. Pro naturæ autem suæ claritate axiomata quæque præponenda sunt, prout argumenta priora, notiora, illustriora complectuntur. Prima autem præcedant an orta à primis parum refert, cum utrorumque eadem affectio sit.

“ Atque ut spectatur in axiome veritas aut falsitas, in syllogismo consequentia & inconsequentia ; sic in methodo consideratur, ut per se clarius præcedat, obscurius sequatur ; omninoque ordo & confusio iudicatur. Sic disponetur ex homogeneis axiomatibus primo loco absoluta notione primum, secundo secundum, tertio tertium, & ita deinceps.”

Prius autem sicut & posterius quinque modis dicimus : tempore, ut senem juvene ; natura, ut causam effecto, genus specie ; quicquid denique existendi consecutione est prius ; i. e. quod alio posito, ponitur ; & quo posito, aliud non ponitur, ut unitas binario : nonnunquam etiam ubi consecutio reciproca est, quod simul est tempore, natura tamen est prius, ut sol suo lumine. Bifariam etiam dicitur prius natura ; generante scilicet, ut partes toto, simplex composito, media fine ; vel intendente, ut totum partibus, compositum simplici, finis mediis. Prius dispositione sive loco dicitur, quod initio est proprius ; ut in dicendo, narratio confirmatione. Prius dignitate ; ut magistratus cive, aurum argento, virtus auro. Prius denique cognitione, quod cognitu facilius est : idque vel in se, vel nobis : in se quod naturâ est prius ; nobis, quod posterius est, & sensibus objectum : illa perfectior est cognitio, hæc imperfectior.

“ Ideoque methodus ab universalibus, ut quæ causas contineant, ad singularia perpetuò progreditur.” Adeoque ab antecedentibus omnino & absolute notioribus ad consequentia ignota declarandum.

Unde intelligitur agi hic de methodo tradendi sive docendi, quæ analytica rectè dicitur, non inveniendi. Methodus n. inveniendi quæ à Platone dicitur “ synthetica,” procedit à singularibus quæ tempore sunt priora, sensibusque se prius offerunt ; quorum inductione generales notiones colliguntur : methodus autem docendi sive inventa & iudicata disponendi, de qua hic agitur ; Contraria via, ut etiam docet Arist. 1. *Metaph.* c. 1. & 2, procedit ab universalibus, quæ natura sunt priora & notiora ; non quo prius aut facilius cognoscantur, sed quod posteaquam sunt cognita, præcedunt notionis natura & claritate quanto sunt à sensibus remotiora. Sic generales rerum species (ut Optici etiam docent) citius in sensus incurrunt : ut advenientem aliquem, iudico prius animal esse quàm hominem, & hominem quàm Socratem. Atque hanc solam methodum Aristot. passim docuit.

“ Sed

“Sed methodi unitatem exempli doctrinarum & artium præcipuè demonstrant, præcipueque vindicant.

Quibus quamvis omnes regulæ generales sint & universales, tamen earum gradus distinguuntur: quantòque unaquæque generalior erit, tanto magis præcedet.

Generalissima loco & ordine prima erit, quia lumine & notitia prima est.

Subalternæ consequentur, quia claritate sunt proximæ: utque ex his naturæ notiores præponentur, minus notæ substituentur.”

Tandemque specialissima constituentur.

“Definitio itaque generalissima prima erit;” causas n. continet Definitioni consecutaria subjunguntur, sive proprietatum si quæ sunt & ex definitione per se non patent, explicationes Distributio sequetur.

“Quæ si multiplex fuerit, præcedet in partes integras partitio, sequetur divisio in species. Partesque ipsæ & species eodem ordine sunt rursus tractandæ ac definiendæ, quo distributæ fuerint.

Et transitionum vinculis si longior inter eas intersit explicatio, colligandæ sunt: id n. auditorem reficit ac recreat.”

Transitio autem vel perfecta est vel imperfecta. Perfecta, quæ breviter & quid dictum sit & quid sequatur, ostendit: qualis illa hujus libri secundi initio “adhuc prima Artis Logicæ pars fuit,” &c. Imperfecta est quæ alterutrum duntaxat ostendit vel quid dictum sit, vel quid sequatur: qualis illa l. i. c. 18. “argumenta simplicia ita fuerunt,” &c.

Exemplo sit Grammatica. Hujus definitio, ut quæ generalissima sit, ex lege methodi primo loco statuatur; ars scilicet bene loquendi: secundo loco erit Grammaticæ partitio, in etymologiam & syntaxin; tum etymologia, quæ de vocibus agit, definiatur; dein vocis partes in literis & syllabis, speciesque in vocibus numeri & sine numero subsequantur, exituumque transitiones suis locis collocentur: atque ita omnium etymologiæ partium definitiones, distributiones, colligationes, exempla denique specialissima in singulis disponentur: idemque in syntaxi fiet. Hanc viam omnes artes sibi proposuerunt.

Moderni quidem duplicem methodum instituunt, “syntheticam & analyticam: illam scientiis theoreticis tradendis, Physicæ putà vel Mathematicæ magis accommodatam; qua partes scientiæ ita disponuntur, ut à subjecto contemplationis universali ad particularia, à simplicibus ad composita progressus fiat: sic Physica exorditur à corporis naturalis definitione; ad ejus deinde causas vel partes affectionesque generales ad species denique progreditur. Methodum analyticam definiunt, qua ita disponuntur partes scientiæ practicæ ut à notione finis fiat progressus ad notitiam principiorum vel mediorum, ad illum finem assequendum: sic in Ethicis à fine, scilicet beatitudine, ad media, nempe virtutes proceditur: Verùm cum hac utraque methodus una eademque via, à definitione scilicet generalissima, sive illa subjectum sive finem generalem contineat, ad minus generalia, à notioribus ad minus nota, à simplicibus ad composita æque utrobique dividendo progrediatur, non videtur ob diversam in definitione generali, illic subjecti, hinc finis mentionem, duplicem esse methodum constituendam; sed unam potius, artium quidem tradendarum, eamque analyticam esse dicendam.

“Atqui methodus non solum in materia artium & doctrinarum adhibetur, sed in omnibus rebus quas facile & perspicue docere volumus.

Ideoque poetæ, oratores, omnesque omnino scriptores, quoties docendum sibi auditorem proponunt, hanc viam sequi volunt, quamvis non usquequaque ingrediantur, atque insistant.”

Sic Virgilius, in Georgicis, distribuit propositam materiam in quatuor partes, ut antedictum est: primoque libro res communes persequitur, ut astrologiam, meteorologiam, deque

déque fegetibus & earum cultu differit, quæ pars operis prima erat, tûmque transitio adhibetur initio secundi libri.

Haftenus arborum cultus, &c.

Dein scribit generaliter de arbõribus, tum specialiter de vitibus. Sic toto opere, generalissimum, primo; subalterna, medio; specialissima, extremo loco ponere studuit.

Eandem Ovidius, in Fastis, dispositionis hujus gratiam sequitur. Proponit initio summam operis.

“Tempora cum causis Latium digesta per annum,” &c.

Mox imploratione facta, partitionem anni statuit. Tum communes differentias interpretatus diei fasti, nefasti, &c. tandem unumquemque mensem suo loco persequitur, & ordinis hujus à generalibus ad specialia studium suum præfatione indicat.

Hæc mihi dicta semel, totis hærentia fastis,
Ne feriem rerum scindere cogar, erunt.

“Oratores in procæmio; narratione, confirmatione, peroratione hunc ordinem affectant, eumque artis & naturæ & rei ordinem appellant, & interdum studiosius affectantur.”

Ut in verrem, Cicero primùm proponendo tum partiendo. Quæstor inquit Cn. “Papyrio cos. fuisti abhinc annos quatuordecim, & ex illa die ad hanc diem quæ fecisti, in judicium voco,” &c. Propositio hîc & definitio summæ rei est, tanquam in hoc judicio generalissima. Partitio sequitur: “hi sunt anni, &c. quare hæc eadem erit quadripartita distributio totius accusationis meæ.” Quas partes quatuor earumque partium particulas deinceps suo quamque ordine & loco tractat, & transitionibus copulat; tres primas tertio libro; & sic deinceps.

“Hæc igitur in variis axiomatis homogeneis suo vel syllogismi judicio notis methodus erit, quoties perspicuè res docenda erit.

At cùm delectatione motiue aliquo majore ab oratore quovis aut poeta, ut quibuscum vulgo potissimum res est, ducendus erit auditor, crypsis methodi ferè adhibebitur; homogenea quædam rejicientur, ut definitionum, partitionum, transitionumque lumina. Quædam assumentur heterogenea, velut digressiones à re, & in re commorationes. Et præcipuè rerum ordo invertetur.

Sed oratoribus & poetis sua methodi ratio relinquenda est; vel saltem iis, qui oratoriam & poeticam docent.

PRAXIS LOGICÆ

Analytica ex Dounamo.

Ad Cap. tertium RAMIÆ Dialecticæ.

“ **E**xemplum primum est causæ procreantis & conservantis ex Ovidii primo de Remed.

Ergo ubi visus eris nostra medicabilis arte,
Fac monitis fugias otia prima meis.
Hæc, ut ames, faciunt : hæc quæ fecere tuentur ;
Hæc sunt jucundi causa, cibusque mali.
Otia si tollas, periire Cupidinis arcus,
Contemptæque jacent & sine luce faces.”

In singulis, quæ ad efficientis doctrinam illustrandam afferuntur, exemplis, tria consideranda sunt, efficiens, effectum, efficiendi modus. In hoc exemplo effectum est amor, efficiens est otium, quod amorem efficit duplici modo, tum procreando, tum conservando, ut in secundo disticho Poeta docet. Dispositio autem hujus exempli (ut plenior ejus analysin instituam) syllogistica est. Quæstio, quam Poeta concludendam proponit, hæc est ; fugiendum esse otium ei, qui ab amore immunis esse velit : eaque duobus syllogismis concluditur : in priori argumentum tertium ducitur ab effectis quidem otii, amoris verò causa procreante & conservante, hoc modo : amoris procreans & conservans causa vitanda est ei, qui ab amore ipso liber esse velit ; otium verò amoris procreans & conservans causa est. Otium igitur fugiendum est ei, qui ab amore liber esse velit. Propositio deest. Assumptio in secundo disticho primò simpliciter proponitur, deinde altera ejus pars de conservante per similitudinem cibi illustratur. Conclusio præcedit in primo disticho. Secunda ratio est confectarium ex assumptione prioris syllogismi deductum. Otium est causa procreans & conservans amoris ; ergo sublato otio, amor tollitur. Cujus propositio & fundamentum est Logicum illud axioma ; sublata causa, tollitur effectum, quæ propositio si addatur, plenus erit syllogismus.

Exemplum secundum ibid. ex Æneid. 4.

Non tibi diva parens generis nec Dardanus auctor
Perfide ; sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens
Caucasus. Hyrcanæque admôrunt ubera Tigres.

Hic effectum est Æneas. Causæ efficientes, pater, mater, nutrix ; modus autem efficiendi non unus : parentes enim liberos efficiunt procreando, nutrix verò conservando. Disponitur autem hoc exemplum axiome discreto. Anchises & Venus non sunt Æneæ parentes, ut Didoni placet, sed horrens Caucasus & duræ cautes : Hyrcanæ autem tigres ut nutrices ubera admoverunt.

Exemplum tertium est solitariae causæ, cap. 4. ex Æneid. 9.

Me, me : adsum, qui feci, in me convertite ferrum
O Rutuli, mea fraus omnis : nihil iste nec ausus
Nec potuit. —

In hoc exemplo effectum est cædes Rutulorum. Efficiens hujus cædis Nyfus. Quod autem ad modum attinet efficiendi, effecit, ut ipse de se ait, solus. Dispositio autem hujus exempli syllogistica est. Qui solus auctor est cædis, is solus est occidendus. Ego verò, inquit, solus auctor cædis sum; ergo, &c. Propositio deest: assumptio continetur versu 2. Mea fraus, i. e. culpa omnis, quam probat remotione sociæ causæ, nihil iste nec ausus est, &c. Conclusio versu 1. Me, me scilicet occidite, in me convertite ferrum, &c.

Ejusdem causæ exemplum aliud, in oratione Ciceronis pro Marcello. “ Nam bellicas laudes solent quidam extenuare verbis, easque detrahare ducibus & communicare cum multis, ne propriæ sint imperatorum: & certè in armis militum virtus, locorum opportunitas, sociorum auxilia, classes, commeatus multum juvant: maximam verò partem, quasi suo jure, fortuna sibi vendicat, & quicquid est prosperè gestum, id penè omne ducit suum. At verò hujus gloriæ, Cæsar, quàm es paulò ante adeptus, socium habes neminem: totum hoc quantumcunque est, quod certè maximum est, totum inquam, est tuum. Nihil tibi ex ista laude centurio, nihil præfectus, nihil cohors, nihil turma decerpit: quin etiam illa ipsa rerum humanarum domina fortuna in istius se societatem gloriæ non offert: tibi cedit, tuam esse totam ac propriam fatetur.” Hoc exemplum continet plenam comparisonem à minore ad majus, ad amplificandam Cæsaris laudem clementiæ. In proto exemplum est causarum, quæ cum aliis efficiunt. Effectum est victoria; efficiens imperator, non quidem solus, sed cum aliis, quarum alia principalis est, & imperatori quasi socia fortuna: aliæ adjuvantes & ministræ, cujusmodi quinque recensentur, militum fortitudo, locorum opportunitas, sociorum auxilia, classes, commeatus. In apodofi exemplum habemus solitariæ causæ: effectum est clementia in Marcellum, præstita, Cujus causa & quidem sola est ipse Cæsar; eaque illustratur remotione causarum adjuvantium. Scopus Ciceronis est, ut ostendat Cæsarem plus laudis ob clementiam mereri, quàm propter res gestas: idque ostendit ex collatis inter se efficiendi modis, quod nimirum rerum gestarum Cæsar non solus auctor fuerit, clementiæ verò præstitæ solus. Jam verò efficiens plus laudis vel vituperationis meretur, quæ sola quid facit; quæ verò cum aliis, minus. Sic igitur hæc ratio potest concludi. Cujus Cæsar solus auctor est, id plus meretur laudis, quam cuius solus non est auctor. Rerum in bello gestarum solus auctor non est; clementiæ verò in Marcellum præstitæ solus; proinde clementia Cæsaris plus meretur laudis, quàm res in bello gestæ. Hujus syllogismi assumptio tantum in hoc exemplo proponitur; ejusque prior pars enumeratione causarum adjuvantium, posterior remotione earundem illustratur.

Ibidem exemplum causæ instrumentalis primo de “ Nat. deor. Quibus oculis animi intueri potuit vester Plato fabricam illam tanti operis, qua construi à Deo atque ædificari nondum facit? Quæ molitio? quæ ferramenta? qui vectes? quæ machinæ? qui ministri tanti operis fuerunt? Syllogismus sic sese habet. Qui instrumenta non habuit, is mundum non creavit: Deus instrumenta non habuit; ergo, &c. Hujus syllogismi propositio falsissima deest; conclusio præcedit; assumptio sequitur: eaque per inductionem quandam specierum illustratur. Utraque autem tum assumptio tum conclusio per interrogationem ἐμφατικώτερον negatur.

P E T R I R A M I

V I T A

E X

Joanne Thoma Freigio,

Recisis digressionibus, descripta.

Petrus Ramus natus est anno millesimo quingentesimo decimo quinto. Ejus avus, ut ipse in præfatione suæ Regiæ Professionis memorat, in Eburonum gente, familia imprimis illustri fuit : sed patria à Carolo, Burgundionum duce, capta & incensâ, in Veromanduorum agrum profugus, ac spoliatus, carbonarium facere coactus est : hinc Ramo “ carbonarius pater ” probri loco objectus : sed pater Agricola fuit. Puer vix è cunis egressus, ut ipse in Sheckiano epilogo de se narrat, duplici peste laboravit. Juvenis invita modisque omnibus repugnante fortuna, Lutetiam ad capeffendas artes ingenuas venit. Erat statura corporis grandi ac generosa, vultu mitissimo, moribus integerrimis, valetudine firma ac robusta, quam perpetua abstinencia continentiaque & continuo labore etiam firmiorem reddidit. Lutetiæ Magisterii titulum suscepturus, problema hoc sumpsit ; “ quæcunque ab Aristotele dicta essent, commentitia esse.” Attoniti novitate atque insolentia problematis examinatores ac magistri, per diem integrum, sed irritò conatu, Magistrandum, ut vocant, oppugnarunt. Ex hoc fortuito successu, ansam deinceps seriò & liberè in Aristotelem animadvertendi & inquirendi arripuit. Logicamque imprimis, utpote instrumentum reliquarum artium expolire instituit (ut ipse pluribus persequitur in epilogo l. 5. Scholarum Dialecticarum) sed annum agens ætatis primum & vigesimum hæc moliri incœperat. Septimo pòst, primam, ut putatur, Dialecticam & Aristotelicas Animadversiones ad Academiam Parisiensem edidit : sequente anno Euclidem Latinè, quam & præfatione commendavit. Ex eo tempore multos adversarios contra se irritavit, & præsertim duos homines, quos Talæus in Academia sua dum contentionem totam enarrat, non nominat tamen. Vix, inquit, Aristotelicæ Animadversiones lectæ erant, cùm P. Ramus repentè ad prætorii tribunalis capitalem contentionem per certos homines falso Academiæ nomine rapitur, novique criminis accusatur, quòd scilicet, Aristotelem oppugnando, artes enervaret : hac enim oratione Aristotelea actio instituta est. Hinc Aristoteleurum clamoribus agitatus, ad summum Parisiensis curiæ concilium traducitur. Id cum ex adversariorum sententia non procederet, novis artibus à senatu Parisiensi ad regiam cognitionem res defertur : constituuntur judices quinque bini ab utraque parte, quintus à rege nominatur ; causam de singulis animad-

animadversionum capitibus dicere jubetur Ramus : qui tametsi de quinque judicibus tres infensissimos habebat, tamen ut mandato regio obtemperaret, ad diem constitutam adfuit ; scriba unus aderat ; qui rationes Rami & judicum sententias exciperet. Biduo magna contentione de Dialecticæ artis definitione & partitione, quæ in Logici Organi libris nullæ essent, concertatum est. Tres Aristotelei judices primo die, contra omnes bene descriptæ artis leges, judicarunt ad Dialecticæ artis perfectionem definitione nihil opus esse. Qui duo judices à Ramo lecti erant, contrà censuerunt. Postridie tres judices Aristotelei vehementer conturbati, de Partitione assentiuntur, causamque in aliam diem rejiciunt. Verùm ne non damnaretur Ramus, novum consilium initur, ut ab initio tota disputatio retexatur, judicata pridie, pro nihilo habeatur. Ab ista judicum inconstantia provocat Ramus ; sed frustra ; judicium n. sine provocatione tribus illis judicibus datur ; condemnantur triumvirali illa sententia non solum Animadversiones Aristotelicæ, sed Institutiones etiam Dialecticæ : auctori interdicitur, ne in posterum vel docendo vel scribendo, ullam Philosophiæ partem attingeret : ludi etiam magno apparatu celebrantur, in quibus Ramus & Ramea Dialectica ludibrio habetur. Ab his difficultatibus unus omnium Carolus Lotharingus Ramum liberavit : Henrico enim regi persuaferat, Philosophiam semper liberam esse oportere. Hinc Ramus pristinæ docendi ac scribendi libertati restitutus, per annos quatuor summa in pace studiis operam dedit. Anno ætatis trigésimo primo Orationem de studiis Philosophiæ & Eloquentiæ conjungendis habuit : cum Talæo fratre (sic eum perpetuo vocat) professionis partes ita divisit, ut Talæus matutinis horis philosophiam, ipse pomeridianis Eloquentiam doceret : in poetis, oratoribus, philosophis omnisque generis authoribus explicandis, usum dialecticæ demonstravit : id Ramo postea crimini datum est, quòd in philosophico studio non Philosophos, sed, contra leges Academiæ, pro philosophis Poetas explicaret : purgat se Ramus ; petitque ut gymnasium suum Præleum per probos & doctos homines invisatur. Sed judex quidam, nobilis adolescens, datus, discipulos Rami indicta causa, condemnat ; publicis & scholis & sigillis & tabulis prohibet ; omnibus denique Academiæ muneribus & præmiis excludit. Ab hac sententia tam nova discipuli Rami ad Julianensem philosophorum comitium provocant, & absolvuntur, modò præceptor eorum jurejurando confirmet, libros, Academiæ legibus definitos, à se esse prælectos. Confirmat Ramus : paulò tamen post ab eodem judice adolescente, non discipuli, ut antea, sed magistri eorum oppugnantur : Ramo injungitur, ut in publicis scholis disciplinam suam ipse detestaretur & ejuraret. Is ad superiores Academiæ ordines secundo provocat : sed cum vitandi tumultus causa, scripto se absens, defenderet, adolescens ille judex, etsi duabus appellationibus rejectus, tertio judicat ac damnat. Quarto provocat Ramus : cum provocationis diem accusator antevertisset, coactus est Ramus subito in senatum venire : hinc iterum Carolus Lotharingus unico præsidio fuit : accusationem cujusdam audit gravissimam Ramum Academicum nominantis, qui de humanis divinisque legibus dubitaret, qui lubricos D. Augustini locos ad effrænatam atque impiam libertatem suis auditoribus proponeret, & quo facilius incautis animis abuteretur, omnes Logicas disputationes tolleretur. Contra has calumnias facile se defendit Ramus. Decretum est itaque in senatu, uti Ramus discipuli que ejus in pristinum atque integrum statum restituerentur. Ipse anno ætatis trigésimo sexto cum Blessiis Carolus Lotharingus ad Henricum regem de disciplina Ramea retulisset, in numerum atque ordinem Regionum Professorum per literas regias honorificè ad se scriptas, est cooptatus. Gratias itaque & regi Henrico & Carolo Lotharingo publicè egit ; sibi que persuasit, se à rege in præstantissima reip. parte esse collocatum ; sibi que adeo dies ac noctes esse summo studio enitendum, ne tanto muneri ac professioni eloquentiæ simul & philosophiæ deesset : unde animos adolescentium tanta audiendi & proficiendi cupiditate inflammavit, ut schola regia, licet ad audiendum amplissima,

amplissima, plerumque tamen auditorum concursum frequentiamque capere minime potuerit. Adversariorum petulantiam summa constantia tulit atque pervicit; symbolumque ejus hoc fuit, "Labor omnia vincit." Anno 1552. cum in Cameracensi schola frequentissimis auditoribus Dialecticam suam auspicaretur, inter strepitus, clamores, sibilos nihil commotus, per intervalla clamorum, incredibili constantia perexit & peroravit: qua ejus virtute consternati inimici, in posterum minus ei molestiae exhibuerunt. In Heidelbergensi etiam Academia, principis autoritate ad profitendum adductus, confisimiles æmulorum clamores invicto animo pertulit. Adversus doctos aliquot homines Goveanum, Gallandium, Perionium, Turnebum, Melancthonum, pari silentio est usus. Viginti annis abstemius fuit, donec sanitatis causa medici vino uti suaserunt: vini enim fastidium ceperat ex quo infans in cellam vinariam clam parentibus irrepens, se tam immodicè ingurgitavit, ut mortuo similis humi reperiretur. Pro lectulo stramentis ad senectutem usque usus est. Cœlebs tota vita permansit. Prælei gymnasii labore (qui ipsi sine ullo publico stipendio erat mandatus) contentus fuit. A discipulis suis oblata munera, quamvis debita, tamen non accepit. Anno 1556. Ciceronianum edidit de Optima juventutis instituendæ ratione. Pronuntiationem Latinæ linguæ in Academia Parisiensi tunc temporis inquinatissimam, corrigendi author cumprimis fuit, reclamantibus licet Sorbonistis, pravarum omnium consuetudinum propugnatoribus tam obstinatis, ut sacerdotem quendam novatæ pronuntiationis coram senatu Parisiensi insimulatum, quasi ob hæresin, ut aiebant, Grammaticam, amplissimis proventibus ecclesiasticis privandum contenderent: & lite quidem superiores videbantur discessuri, nisi P. Ramus cæterique professores regii ad curiam convolantes, judicii tam alieni insolentiam diffuassent. Verùm illius temporis tam crassa ignorantia fuit, ut libris editis proditum sit, in ea Academia doctores extitisse, qui mordicus defenderent, "ego amat" tam commodam syntaxin esse, quàm "ego amo"; ad eamque pertinaciam comprimendam, auctoritate publica opus fuisse. In Mathematicis quid effecerit Ramus, Scholæ Mathematicæ aliâque ejus opera testantur. Ea meditantem, belli civilis calamitas interpellavit; acceptis igitur à rege literis, ad regiam Fontisbelæquei bibliothecam profectus, Mathematicas prælectiones ab initio plenius & uberius retractavit. Tum in Italiam cogitabat, quo ipsum Bononia honorificè invitarat; vel saltem in Germaniam: sed viis omnibus terror mortis intentatus, rumor etiam Prælei sui indignis modis direpti ac bibliothecæ spoliatae, ad regiam Vincennarum proprius urbem revocarunt. Sed & alia vis etiam gravius urgebat, ut è Vincennis per invia itinera profugiendum esset, & subinde variis in locis delitescendum: in fuga tamen & latebris otium hospitisque sui cupidissimos reperit; in eoque otio Scholas Physicas conscripsit, vel potius inchoavit. Erumpente rursus bello civili, in optimatum castra profugit: eo tumultu post sex menses sedato, reversus, nihil in bibliotheca præter inania reperit scrinia; mathematicas tantùm commentationes Resnerus (qui Parisiis permansit) direptoribus commodùm eripuit. Impendente jam tertium civili bello, impetravit à rege Carolo ad invisendas exterarum Academiarum annuam dimissionem, quasi legationem liberam. In extremis regni finibus, vix militum quorundam manus, nisi prolato in medium diplomate regio, effugisset. Ter dimissus, ter repetitus, tandem velocitate summa eo pervenit, ubi sicariis licentia nequaquam pareat. Adventus ejus in Germaniam bonorum ac doctorum omnium singulari humanitate & gratulatione exceptus est. Argentorati Joannes Sturmius, ejus Academiae author simul & rector, peramanter eum accepit deinde Academia tota adjunctis etiam quibusdam ad ampliorem gratulationem comitibus & baronibus, liberalissimè tractavit: quo die, denique, nobilissimæ nuptiæ in eo loco celebrabantur, in prytaneum summus urbis Magistratus, publicæ gratulationis gratia cum Sturmio eum adduxit. Bernam præteriens, tantùm vidit, nec tamen sine Consulibus Stegeri honorifica liberalitate, atque Halleri, Arelli, aliorumque doctissimorum hominum amica gratulatione discessit. Tiguri, Henricus Bullingerus simulatque in urbem ingressus est Ramus, gratulator primus affuit, cœnamque

cœnámque ei apparavit, eruditissimis convivarum, Josiæ Simleri, Rodolphi Gualteri, Lodovici Lavalteri sermonibus longè gratissimam. Postridie cùm ab eodem Bullingero in aulam publicam deduceretur, miratus quid sibi vellet in eum locum frequentissimus civium cujusque ordinis conventus, quæsit ex eo, ecquæ illic etiam, ut Argentinæ, nobiles nuptiæ celebrarentur. Cui Bullingerus, Tibi, inquit, nostra civitas nuptias illas celebrat. Præbuit ei Heidelbergæ amicum Ursinum, Olevitanum, hospitem etiam Immanuelem Tremellium, fautorem denique ipsum Electorem Palatinum, qui discedentem Ramum, aurea imagine sua donavit. Inde Francofurtum pergens, à primariis aliquot civibus honorificè est acceptus : deinde Noribergam ad præstantissimos opifices & mechanicos aliósque viros doctos & præsertim Joachimum Camerarium, profectus est : hîc jurisconsultorum collegio mandatum à senatu est, ut P. Ramo convivium publico urbis nomine instruerent. Inde Augustam perexit ubi urbis consul primarius eum liberalissimè tractavit, adhibitis in convivium eruditis variæ doctrinæ convivis, sed imprimis Hieronimo Wolfio, & Tichone Bracheo, cum quo post prandium in suburbanum consulis deductus, varios sermones de studiis mathematicis habuit. Rumore tandem restitutæ pacis revocatus, Lausannam contendit : hîc a viris doctis exoratus, Logicam ἀρχόασιν dies aliquot maximo concursu exhibuit. Geneva cum doctissimis hominibus tum de cæteris liberalibus studiis, tum de Logicis collocutio illi assidua fuit, maximè cum Francisco de Cretenfi & Andrea Melvino, Scoto. Cum aliis multis eruditissimis viris, in Italia Commandino & Papio, in Anglia Dio & Acontio, in Germania Chytreo, aliisque permultis amicitiam per literas jaxantè coluerat. Nobiles & inclytæ civitates eum magnis & honorificis muneribus, & sexcentorum coronatorum oblato stipendio appetiverunt. Joannes electus rex Pannoni amplissimo stipendio Albæ Juliæ regendam Academiam illi obtulit. Cracoviam liberalissimè, immo in Italiam mille ducatorum stipendio Bononiam invitatus, patriam tamen deferere noluit : itaque Carolus ix. petiitum undique calumniis domi, invidorùmque morsibus, non solum præsentis ope sublevavit, sed honore auxit & amplificavit, eque vacationem à laboribus concessit. Tandem, anno 1572. in illa Parisiensi Christianorum ac civium internecione, indignissime periit. Necis causam sunt qui in æmulos ejus conferant : plerique eandem quæ ceteris ea nocte trucidatis fuisse existimant. Legatum annum Mathematico Professori in Parisiensi Academia luculentum testamento reliquit.

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